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INDEX TO VOLUME 151

JULY 6, 1940, to DECEMBER 28, 1940

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The following letters are used to indicate the type of article:

A	Art
Arc	Architecture
C	Correspondence
Ct	Cartoon
D	Drama
E	Editorial Article
EP	Editorial Paragraph
M	Music
MP	Moving Pictures
P	Poetry
S	Signed Article

Book reviews and reviewers are indexed separately in the Book Review Section.

Pages		Pages	
1- 20	July 6	285-312	October 5
21- 40	July 13	313-348	October 12
41- 60	July 20	349-376	October 19
61- 80	July 27	377-404	October 26
81-100	Aug. 3	405-432	November 2
101-120	Aug. 10	433-460	November 9
121-140	Aug. 17	461-488	November 16
141-160	Aug. 24	489-516	November 23
161-180	Aug. 31	517-544	November 30
181-200	Sept. 7	545-588	December 7
201-228	Sept. 14	589-616	December 14
229-256	Sept. 21	617-644	December 21
257-284	Sept. 28	645-664	December 28

A

A., T. M.
  Men and dividends; C 160
A. F. of L. See American federation of labor
Abbott, Leonard, and others
  For Thomas and Krueger; C 283
Abrams, Charles
  Must defense wreck housing? S........ 359
Academic freedom
  Butler, N. M., asks resignation of Columbia faculty members in conflict with the university's aims; EP ...315; see also 365
  Tennessee; dictatorship in. F. Jones, junior; C 120
  University of Michigan; expulsions. S. R. Kaye; S 215
  University of Michigan refuses to present case against expelled students in open hearings; EP 434
Adams, Henry
  Letter to Sir H. Maine 94
Aeronautics. See Aviation
Agriculture
  Cash farm income for 1940 at boom level; EP 434
  Share-cropper problem, essay contest won by M. E. Mitchell; EP 288
  Tolan committee hearings on interstate migration; E 622
  Will the farmer vote for Willkie? C. C. Munz; S ....186; see also C.... 256
Airmail postage to South America, reduction urged. F. Rosenan; C 488
Air power. See Aviation
Air raids. See War, European
Alcoa. See Aluminum company of America
Aliens; "hardship cases" under new law; EP 434
  McKeesport, Pennsylvania, institutes local drive against them............... 74
  See also Refugees
Allen, H. H.; "Whither interest rates" discussed by K. Hutchison; S 52
Allen, Jay
  Franco awaits orders; S.......263; see also EP 257
Almazán. See Mexico
Alsop, J., and R. Kintner on J. P. Kennedy's record. F. Kirchwey; S............. 593
Aluminum company of America
  And TVA; EP 42
  Denies complete monopoly; EP 143
  Opposed to development of St. Lawrence river power; E.................... 465
  Strike deferred; EP 42
Alvarez del Vayo, Julio
  Duty of the emigré, the; S............ 599
America. See United States
America first committee; formed; EP....... 314
  And J. P. Kennedy. F. Kirchwey; S.... 593
  New isolationist organization, formed; EP 314
American bankers association; failure to elect Giannini candidate. K. Hutchison; S.. 392
American bar association; report on securities and exchange act; EP 162
American federation of labor; elimination of racketeering on convention agenda; EP 463
American federation of musicians; Petrillo, J. C., restrained from barring musical artists; EP 182
American inventory. W. Frank; S......169; see also C 375
American newspaper guild. See Newspapers
American tobacco company; attack on anti-trust laws; EP 83
Ames, van Meter
  On Max Lerner's article "Intellectuals and war"; C 228
Angell, Norman
  Refugees can be assets; S 236
Ansó, Mariano, and other Spanish loyalists arrested in unoccupied France; EP... 646
Anti-semitism. See Jews
Anti-trust laws. See Monopolies
Appeasement. See Japanese-American relations; War, European
Argentina; Export-import bank grants credit to; EP 2
  Imposes ban on American imports; EP. 259
Armenian revolutionary federation; political creed;......419; see also 657, 658
Armstrong, O. K., organizes V. Marshall's "No foreign war" committee; EP.... 646
Army, United States; generals without ideas. H. S. Ford; S 12
Art
  Can art sustain the artist? V. v. Wiegand; S ......150; see also C 228
  Mural painting. K. Rosenfeld; A 485
  Portinari, C., Brazilian artist; exhibit at Modern Museum, New York. P. Rosenfeld; A 402
  Sculptor's guild not A. F. of L. affiliate; C......228; see also 150
  Wright, F. L.; exhibit at Modern Museum, New York. T. Hamlin; A..... 541
Artiles, J.; Spanish loyalist, arrested in Cuba; C 120
ASCAP. See Music
Asia. See names of countries.
Auden, W. H.
  Autumn 1940; P 563
Aviation
  Airplane production lag revealed by Knudsen; EP 618
  American-made war planes at Martinique; EP 490
  And British labor. L. Corey; C 179
  Aviation's sitdown strike. I. F. Stone; S....126, 148, 188; see also EP 161, 181; C 404
  Hitler's American planes. I. F. Stone; S 148
  Reuther plan for airplane mass production. I. F. Stone; S................ 624
Avila Camacho. See Mexico
Axis
  Hull, Secretary, and the pact. I. F. Stone; S 291
  "New world order" and America; E.... 288
  Opposed to re-election of Roosevelt; EP. 313
  Pact a threat to Russia; EP 313
  Shipping, speech of Minister Cross; EP. 645
  Strategy and the war. H. Rosinski; S.. 440
  See also Germany; Japan; U.S.S.R.; War, European

B

BMI. See Music
Badoglio, Marshal. See Italy
Bevin, Ernest, in war cabinet; E 317
Baldwin, Roger
  Conscientious objectors; S 325
Balkan states
  Axis activities; EP ......41; E 183
  Axis policy in the Balkans; and Russia; E 351
  Puzzle. R. Vambery; S................ 49
  "Musical chairs." Low; Ct 190
  Russia occupies Bessarabia; EP........ 1
Ball, Georgia, and others
  Appeal for gifts for war sufferers; C.... 616
Ballets and ballet music. See Music
Baltic states; declare themselves Soviet republics; EP 62
Bank of America. See Giannini, A. P.
Bankhead, William B., death; EP 232
Bantam automobile company, and defense contracts. I. F. Stone; S............. 595
Baruch, B. on drafting industries; EP...... 230
Bass, M.
  Free speech; C 283
Bates, Ralph
  Indivisible war, the; S........496, 526, 601
  Mexico another Spain; S......210; see also EP 202
Batista, Fulgencio. See Cuba
Beal, Fred E., case of. J. Daniels; S....... 608
Beard, Donald P.; American fifth-column industrialists; C 460
Becker, F.; appeal for Odell Waller; C..... 516
Belitt, Ben
  Dance piece; P 535
  Descent in a parachute; P 535
Ben Hill county, no NLRB for. G. C. Stoney; S 300
Bendiner, Robert
  It had to be Roosevelt; S 66
  Republican convention; Willkie nominated; S 6
Benedict, Ruth; on the death of Professor A. A. Goldenweiser, anthropologist; C. 284
Bennington festival, 1940. S. Conrad....... 158
Berdahl, Clarence A.
  Resignation of O. G. Villard; C 60
Berdahl, Evelyn T.
  Pacifism and isolationism among students; C 80
Bernhardt, Heinz R.
  American liberals criticized; C 200
Berrey, Lester V.
  English war slang; S 446
Bessarabia; Russian occupation of; EP 1
Bethlehem steel corporation; order against; upheld by circuit court; E 352
Bhane, Vinoba. See India
Black, Justice; ruling in case of negro convicted of rape; EP 591
Black list. See Labor unions
Blake, William P.
  Federal union dispute; C......376; see also 272
Block, Harry
  And the Trotskyists; C 459
  Mexico's new chance; S 71
Blockade, British; and food for Hitler's victims, 592, 596, 283, 459
Bloom, M. J.
  Miracle of the rabbi; C....459; see also EP 379
Bloom, S. urges repeal of neutrality act; EP 618
Blum, Léon. See France—Riom trials
Bluox lumber cooperative responds to appeal by WPA workers; C.........376; see also C 255
Board of Education, New York; defers approval of compulsory religious education in schools; EP................. 407
  Special committees to scrutinize text books for anti-democratic propaganda. 420
Bolinger, Dwight L.
  Criticizes *The Nation's* indorsement of W. A. White; C 40
Bolivia; battle for tin, and Patiño. E. Kelly; S 472
Books, small, needed. M. Marshall; S...... 609
Borchers, J. activities 153
Bottome, Phyllis
  Letter from London; C............... 375
Boyer, R. O.; reveals German war-time conditions, in *PM*; EP 315
Boys and girls together. J. W. Krutch; D 345; see also 641
Branch, John B.
  Suggests the word "Usona" instead of United States; C 615
Brazil
  Conditions in country under Vargas. S. G. Inman; S 322
  Music. B. A. Haggin; M 431
  Nazi infiltration. M. Marshall; S....... 117
  Portinari, C., Exhibit at Modern museum. P. Rosenfeld; A 402
  Significance of Vargas speech on dictatorship; EP 2
Bridges, H. 15
Britain. See Great Britain
British empire. See Great Britain
British-Japanese relations; British withdrawal from Shanghai and Tientsin; EP 121
  Shanghai status unsettled; EP 142
Broadcasting. See Radio
Brooks, Van Wyck
  Why I am for Roosevelt 388
Browder, Mrs. Earl, to be deported; EP... 434
Brown, Kenneth A. 113
Brown bill revising securities and exchange act; EP 162
Buell, R. L. and Willkie's article for *The Nation* 411
Bullitt, William Christian
  Open letter to, in defense of refugees. H. Poe; S ......167; see also 163
  Praises Pétain. F. Kirchwey; S........ 65
  Says Communists are guilty in France's downfall; EP 142
  Warns United States of danger; urges aid to Great Britain; EP 142
Burgess, David, and L. Detweiler
  Youth and the draft; C................ 179
Burke, senator Edward R., bolts Democratic party on third-term issue 63
  Proposes conscription bill; EP 22
Burke-Wadsworth bill. See Selective service

- Burma road. See Chinese-Japanese war
- Business
  - And the new deal. E 380
  - Aviation's sitdown strike. I. F. Stone; S 126, 148; see also EP 161, 181; C.... 404
  - Banks refuse to take risks for expansion of defense industries. K. Hutchison; S 328
  - Barter trade, dangers of. L. B. Potter; C 256
  - Boom; EP 433
  - Boom caused by defense spending; EP 546
  - Copper prices rise; EP 287
  - Defense, profits and taxes; EP 201
  - Draft-industry provisions in conscription bill; EP 230
  - Economics of freedom. C. E. Noyes; S 555; see also 552
  - Everybody's. See Everybody's business
  - Excess profits in aviation industry; EP. 161
  - Excess profits; national city bank compiles earnings of leading corporations; EP 122
  - Fifth-column industrialists. D. P. Beard; C 460
  - Foreign interests in key industries endanger defense. I. F. Stone; S 319
  - France; popular-front economics. P. Cot; S 417
  - Hitler's American planes. I. F. Stone; S 148
  - Industry and defense. E. Lonigan; S .. 10
  - Industry opposes Russell-Overton amendment; EP 202
  - Inflation myth. K. Hutchison; S 504
  - Internationism in reverse. H. Dekker; C ....404; see also 126, 148, 161, 181
  - Monetary policies, agreement on, between the United States and Great Britain; EP 61
  - Nazi economics versus free markets. C. E. Noyes; S..207; see also EP..203; C 347
  - New York stock exchange rules on multiple trading. K. Hutchison; S 447
  - Price advance precursor of inflation; EP 202
  - Prices and bottlenecks; K. Hutchison; S 271
  - Prices; inflation myth. K. Hutchison; S 504
  - Priorities and defense. I. F. Stone. S.. 439
  - Profit limitations for airplane manufacturers; EP 81
  - Profit limitations proposal opposed; EP.. 2
  - Profits above patriotism; E 123
  - Wall street; talk of appeasement; E.... 25
  - Willkie and free enterprise. B. Wertheim; S 292
  - Willkie and the investor; E 410
  - See also Excess profits; Excess profits tax; Finance, public
- Butler, N. M.; asks resignation of Columbia faculty members in conflict with the university's aims; EP...315; see also 365

C

- C.I.O. See Congress of industrial organizations
- Cabinet. See Roosevelt, F. D.—Administration
- Cabin in the sky. J. W. Krutch; D....458; see also 641
- California. See Migration
- Camacho, Avila. See Mexico
- Cameron, W. J. 73
- Campaign, presidential. See Presidential campaign; names of candidates
- Canada; defense pact with the United States concluded; E 143
- Cannell, Kathleen, dispatches from Paris criticized; EP 23
- Capitalism; in democratic America and Nazi Germany; letters 347
- Cardenas, Lazaro. See Mexico
- Caribbean, the, Franco in. H. R. Southworth and W. R. Espy; S 500
- Carney, Father T. A. 112
- Carol, King. See Rumania
- Carson, Joseph K. See United States—Maritime commission
- Carter, Hodding
  - American newspaper guild convention at Memphis; S 48
- Cartoons. See Fitzpatrick; Low
- Cassidy, John F. to run for congress....... 93
- Castle, William R.; on America first committee 593
- Catholic church. See Roman catholic church
- Censorship; New York *Herald Tribune* suppresses Dorothy Thompson's column; EP 349
  - See also U.S.S.R.
- Chafee, Zechariah, junior
  - Death of W. H. Pollak; S 318
- Chamberlain, John
  - Why I am for Roosevelt 386
- Chamberlain, Neville, death; EP 461
- Charley's aunt. J. W. Krutch; D......430; see also 512; 641
- Chasan, Will
  - Decline of boss Hague; S 605
- Chattanooga *News-Free-Press* convicted of violation of anti-trust act; EP 618
- Chattanooga *Tribune;* failure; EP 619
- Chen, K. Y.
  - China's threatened life line; S 239
- Children. See Refugees
- Chile; Spain breaks off diplomatic relations; EP 61
- China
  - American marines to defend Shanghai in place of retiring British; EP 142
  - Appeal for Chinese orphans. B. G. Swing; C 616
  - Chungking; conditions; C. Corcoran; S 558
  - Great Britain withdraws troops from Shanghai and Tientsin; EP 121
  - See also Chinese-Japanese War
- Chinese-Japanese war
  - Burma road:
    - Great Britain refuses to close road; EP 21
    - Japanese air attacks unsuccessful; EP. 406
    - Life line of China. K. Y. Chen; S... 239
    - Reopened; EP 313
    - To be temporarily closed by Great Britain; EP 62
    - Traffic resumed; EP 377
    - United States should urge reopening; E 234
  - China's new victories; E 261
  - Chungking shows the way. C. Corcoran; S 558
  - Japan moves into Indo-China; EP...... 257
  - Japanese demands on Indo-China; E.... 103
  - Japanese retreat from Kwangsi province; EP 433
  - Japanese threat to Indo-China. K. Y. Chen; S 239
  - Life line of China threatened. K. Y. Chen; S 239
  - More aid for China; E 43
  - More substantial American aid urged; EP 518
  - Soviet-Japanese pact; chances; EP..... 406
  - Strong Far-Eastern policy aids Great Britain; E 491
  - United States exports of oil and scrap iron to Japan prohibited without license; EP 81
  - United States extends $100,000,000 credit to China; EP 545
  - United States, Great Britain, Australia agree on cooperation in the Pacific; E 491
  - Vichy government promises Japanese troops right of way through Indo-China; EP 202
  - Vigorous United States policy in far east urged. M. S. Stewart; S........ 390
    - See also China; Indo-China
- Chirillo, Rosario, and family; to be deported by relief authorities. D. L. Clendenin; C 460
- Christian front
  - McWilliams, J. E., convicted; EP 23
  - Trial; verdict in 15
  - See also Prout, captain
- "Christian question," the, and the Jews. N. S.; C 515
- Christianity. See Religion
- Christmas gifts into war relief. G. Ball and others; C 616
- Church, roman catholic. See Roman catholic church
- Civil rights
  - Communist party candidates barred from the ballot in eleven states; EP...... 350
  - Dangers of anti-sabotage and espionage bills; E 621
  - Free speech and Ford; E 352
  - In Oklahoma. E. Z. Green 615
  - Jehovah's witnesses, persecution of. H. R. Southworth; S 110
  - Mankin, P. H., dismissed from state teachers' college, Murfreesboro as communist. F. Jones, Jr.; C 120
  - Minority parties; attacks on; EP...... 103
  - Mob rule in congress. I. F. Stone; S... 551
  - Wood, R. and A. Shaw convicted for membership in communist party; EP. 647
- Clausen, C. A.
  - Treason in Norway; C 119
- Clendenin, D. L.
  - Chirillo, R. and family, to be deported by relief authorities; C 460
- Coal miners. See Miners
- Coleman, McAlister
  - Satire on Willkie; S 32
  - Socialist party back on the ballot; C.... 432
- Columbia university. See Academic freedom
- *Common Ground;* new quarterly magazine 336, 610
- Common sense, unity of. R. Raynolds; C.... 543
- Commonwealth college charged with anarchism; EP 647
- Communism
  - And peace groups 244
  - Bullitt, W. C., charges communist guilt in France's downfall; EP 142
  - Pegler, W. and refugees; EP 647
  - Purge in the WPA; EP 3
  - Red-hunt Dies' real objective; EP..... 378
  - See also Marxism
- Communist party
  - Browder, Mrs. Earl, to be deported; EP 434
  - Candidates barred from the ballot in eleven states; EP 350
  - In Great Britain, split; P. Strauss; S. 296
  - Oklahoma calls membership a crime; EP 647
  - Shaw, A., and R. Wood, convicted for membership; EP 647
  - Rapp-Coudert committee criticized for attempts at "exposure"; EP 590
  - Signers of petitions terrorized; EP.... 103
- Companys, Luis, executed in Spain; EP 378; 407
- Comstock, Ada. L.
  - Protest against review of "On the long tide" by L. Krey; C........544; see also AN 485
- Congress
  - And Roosevelt's plan to lease war materials to Great Britain; E 647
  - Appeal for action. F. Kirchwey; S.... 622
  - Attempt of majority leaders to adjourn fails; EP 518
  - Congressional elections, profit and loss; E 464
  - McCormick, J. W., elected house majority leader; EP 286
  - Mob rule in. I. F. Stone; S 551
- Congress of industrial organizations
  - Atlantic City convention; Lewis resigns, Murray accepts presidency. R. Stein; S......524; see also E 519
  - Murray of the C.I.O. R. Stein; S.... 172
  - Murray, P., program. R. Stein; S..... 629
  - New York state convention at Rochester; factional clashes on third-term issue; EP......258; see also C, with editorial comment 348
  - Reactions to Lewis's indorsement of Willkie. I. F. Stone; S....413; see also EP......405; C 488
  - Speculations on Lewis's retirement; EP 461
- Conscientious objectors. See Selective service act
- Conscription of industry. See Defense, national
- Conscription of men. See Selective service
- Copper; increased buying and higher prices; EP 287
- Corcoran, Crispian
  - Chungking shows the way; S 558
- Cordura, new synthetic material, to be used for tires; EP 462
- Corey, Lewis
  - British labor not responsible for unpreparedness; C 179
- Corn is green, the. J. W. Krutch; D....585; see also 641
- Cortelyou, W. P.
  - Postal referendum; C....403; see also C 459; 488
- Cost of living. See Prices
- Cot, Pierre
  - Vichy's scapegoat; the popular front; S. 417
- Cotton mills; no NLRB in Ben Hill county, Georgia. G. C. Stoney; S 300
  - Workers. J. Daniels; S 246
- Cross, British minister of shipping, speech arouses nazis; EP 645
- Crump, E., of Memphis. J. Daniels; S...... 660
- Cuba; Batista inaugurated as president; EP. 351
  - Franco in Cuba; C...120; H. R. Southworth and W. R. Espy; S 500
- Cutting, C. Suydam
  - Appeal for steel helmets for British civilians; C 616

D

- D., F.
  - Norway under the Nazis; C 227
- D., M. P. D.
  - Franco in Cuba; C 120
- *Daily Worker;* change in ownership. M. Marshall; S 116
- Dakar. See War, European
- Dance; Bennington festival, 1940. S. Conrad 158
- Daniels, Jonathan
  - Native at large, a:
    - Army medical crops; training methods criticized; S 449
    - Beal, Fred E., case of; S 608
    - Democracy in the schools; S 366
    - Filling stations; S 273
    - Forest conservation, plea for; S 174
    - Migration, interstate; S 534
    - Mill villages and company towns; S.. 246
    - "Native son"; dramatization; S...... 114
    - Negro lynchings; S 219
    - Nieman fellowships; S ......195; see also C 311
    - Old Crump of Memphis; S 660
    - Open letter to Ickes; S 562
    - Southerners and the election; S 506
    - Tennessee newspapers and the presidential campaign; S 394
    - Traveling; S 135
    - Unity: the freedom to disagree; S 477; see also 465
    - Waller, Odell; S 635
    - Willkie and D. Lilienthal; S 155

  - Willkie and the South; S 303
  - Wolfe, Thomas. S 332
  - Youth and national defense; S 421
- Darbinian, Reuben
  - Case for the Armenian revolutionary federation....658; see also 419
- Davenport, R.; and Willkie's article for *The Nation;* see 411
- Day, the, according to the Jews. M. J. Bloom; C 459
- Defense, national
  - And housing. C. Abrams; S 359
  - And jobs. E. Lonigan; S 10
  - And priorities. I. F. Stone; S.......... 439
  - And taxes: K. Hutchison. S 92
  - And Wagner act. I. F. Stone; S 355
  - And youth. J. Daniels; S 421
  - Appeal for action. F. Kirchwey; S 623
  - Army medical corps; training methods criticized. J. Daniels; S 449
  - Aviation's sitdown strike. I. F. Stone; S 126, 148, 188; see also EP ....161, 181; C 404
  - Banks refuse to take risks for defense program. K. Hutchison; S 328
  - Canada, agreement with, for joint board; negotiations with Great Britain for bases; and sale of destroyers; E..... 143
  - Conscription of industry meets snag in congress; EP 101
  - Conscription (of men). See Selective service
  - Conscription of men and commandeering of property; EP....181; EP 230
  - Copper; demand for, grows; EP 286
  - Costs to be met by increased taxation; EP 547
  - Defense spending causes business boom; EP 546
  - Excess profits. See Excess profits
  - Ford will make planes for the United States only; refuses plane engines to Great Britain; EP 2
  - Generals without ideas. H. S. Ford. S.. 12
  - Hitler profits from our defense. I. F. Stone; S 319
  - Jackson's ruling on Wagner act violators and defense contracts. I. F. Stone; S....355; see also EP...... 314
  - Knudsen, W. S., reveals defense lag; EP 617
  - Labor opposition; E 233
  - Labor policy advisory committee formed by Hillman; E 64
  - Lag in program, according to Knudsen; EP 617
  - Migration in California, and defense. J. Daniels; S 534
  - Murray, P.; new plan for defense; and the steel industry. I. F. Stone; S.... 650
  - Murray, P., outlines C.I.O. program. R. Stein
  - National defense advisory committee requests Jackson to postpone action against oil companies; EP 286
  - National guard needs streamlining. D. Velie; C 487
  - Nazi blitzkrieg quickens demand for protection; EP 22
  - Railroad congestion; dangers. K. Hutchison; S 560
  - Republican party record on; E 408
  - Reuther plan for mass plane production. I. F. Stone; S 624
  - Rights, human and property, M.T.A.; C 160
  - Sabotage; dangers of new anti-sabotage and espionage bills; E 621
  - Saint Lawrence seaway and power treaty, and; EP 590
  - Selective service. See Selective service
  - Shipments to Japan injure American defense; EP 590
  - "Speed-up" rushed through Congress; EP 81
  - Tin, battle for. E. Kelly; S 472
  - Totalitarian menace; H. R. Bernhardt; C 200
  - Walsh-Healey act unjustly charged with obstructing the placing of defense orders; EP 590
- Dejong, David Cornel
  - But we who waited? P 661
- Dekker, Herman
  - On "aviation's sitdown strike"; C 404
- Delicate story. J. W. Krutch; D 641
- Dell, Robert; death; E....65; see also C.... 100
- Dembitz. Nanette
  - On F. Kirchwey's article about conscription; C....200; see also 85
- Democracy
  - And religion; letters, 643; see also 521
  - British, gains by the war; P. Bottome; C....375; P. Strauss 415
  - Faith in. L. A. Riley; C....375; see also 166; 169
  - Foes of. Low, Ct 238
  - Referendum by postal suggested. W. P. Cortelyou; C..403; see also C..459, 488
  - Teaching of, in school. J. Daniels; S.... 366
  - Two-party government. P. Herring; C 403; see also 250
  - Unity for what? F. Kirchwey; S...... 465
- Democratic party; and Frank Hague. W. Chasan; S 605
  - Flynn suuceeds Farley. C. Malcolmson; S....106; see also C 179
  - Robert, L. W., Junior, resigns as treasurer of national committee; EP 286
  - See also Presidential campaign
- Demosthenes; excerpts from philippics; compiled by F. L. Schuman 132
- Dempsey, John J. See United States—Maritime commission
- Denmark
  - Did surrender save Denmark? J.Joesten; S 298
  - Gestapo in Denmark. E. Polle; C...... 40
- Deportation; "hardship cases" under new law; EP 434
  - See also names of individuals
- Derry, George H., to run for congress...... 112
- Detweiler, Leonard, and D. Burgess
  - Youth and the draft; C 179
- Detzer, Dorothy
  - On resignation of O. G. Villard; C 58
- Dies, Martin
  - At odds with state and justice departments; EP 378
  - Releases white paper on nazi activities; EP 518
- Dodge, Witherspoon, organizer for C.I.O. textile workers' union, assaulted in Fitzgerald, Georgia. G. C. Stoney; S. 300
- *Dolphin* magazine, review of.......... 610
- Dos Passos, John
  - Appeal for refugees; C 644
- Draeger, Friedhelm, head of Nazi agents in United States; EP....378; see also.. 153
- Draft. See Selective Service
- Droz, Clemont
  - American militarism; C 255
- Dunkirk. See War, European
- Dunn, Gano; EP 42
- Dutch East Indies; Great Britain and Japan want vital raw materials; EP 377
  - Japan cautious regarding southward expansion; EP 546

E

- Economic conditions. See Business
- Economics, international; Schacht's new plan 192
- Economics of freedom. C. E. Noyes; S..555; see also 552
- *Editor and Publisher,* poll, shows newspapers favor Willkie; EP 161
- Edmondson, Robert Edward 73, 193
- Education
  - "Andiamo in Italia," Italian textbook, removed from approved school-book list 420
  - Democracy in the schools. J. Daniels; S. 366
  - School textbooks and the national association of manufacturers; EP 618
  - See also Board of education
- Eire. See Ireland
- Elections
  - Primaries; effects of nazi propaganda.. 420
  - Primaries; results; EP 229
  - Results; E 464
  - See also Presidential campaign
- Electrical workers, brotherhood of; high initiation fees criticized; EP 619
- Ellis, C. F.
  - On R. G. Swing's article "Youth, war, and freedom"; C 39
- Embargoes. See Japanese-American relations
- Immigration. See Refugees
- Engels, Friedrich, and G. Hicks; letter by W. Lowenfels 404
- Erskine, John, criticized by B. H. Haggin.. 282
- Espionage. See Sabotage
- Espy, Willard R.
  - Hull at the Havana conference; S...... 107
- Espy, Willard R., and H. R. Southworth
  - Franco in the Caribbean; S 500
- European war. See War, European
- Everybody's business; articles by K. Hutchison....14, 52, 92, 217, 271, 328, 392, 447, 504, 560, 633
- Excess profits
  - And the airplane industry. I. F. Stone; S....126, 148, 188; see also 181
  - Airplane manufacturers object to profit limitations; EP 81
  - Industry delays defense production, wants larger profits; E 123
- Excess profits tax
  - And defense. K. Hutchison; S 92
  - Defense industries prefer repeal of Vinson-Trammell limitations to excess profits tax; EP 101
  - House and senate differ on bill; EP.... 286
  - Lobby against tax; EP 142
  - New bill in senate finance committee; EP 201
  - Pending bill criticized; EP 122
  - Provisions of bill. K. Hutchison; S 392
  - Senate bill differs from that adopted by house; EP 229
- Export-import bank grants extensive loans to South American countries; EP 287

F

- Fair labor standards act; Fleming's administration criticized; E 381
- Fantasia. F. Hoellering; MP...513; see also C 543
- Far east; defense cooperation by United States, Great Britain, and Australia; E 491
  - See also names of countries
- Farago, Ladislas
  - Heil Edward Windsor; S 30
- Farley, James; succeeded by E. J. Flynn. C. Malcolmson; S....106; see also C... 179
  - Talk with Roosevelt on third-term chances; EP 22
- Fascism and nazism
  - American, through fear. R. W. France; C 80
  - American fascist groups 73
  - And peace groups 244
  - Armenian revolutionary federation..419; see also 657, 658
  - Conference of rightists in Chicago...... 532
  - Dies, M., at odds with state and justice departments on evidence about Nazi agents; EP 378
  - Dies releases white paper on Nazi activities; EP 518
  - Fish, H.; Nazi leanings 476
  - Franco sympathizers in the United States 533
  - Hart, M. K., on democracy. F. Kirchwey; S 260
  - In congress 112
  - Italian agencies in the United States.... 72
  - Italian radio and newspaper propaganda in the United States 364
  - Italian propaganda in public and parochial schools....301; see also 420
  - Kennedy, J. P., and appeasement. K. Kirchwey; S 593
  - McWilliams, J. E., convicted; EP 23
  - Molly Pitcher Christian women's brigade 533
  - Nazi agents in the United States...73, 153
  - Nazi agents indicted in Uruguay; EP.. 287
  - Nazi propaganda in the United States; effects on primary election 420
  - Nazis in Latin America; E....262; see also EP 61
  - New fascist groups in the United States 193
  - Purge in WPA; EP 3
  - Threat of, in the United States. P. M. Sweezy; C 347
  - Ukrainian nationalist organizations and leaders 475
  - Westrick, G.; exposed by New York *Herald Tribune;* EP ......101; see also 153, 154
  - See also Fifth column; Within the gates
- Federal union; disunity among members reported..........272; see also C; 376
- Feldman, Maurice; his article "Sweden's trojan horse" criticized by C. A. Clausen; C 119
- Fifth column
  - American industrialists. D. P. Beard; C. 460
  - Franco in the Caribbean. H. R. Southworth and W. R. Espy; S 500
  - Lindbergh for appeasement; EP........ 101
  - Nazi diplomats active; EP.......... 83
  - No spies among refugees. H. Pol; S... 167
  - Norway; no treason there. C. A. Clausen; C 119
  - Purge in diplomatic service and army demanded; T. A. Tenor; C.......... 180
  - Westrick, G., activities; EP.......... 101
  - See also Fascism and Nazism; Within the gates
- Fifth column in Washington; booklet by J. P. Kamp praised 420
- Filling stations and attendants. J. Daniels; S 273
- Finance, public
  - Defense and taxation. K. Hutchison; S 92; 328
  - Defense costs to be met by increased taxation; EP 547
  - Inflation, beginning of; seen in price rises; EP 202
  - Inflation myth. K. Hutchison; S 504
  - Monetary policies, agreement on, between the United States and Great Britain; EP 61
  - Money, price of. K. Hutchison; S...... 52
  - National income approaches that of 1929; EP 546
  - Spending policy for defense. E. Lonigan; S 10
  - Treasury estimates of deficit rising; EP. 122
  - See also Excess profits tax
- Fischer, Louis
  - Rumania's new Versailles; German occupation predicted; S 206
  - Trotsky and Stalin; S 191
- Fischer, Samuel
  - On resignation of O. G. Villard; C.... 58
- Fish, Hamilton; Nazi leanings.......... 476
- Fitzpatrick; All connected up; Ct 269
- Flandin, Pierre-Etienne. See France
- Fledgling. J. W. Krutch; D 585

Fleming, colonel; administration of Fair labor standards act criticized; E 381
Fluorescent lighting. D. Hargraves; S..445; see also C 543
Flynn, Edward J.; succeeds J. A. Farley. C. Malcolmson; S ....106; see also C 179
Flynn, John T., on America first committee; EP 314
Fontana, Irma B.
  Labor must act; C 487
Food for Europe
  And H. Hoover; C ....283; see also C 459
  Feed the hungry! A. Hamilton; S...596; see also E 592
  Hoover and Polish relief. M. Pate; C........459; see also C 283
  Limited relief. S. T. Possony; S ..597; see also E 592
Ford, Harvey S.
  Decline of American military leadership; S 12
Ford, Henry
  And free speech; E.......... 352
  On America first committee; EP....314; see also 593
  Refuses airplane engines for Great Britain; EP 2
Ford motor company
  Cincinnati circuit court on Dearborn case; E 352
  Defense commission awards engine contract to company, despite labor violations; EP 462
  Defense commission awards second contract to company. I. F. Stone; S.... 595
  National labor relations board hands down decision regarding Dallas plant; EP 122
Forest conservation. J. Daniels; S 174
Fortune polls. See Polls
France, Royal Wilbur
  Criticizes *The Nation's* policy; C 80
France
  Anglo-French alliance ends; EP 21
  British attack French fleet at Oran; EP 21
  Colonies; Vichy losing control; EP.... 181
  Downfall; cause of. H. Pol; S....7, 27; see also EP.......... 221
  Flandin replaces Laval; EP 617
  Gaulle, General Charles de; "Free French" forces capture Libreville; EP 1
  Hope for resistance seems vanished; EP. 1
  In a coma. H. J. Greenwall; S 241
  Independence disappears; EP ......21; E..........44, EP 82
  Internal conditions deteriorate; EP.... 257
  Italian armistice terms; EP.......... 1
  Laval's downfall; EP.......... 617
  Laval dismissed; German reactions; EP. 645
  Leahy, admiral, W. D., appointed American ambassador; EP 517
  Left and right, betrayal by. H. Pol; S......7, 27; see also EP 221
  "Life as usual," under oppression; EP. 23
  Pétain authorized to promulgate new constitution; E 44
  Pétain on the new constitution; EP.... 351
  Popular front blamed by Vichy government for defeat. P. Cot; S......417; see also 190
  Refugees in; fate. F. Kirchwey; S 124
  Riom "war guilt" trials. H. Greenwall; S 213
  Riom "war guilt" trials; charges against Blum, Reynaud, Mandel; EP.......... 379
  Vichy government:
    And the colonies; EP 181
    "Collaboration" with Germany; E... 436
    Fascist; EP 82
    Nazi demands on Vichy; E.......... 407
    Not the real France. Low; Ct. 417
    Pressure on, to join Axis; EP...... 377
    Publishes anti-Jewish decrees; EP 379; EP 619
    Relations to Martinique obscure; EP.. 490
    To conduct trial against former ministers; EP 102
    Weygand reported at odds with Vichy government; EP 461
Franco, General; in the Caribbean. H. R. Southworth and W. R. Espy; S...... 500
  See also Spain
Frank, Waldo
  American inventory; S........169; see also C.......... 375
Franklin, Massachusetts, intolerance 419
Freedom of speech; M. Bass; C.......... 283
  Ford, H., and free speech; E.......... 352
  See also Civil rights; academic freedom
French, Paul Comly
  On conscientious objectors; C......515 see also C 459
  Resignation of O. G. Villard; C........ 58
Friends of the land. See Forest conservation
Fur workers' union; convictions against leaders reversed; EP 462

G

Gaede, Henry (alias H. G. Curtiss)....... 73
Gandhi, M. K. See India
Gallup polls. See polls
Gaulle, General Charles de. See France; War, European—Dakar
Gedye, G. E. R.; on Russian censorship; EP 231
Generals without ideas; H. S. Ford; S.... 12
George Washington slept here. J. W. Krutch; D 430
Georgia; Ben Hill county, no NLRB for. G. C. Stoney; S 300
Germany
  And Brazil. S. G. Inman; S........ 322
  And the United States; diplomats and consuls as nazi agents; EP......... 378
  "Collaboration" with France; E....... 436
  Hitler "revolution," the. R. G. Swing; S 626
  Hitler threats against America; Demosthenes against Philip as forerunner.. 132
  Hitler's peace proposals. F. Kirchwey; S 65
  Loots occupied regions. K. Hutchison; S ....217; E 381
  Molotov in Berlin; E.....463; EP..... 489
  Nazi economics, versus free markets. C. E Noyes; S........207; see also EP..........203; C.......... 347
  "New order." Hitler's. H. Nicolson; S 651; see also E 519
  Press attacks the United States for aid to Great Britain; EP 645
  Schacht's plan for economic reconstruction 192
  United States freezes funds in German-occupied territory; EP 61
  War-time conditions, according to R. O. Boyer; EP 315
    See also War, European
Gessner, Robert
  Fantasia and other films; C......543; see also 513
Giannini, A. P.; Bank of America, NLRB hands down decision in case; EP.... 122
  See also American bankers association
Gildersleeve, Mina A.
  Oil monopolies; C 180
Gillette, Senator, introduces resolution on oil purchases by the navy; E....548; see also 523
Gogin, John S.
  Approves of postal referendum; C..488; see also C..........403; 459
Gold, Ben, conviction under Sherman act reversed; EP 462
Goldenweiser, A. A., death. R. Benedict; C 284
Goll, Ivan
  Chanson de France. P.......... 274
Government; by postcard. See Postal referendum
  Efficient. G. W. Mason; C.......... 615
  World. See World government
Graham, Frank D.
  For armed intervention; C.......... 311
Granbery, John C.
  Comment on F. Kirchwey's "Religion and democracy"; C....644; see also.. 521
Great Britain
  Agreement with United States on monetary policies; EP.......... 61
  Aid for. F. Kirchwey; S.......... 105
  American aid, vastly increased, urged. F. Kirchwey; S 549
  And the United States, at Singapore. Low; Ct. 391
  Appeal for American steel helmets for British civilians. C. S. Cutting; C.... 616
  British labor and the war. R. Bates; S. 601
  British labor; gains; political conditions. P. Strauss; S..........415; see also C 544
  British labor not responsible for unpreparedness. L. Corey; C 179
  Can Great Britain offer a "new order"? H. Nicolson; S 650
  Can it be saved by the empire? A. Viton; S 356
  Communist party in and the war. P. Strauss; S 296
  Democracy, growth of, in war time. P. Bottome; C......375; P. Strauss, 415
  House of commons debates and rejects peace motion; EP.......... 589
  House of commons discusses mass removal of children; EP.......... 63
  Invasion; Ireland as back door. V. Sheean; see also EP..........141; 200
  Is not licked. J. B. Wilson; C.....403; see also 166
  Letter from London. P. Bottome; C... 375
  Lothian, Lord, declares Great Britain's dollar assets to be nearly exhausted, urges American aid 517
  Morale; E 233
  Morale unimpaired; EP 41
  Needs loans; repeal of Johnson and neutrality acts urged; E.......... 591
  Peace debate fails; EP 589
  Refugees; British policy criticized; F. Kirchwey; S 163
  Taxation and the war; EP.......... 82
  Windsor, duke of, pro-nazi leanings. L. Farago; S 30
    See also British-Japanese relations; Refugees; War, European
Great dictator, the. F. Hoellering; MP.... 401
Greece. See Italy
Green, Elizabeth Z.
  Civil rights in Oklahoma; C.......... 615
Green, W., opposes Smith amendments to Wagner act; EP 143
Greenbaum, Dorothea S.
  Sculptor's guild not AFL affiliate; C..........228; see also.......... 150
Greenwall, Harry J.
  France in a coma; S.......... 241
  Witch hunt at Riom; S.......... 213
Grossman, Benjamin L.
  Comment on F. Kirchwey's "Religion and democracy"; C..........643; see also 521
Group medicine. See Medicine, socialized
Guard, national. See Defense, national
Guérard, Albert
  On resignation of O. G. Villard; C.... 58
Gurs, camp; appeal for help for deportees to. H. S. Leiper; C 616

H

Hacker, Louis M.
  Criticizes G. Myers review of A. Nevins' "John D. Rockefeller." Reply by G. Myers; C ....588; see also 450
Haggin, B. H.
  Articles on music:
    Brazilian music 431
    Chicago symphony orchestra 664
    Critics; S 310
    Goodman, B., plays Mozart 664
    Harris, R.....664; see also C....282, 284
    New friends of music, concert 486
    Pagliacci 664
    Reviewing books 57
    Reviewing reviewers 401
    Schönberg's "Pierrot Lunaire"; ballets and ballet music 587
  Erskine speech at dinner of national committee for music appreciation criticized 282
  Music, recorded; S....20, 38, 57, 118, 139, 159, 178, 199, 225, 254, 310, 346, 374, 401, 431, 458, 486, 514, 542, 614, 642
    Reviews of recorded music praised. E. L. Judkins; C 120
  Phonograph equipment; S......79, 374, 458
  Victor leaflets; S 98
Hague, Frank; decline of. W. Chasan; S... 605
Halifax, Viscount; appointed ambassador; EP 645
  Retention as foreign secretary criticized; E 316
Hamilton, Alice
  Food for conquered Europe; S.....596; see also E....592; C..........283, 459
Hamlin, Talbot; correction of letter 40
  Wright, F. L.; exhibit at Modern museum, New York; A.......... 541
Hansberry versus Lee; supreme court decision. I. F. Stone; S.......... 495
Hargraves, Dan
  Fluorescent lighting; S....445; see also C 543
Harlan county miners, appeal for. M. Shapiro; C 644
Harris, Roy; attacked by B. H. Haggin.282; see also C 284
Hart, Mervin K.; on democracy. F. Kirchwey; S....260; see also.......... 302
Havana conference. See Latin America
Health. See Insurance; Selective service
Helmets, steel, and other war supplies; appeal for. C. S. Cutting; C 616
Hicks, Granville
  Blind alley of marxism, the; S....264; see also C 404
Hillman, Sidney; forms labor policy advisory committee; E 64
Hindus; naturalization for. K. R. Samras; C 516
Hitler, Adolf. See Germany
Hoellering, Franz
  Reviews of motion pictures:
    Fantasia ....513; see also C........ 543
    Great dictator, the 401
Höhne, Herbert, arrested in Los Angeles... 153
Hold on to your hats; D....281; see also.... 641
Holden, Sheila
  On resignation of O. G. Villard; C.... 60
Holding companies. See Railroads
Holt, Hamilton, on the presidency; EP.... 63
Holt, senator Rush D., bolts democratic party on third-term issue; EP 63
Hoover, H.; and Polish relief. M. Pate; C 459; see also C....283; 592; 596; 597
Housing; and defense. C. Abrams; S 359
  And relief for Europe; C....283; see also C 459
  Hansberry versus Lee, supreme court decision. I. F. Stone; S 495

Howard, Roy, and the Tennessee press. J. Daniels; S 394
Hudson, Charles. 73
Hull and the pact. I. F. Stone; S....291; see also E 290
Hull at the Havana conference. W. R. Espy; S 107
Hume, Robert R.
  On conscientious objectors; C.....459; see also EP ....350; C.........488, 515
Hungary
  Claims on Transylvania postponed; EP. 41
  Gets a Sudetenland. A. Kuh; S........ 243
  Receives part of Transylvania in Axis settlement; EP 181
Hutchbison, Keith
  Defense and taxes; S 92
  Everybody's business. See Everybody's business
  Excess profits, tax bill; S.......... 392
  Good neighbor, good customer; S 14
  Inflation myth; S 504
  New York stock exchange rules on multiple trading, and the SEC; S...... 447
  Price of money, the; S 52
  Prices and bottlenecks; S 271
  Railroad congestion, danger of; S...... 560
  Scientific looting; S 217
  Steel famine ahead? S 633
  Three per cent and no risk; S 328
Huxley, Julian
  Life in London; S 503

I

Ickes, Harold; open letter to. J. Daniels; S.. 560
Immigration. See Refugees
In the wind....15, 33, 53, 74, 93, 113, 134, 154, 173, 194, 218, 245, 272, 302, 329, 365, 393, 420, 448, 476, 505, 533, 561, 607, 634, 659
India
  Bhane, Vinoba; arrested in Ghandi's new passive resistance campaign; EP. 379
  Hindus; naturalization for. K. R. Samras; C 516
  National congress cool to viceroy's "free partnership" offer; EP........ 122
  National congress withdraws offer to cooperate with Great Britain; EP 231
  Nehru imprisoned; repercussions through India predicted; EP 433
Indo-China
  Japanese demands; E 103
  Japanese threats. K. Y. Chen; S 239
  United States stake in; E 234
  Vichy government promises Japanese troops right of way; EP 202
  See also Chinese-Japanese war
Industrial insurance. See Insurance
Industry. See Business
Industry, conscription of. See Defense, national
Inflation. See Finance, public
Injunctions. See Labor unions
Inman, Samuel Guy
  Brazil of Vargas; S 322
Insurance, health; survey proves efficiency of group medicine; E 124
  Industrial life; survey by SEC and WPA; EP 182
Intellectuals, attitude of, and war. M. Lerner; S 88
Interstate migration. See Migration
Iorga, Nicolas; slain by iron guard in Rumania; EP 545
Ireland; back door to invasion; V. Sheean; S....146; see also EP..........141; 200
Iron. See Steel and iron
Isolationism. See America first committee; No foreign war committee; Pacifism
It happens on ice. R. B.; D 374
Italy
  African campaign. Low; Ct. 358
  Armistice terms for France; EP 1
  Army bogged down in Greek campaign; EP 433
  Army suffers setback in Greece; EP... 489
  Badoglio, Marshal, dismissed; EP...... 589
  British attack on Italian fleet in Taranto harbor; EP 489
  Consequences of setback in Greek campaign; EP 461
  Debacle in Egypt; EP 620
  Discontent; E 548
  Drive on British Somaliland; EP...... 120
  Mussolini's plans for fascist Latin federation; E 44
  Provokes Greece; EP 141
  Reverses; EP 589
  Vatican-Axis diplomacy. G. La Piana; S 530

J

J. L. G.
  Food for Europe; C 282
Jackson, attorney general, R. H.
  And dangers of new anti-sabotage and anti-espionage bill; E 621
  Blames Vultee strike on communists; E 520
  Requested by defense commission to defer action against oil companies; EP.. 286
  Ruling on Wagner act violators creates controversy; EP 314
  Ruling on Wagner act violators and defense contracts. I. F. Stone; S 355
Jameson, Storm, and others
  On war as threat to freedom of conscience; C 80
Japan
  Aggression in the Far East; E.....4; E ....43; E 103
  American steel and iron exports under license; checking of copper and zinc exports urged; EP 618
  Anglo-American groups agree to supply oil from Dutch East Indies; EP 491
  Axis-Japanese pact; EP..288; E..290; see also EP 285
  Axis-Japanese pact threat to Russia; EP 313
  Cautious regarding southward expansion; EP 546
  Entrance into the axis; E....290; S... 291
  Konoye forms totalitarian cabinet; EP. 62
  Konoye rules out one-party system; EP. 182
  Monroe doctrine for Asia, proclamation of; E 4
  Pact with Russia, chances of; EP...... 406
  Shake-up in diplomatic service eliminates moderates; EP 162
  Sincerity of commitments to Axis doubted. F. Utley; S 320
  See also British-Japanese relations
Japanese-American relations
  American marines to defend Shanghai in place of retiring British; EP 142
  American shipments to Japan continue despite loan to China; EP 590
  Anti-Japanese Americans expelled from Shanghai by Wang Ching-Wei; EP.. 62
  Appeasement of Japan opposed; M. T. Tchou; S 46
  Embargoes:
    Effect on Japan; E 353
    Exports of oil and scrap iron to Japan without license prohibited; EP ... 81
    Partial; EP....62; E ....103, 104; EP ....142; EP 618
    Scrap iron and steel institute on effects; EP 462
  Hull and the Axis-Japanese pact. I. F. Stone; S....291; see also E....288, 290
  Japan's great bluff. F. Utley; S........ 320
  Japan's move into Indo-China condemned; EP 257
  Presidential order on scrap licensing, not an embargo; EP 142
  State department asks Americans to leave China and Japan; E 353
  Threat to American security; E 4
  Vigorous American policy in far east urged. M. S. Stewart; S 390
Japanese-British relations. See British-Japanese relations
Jehovah's witnesses. H. R. Southworth; S.. 110
Jews
  And the Christian question. N. S.; C.. 515
  Anti-semitism:
    Jews not the only victims of persecution. W. Zukerman; S 443
    McWilliams convicted; EP....23; see also 112
    Molly Pitcher Christian women's brigade, anti-semitic organization..... 533
    Persecution in Norway; F. D. C 227
    Vichy's Anti-Jewish decrees; EP.... 619
    War, the; and anti-semitism. W. Zukerman; S 443
  "Christian question," the. N. S.; letter. 515
  Day, the, according to Jewish belief. M. J. Bloom; C 459
Joel, George
  Radio quiz programs; S 474
Joesten, Joachim
  Did surrender save Denmark? S...... 298
  Russia revisited; S 631
Johnny Belinda; D....281; see also 641
Johnson, Hugh; column dropped by Chicago *Times* for attacks on Roosevelt 113
Johnson and neutrality acts; repeal urged; EP 618
Jones, Frank, Jr.
  Philip H. Mankin dismissed from state teachers' college, Murfreesboro; C...... 120
Journey to Jerusalem. J. W. Krutch; D.... 373
Judkins, Elizabeth L.
  Praises H. B. Haggin's reviews of records; C 120
Jupiter laughs. J. W. Krutch; D 253

K

Kadison, Alexander
  Comment on F. Kirchwey's "Religion and democracy"; C..643; see also.... 521
Kamp, Joseph, fascist activities 420
Kaye, S. R.
  University of Michigan, expulsions; S.. 215
Kellogg, Charles W.; EP 42
Kelly, Edsel
  Battle for tin; S 472
Kennedy, Joseph P.; and appeasement. F. Kirchwey; S 593
  Repudiates interview with L. M. Lyons; EP ....545; see also 561, 593
Kent, Victoria, Spanish republican, turned over to Franco by the gestapo; EP .. 646
Kilpatrick, Carroll
  Southern regionalism; C....311; see also 195
Kirchwey, Freda
  Appeal for action; S 623
  Appeasing Franco; S.......... 493
  Campaign notes; S 354
  Conscription bill; S 184
  Hart on democracy; S....260; see also. 302
  Help Britain win; S 105
  In defense of refugees; S 163
  Let the campaign start; S 45
  Needed—an American league of nations; S 24
  Opposes draft; E 233
  Opposition to labor grows in Washington; EP 102
  Peace maneuvers; S 65
  Pre-mortem on Willkie; S 317
  Refugees trapped in France; how to aid them; S 124
  Religion and democracy; S....521; see also C 643, 644
  Reuther plan for mass plane production. I. F. Stone; S 624
  S.O.S. from Great Britain; S 549
  State department versus refugees; S... 648
  There is no alternative to conscription; S ....85; see also 86; C 200
  To the President-elect; S....437; see also C 588
  Trend toward scuttling of labor legislation seen; E 25
  Unity for what? S ..465; see also C... 543
  Watch Joe Kennedy! S.......... 593
  Willkie and appeasement; S.......... 204
  Willkie reneges; S....411; see also C 515; 533
  Willkie's speech at Elwood; S 144
Knox, Frank; appointment confirmed; EP... 23
Knudsen, William S.
  And airplane contracts 189
  And the defense program 10
  Reveals defense lag; EP 617
Krueger, Maynard and N. Thomas; candidacy supported by Independent committee for Thomas and Krueger; C... 283
  Nominated by Socialist convention. M. Coleman; C 432
Krutch, Joseph Wood
  Decline and fall of the drama; D 512
  Reviews of plays:
    Boys and girls together....345; see also 641
    Cabin in the sky ....458; see also... 641
    Charley's aunt..430; see also....512, 641
    Corn is green, the...585; see also.... 642
    Delicate story 641
    Fledgling 585
    George Washington slept here....... 430
    Hold on to your hats...281; see also. 641
    Johnny Belinda; S....281; see also . 641
    Journey to Jerusalem 373
    Jupiter laughs; D 253
    Panama Hattie ....513; see also 642
    Quiet please 513
    Suzanna and the elders 457
    Twelfth night ....540; see also 642
Kuh, Anton
  Hungary gets a Sudetenland; S 243
Kullgren, Lillian 73

L

Labor
  British; and the war. R. Bates; S 601
  British; not responsible for unpreparedness. L. Corey; C 179
  Defense and jobs. E. Lonigan; S....10; see also E 233
  Gains in Great Britain. P. Strauss; S 415; see also C 544
  Labor policy advisory committee formed by Hillman; E 64
  Lag in defense; labor disputes blamed; EP 617
  Madden, J. Warren, record. I. F. Stone; S 383
  Murray's plan for strengthening defense program. I. F. Stone; S 650
  Must act. I. B. Fontana; C 487
Labor unions
  Black list condemned by circuit court; EP 162
  High initiation fees; EP 619
  Supreme court for elimination of injunctions; EP 547
  Unity between C.I.O. and A.F. of L. urged; EP 64, 490
  See also National labor relations board
Landsberg, H.
  Villard, O. G., and the war; C 488
La Piana, George
  Vatican-Axis diplomacy; S 530
Largo Caballero, and other Spanish loyalists arrested in unoccupied France; EP.. 646

- Lash, Joseph, attacks on. 659
- Lasher, I. D.
  - McWilliams opposed in Yorkville; C... 256
- Laski, Harold J.
  - Air raids on London; S 325
  - Introduction to letter by H. Adams to Sir H. Maine 94
- Latin America
  - Air mail. F. Rosenan; C 488
  - Economic union with the United States discussed. K. Hutchinson; S 14
  - Export-import bank grants extensive loans; EP 287
  - Franco in; EP 61
  - Franco in the Caribbean. H. R. Southworth and W. R. Espy; S 500
  - Havana conference:
    - Achievements. W. R. Espy; S 107
    - Begins; EP 42
    - Hull's proposals; EP 61
    - Limited success; E 84
    - Proposals. F. Kirchwey; S 24
  - Improvement of relations with United States, need for; EP 2
  - Joint action with United States needed; EP 61
  - League of nations, American, needed. F. Kirchwey; S 24
  - Nazis in; E ....262; EP 287
  - Spanish phalanx, aims in. H. R. Southworth and W. R. Espy; S 500
  - Trade with; results of Havana conference. W. R. Espy; S 107
  - See also names of countries
- Latin-catholic block of totalitarian states. G. La Piana; S 530
- Laval, Pierre. See France
- Leahy, Admiral William D.; appointed ambassador; EP 517
- Lederman, Minna
  - ASCAP and BMI; controversy; S 655
- Leiper, Henry Smith
  - Appeal for people deported to camp de Gurs; C 616
- Lerner, Max
  - Intellectuals, attitude of, and war; S 88; see also C 228
  - War as revolution, the; S ....68, 88, 129; see also C ....200; C 228
- Levine, David
  - Bronx housewives and colored workers; C 100
- Lewis, John L.
  - And appeasement 593
  - Indorsement of Willkie compared to Soviet-German pact; EP....405; see also C 487
  - Indorses Willkie. I. F. Stone; S ..413; see also EP....405; see also C 487
  - Prestige declines; relations with Murray; R. Stein; S 172
  - Resigns; E ....519; see also 524
  - *Social Justice;* appeal in, to continue as C.I.O. president 533
  - Speculations on retirement; EP 461
- Lewis, Kathryn; on America first committee; EP....314; see also 593
- Life insurance. See Insurance
- Life with father; D 642
- Lighting, fluorescent. B.M.; C 543
- Lilienthal, D. and Willkie; J. Daniels; S.... 155
- Lindbergh, Anne; R. G. Swing replies to her "Wave of the future;" S ....626; see also 363
- Lindbergh, Charles A., appeasement speech at Chicago; EP ..101; see also 193, 593
  - Endorsed by American fascists 193
- Lippmann, Walter; and Japanese-American relations 46
- London. See War, European—Air Raids
- Long, Charlotte I., in WPA purge; EP.... 2
- Lonigan, Edna
  - Does defense mean jobs? S 10
- Looting by Nazis. See War, European
- Lothian, Marquess of; death; speculations on successor; EP 617
  - Declares Great Britain's dollar assets nearly exhausted; EP 517
- Louisiana purchase; D 642
- Low, David
  - Cartoons:
    - African campaign 358
    - Blockade, British 131
    - Dream and nightmare 529
    - Irish argument 147
    - Isolation 91
    - London sleeps 442
    - Musical chairs in the Balkans 190
    - One year of war 297
    - Orders and decorations 499
    - Refugees 238
    - Speedway model 557
    - That's not France 417
  - Illustrations to "The flying visit" by P. Fleming; B 175
- Loyalty, demand for. T. A. Tenor; C 180
- Lowenfels, Walter
  - On G. Hicks's article on Marxism; C 404; see also 264
- Luce, Henry C.; opposes third term; C..... 40
- Lyons, Louis M.; interview with Joseph P. Kennedy; EP ....545; see also ..561, 594

M

- MacLeish, A.; criticism of. E. Winter; C... 40
- MacLeod, Norman
  - Period piece; P 535
- MacNeice, Louis
  - Ear, the; P 220
  - Novelette; P 422
- Madden, J. Warren. See National labor relations board
- Madgearu, Virgil, slain by iron guard in Rumania; EP 545
- Magazines, reviews of................336, 610
- Mail, air, to South America. F. Rosenan; C. 488
- Maine, Sir Henry; letter from Henry Adams 94
- Makkai, John, Hungarian nazi supporter arrives 33
- Malcolmson, Charles
  - Farley to Flynn; S ..106; see also C.. 179
  - Third-term speculations; S 26
  - Washington expects war; S....166; see also EP....161; C 375; 403
- Mandel, Georges. See France—Riom trials
- Mankin, Philip H.; dismissed from State teachers' college, Murfreesboro. F. Jones, Jr.; C 120
- Mann, Erika
  - They don't know London! S 361
- Marcus, Julius
  - Praises *The Nation's* new column, Within the gates; C 160
- Maritime commission. See United States
- Maritime unions. See United States
- Marshall, Margaret
  - Mexican journey; S 115
- Marshall, Verne; forms No foreign war committee; EP 646
- Martin, Anne
  - On O. G. Villard's resignation; C..... 160
- Martinique's relations to Vichy government and United States; EP 490
- Marxism, blind alley of. G. Hicks; S...264; see also C 404
- Mason, Genevieve W.
  - On resignation of O. G. Villard; C 58
  - Present administration praised; C 615
- Matthews, Herbert L.; expelled from Rome; EP 313
- May, representative; to introduce bill for repeal of Johnson act; EP 618
- McCarter, T. N., on America first committee; EP 314
- McCormick, J. W.; elected house majority leader; EP 286
- McGrady, Edward F.; and the Ford contract. I. F. Stone; S 595
- McLaughlin-Coudert bill; board of education, New York, defers approval; EP...... 407
- McNary, Charles L.
  - Attack on Willkie, in speech, two years ago ....173; correction 329
  - Chances in the northwest. R. L. Neuberger; S 268
  - Record. C. Malcolmson; S 26
- McWilliams, Joseph E.
  - And M. K. Hart; E 260
  - Becomes secretive 533
  - Candidacy for congress. C 112, 193
  - Convicted for making anti-semitic remarks; EP 23
  - Opposed in Yorkville. I. D. Lasher; C. 256
- Medicine, socialized; efficiency as compared with older methods; C 124
- Mediterranean front. See War, European
- Mellon interests campaign against development of St. Lawrence river power; E 464
- Memphis, Tennessee; vice in. J. Daniels; S. 660
- Mexico
  - Agreement with Vichy government for admission of Spanish refugees; EP.. 183
  - Almazán claims election victory; EP... 42
  - Almazán plot in Monterrey uncovered; chances of revolution scotched; EP .. 315
  - Almazán supported by American oil interests and Nazis. R. Bates; S ..210; see also EP 202
  - Almazán's Texas junta. C. C. Munz; S. 270
  - And the United States:
    - Agreement; EP 490
    - American press supports Almazán; EP 202
    - Avila Camacho, backed by United States state department; EP 230
    - Oil threatens to upset relations; EP.. 162
    - Relations; EP 546
    - Relations with, and Standard oil. I. F. Stone; S ....523; see also E 548
  - Avila Camacho; inauguration, and Henry Wallace; EP 546
  - Avila Camacho victory conceded; EP .. 42
  - Both Almazán and Avila Camacho claim election victory; EP 22
  - Election and disorders; EP 41
  - Election results; riots; H. Block. S.... 71
  - Journey in. M. Marshall; S 115
  - New chance. H. Block; S 71
  - Political conditions. R. Bates; S ..210; see also EP 202
  - Wallace, H. A., represents United States at Camacho's inauguration; EP ....490; EP 546
- Meyer, Annie Nathan
  - Resignation of O. G. Villard; C 60
- Michigan, university of. See Academic freedom
- Migrants. J. Daniels; S 114
- Migration in California, and defense. J. Daniels; S 534
- Migration, interstate; hearings of house committee on; E 622
- Milk wagon drivers' case, Chicago; supreme court reverses ruling of circuit court; EP 547
- Military strategy. H. Rosinski; S 440
- Millis, Harry A.; appointed chairman of National labor relations board; EP... 491
- Milton, George Fort; and the conviction of the Chattanooga *News-Free Press;* EP 618
- Miners; appeal for imprisoned Harlan county men. M. Shapiro; C 644
  - Coal mine safety. See Neely-Keller bill
- Mitchell, M. E., wins contest for college students on "A proposed solution for the share-cropper problem"; EP 288
- Molly Pitcher Christian women's brigade, anti-semitic organization 533
- Molotov, V. M. See Union of soviet socialist republics
- Money. See **Finance, public**
- Monopolies
  - Aluminum company of America denies complete monopoly; EP 143
  - American tobacco company, attack on laws; EP 83
  - ASCAP and BMI controversy. M. Lederman; S 655
  - Chattanooga *News-Free Press* convicted of violation of Sherman act; EP...... 618
  - Fur workers' union leaders; convictions under Sherman act reversed; EP 462
  - German ownership of patents believed throttling American war production; E 123
  - Oil monopolies. M. A. Gildersleeve; C.. 180
  - Prices and bottlenecks. K. Hutchison; S 272
- Mooney, James D. 533
- Moore, E. A.
  - Comment on F. Kirchwey's "Religion and democracy"; C ..643; see also.. 521
- Morley, S. G.
  - Atlantic ocean no safeguard; C 256
- Morrow, Irving F.
  - Third term considerations; C 160
- Moving pictures; Fantasia and other films. R. Gessner; C ....543; see also 513
  - Weekly film reviews in *The Nation* urged. E. S. Newman; C 376
  - See also Hoellering, F. (for reviews)
- Muenzinger, Karl F.
  - Praises F. Kirchwey's editorial "To the president-elect"; C...588; see also... 437
- Munich in Wall street; E 25
- Munz, Charles Curtis
  - Almazán's Texas junta; S 270
  - Comment on F. Kirchwey's "Religion and democracy"; C....643; see also.. 521
  - Will the farmer vote for Willkie? S 186; see also C 256
- Mural painting. K. Rosenfeld; A 485
- Murphy, Donald R.
  - On C. C. Munz' article "Will the farmer vote for Willkie?" C....256; see also 186
- Murray, Philip
  - Accepts presidency. R. Stein; S....524; see also E 519
  - Of the C.I.O. by R. Stein; S 172
  - Plan for strengthening defense program. I. F. Stone; S 650
  - Talk with. R. Stein; S 629
- Music
  - Articles by B. H. Haggin:
    - Ballet music and ballets 587
    - Brazilian 431
    - Dinner of national committee for music appreciation; annual award; S 282
    - Harris, R., attacked by B. H. Haggin 282; see also C 284
    - New friends of music, concert 486
    - Schönberg's "Pierrot Lunaire"....... 587
  - ASCAP and BMI; controversy over radio music; M. Lederman; S 655
  - Books on, reviewed by B. H. Haggin ... 57
  - Petrillo, J. C., president of the American federation of musicians, restrained from barring musical artists; EP 182
- Music, recorded. See Haggin, B. H.
- Mussolini, Benito. See Italy

N

- N.L.R.B. See National labor relations board
- Nash, Roy
  - Negro artillerymen; C 375
- *Nation, The*
  - Criticized by R. W. France; C 80
  - Essay contest for college students, sponsored by *The Nation* and the educators' committee for national sharecroppers' week, won by M. E. Mitchell; EP... 288

  - Praise for articles, "The Enemy Within." J. Marcus; C 160
  - Villard, O. G., and *The Nation* advertisement of his letter backing Willkie; EP 434
    - Letters on his resignation..........58, 160
  - Willkie withdraws article. F. Kirchwey; S ....411; see also C 515, 533
- National association of manufacturers annual congress of industry, and school textbooks; EP 618
- National defense. See Defense, national
- National guard needs streamlining. D. Velie; C 487
- National labor relations board
  - And D. Saposs accused by Smith committee; EP....102; EP 287
  - Boston circuit court of appeals upholds decision in Waumbec case; EP....... 162
  - Court decisions in Bethlehem steel and Ford cases; loophole in Wagner act seen; E 352
  - Ford; engine contract awarded by defense commission contains no provision for observance of Wagner act; EP ... 462
  - Ford; second contract awarded to, despite labor violations. I. F. Stone; S.. 595
  - Hands down decisions in Ford, Giannini, Woolworth cases; EP 122
  - Jackson's ruling on Wagner act violators and defense contracts. I. F. Stone; S.. 355
  - Jackson's ruling on Wagner act violators creates controversy; EP 314
  - Madden and morale; his reappointment urged; I. F. Stone; S 383
  - Madden's reappointment doubted 33
  - Madden's reappointment urged; EP 258
  - Millis, H. A., appointed chairman; EP.. 491
  - No NLRB for Ben Hill county. G. C. Stoney; S 300
  - Saposs, D. J., and the Economic research division to be eliminated; threat to division in rider to deficiency appropriation bill; EP 287
  - Saposs dismissed; economic research division abolished; EP 349
  - Wagner act amendments blocked; EP .. 143
  - Wagner act and national defense. I. F. Stone; S 355
    - See also Republic steel
- Native at large, a. See Daniels, Jonathan
- "Native son," play by P. Green and R. Wright. J. Daniels; S 114
- Naturalization. See Hindus.
- Navy speed-up act. See EP 81
- Nazism. See Fascism and nazism
- Neely-Keller bill; enactment of, improbable; EP 379
  - Waiting for action 74
- Negroes
  - Army discrimination; EP 378
  - Artillerymen in the world war. R. Nash; C 375
  - Hansberry versus Lee, supreme court decision. I. F. Stone; S 495
  - Lynchings. J. Daniels; S 219
  - Migration; "Native son," play by P. Green and R. Wright. By J. Daniels; S 114
  - Offord's article, "Slave markets in the Bronx." D. Levine; reply by C. Offord; C 100
  - Paynes, O., killed in Texas slaying 33
  - Rejected by the United States air corps 154
  - Supreme court decision sets free a Negro convicted of rape, because of discrimination in picking jury; EP 591
  - Waller, O., appeal for. F. Becker; C .. 516
  - Waller, O., case of. J. Daniels; S...... 635
- Nehru, Jawaharlal. See India
- Netherlands East Indies. See Dutch East Indies
- Netherlands West Indies; prisoner in the; S. R.; C 227
- Neuberger, Richard L.
  - McNary in the northwest; S 268
  - Willkie's tour of the west fails; S...... 384
- Neutrality and Johnson acts; repeal urged; EP 618
- Neutrality laws unit; dangers of; E 621
- New deal. See Roosevelt, F. D.—Administration
- *New Republic, The;* Willkie supplement praised by *The Nation;* EP 182
- New York *Herald Tribune* suppresses D. Thompson's column; EP 349
- New York *PM;* communists on staff charged. 53
- New York stock exchange; ruling on multiple trading; and the SEC. K. Hutchison; S 447
- New York *Times;* endorses Willkie; EP 258
  - Rome correspondent, H. L. Matthews, expelled; EP 313
- Newman, Edward S.
  - Weekly film reviews in *The Nation* urged; C 376
- Newman, Preston
  - Late Pine Top Smith, the; P.......... 478
- Newspapers
  - American newspaper guild; New York *Times;* negotiations for contract delayed; EP 102
    - Convention at Memphis; H. Carter; S. 48
    - Organizing advertising solicitors; EP. 102
  - *Editor and publisher* poll shows newspapers favor Willkie; EP 161
  - Italian; pro-Fascist, in the United States 364
  - Nieman fellowships at Harvard. J. Daniels; S 195
  - Open letter to H. Ickes, and the press. J. Daniels; S 562
  - Press loses the election. I. F. Stone; S. 467
  - Tennessee; and the presidential campaign; J. Daniels; S 394
  - Workers as "professionals"; EP 102
    - See also names of newspapers, under names of cities
- Nicolson, Harold
  - Can Great Britain offer a "new order"? S 651
- Nieman fellowships. See Newspapers
- No foreign war committee, formed by V. Marshall; EP 646
- Norris-La Guardia act. See Milk wagon drivers' case
- Norway
  - German soldiers in 609
  - No treason in. C. A. Clausen; C 119
  - Under the nazis; F. D.; C........... 227
- Noyes, Charles E.
  - Economics of freedom; S ....555; see also 552
  - Nazi challenge to democracy; S ....207; see also EP ....203; C 347
  - Reply to his article "Where trade means safety." L. A. Riley; C 39

O

- Odets, Clifford
  - Criticizes H. B. Haggin's views on R. Harris; C ....284; Haggin's reply.. 282
- Offord, Carl
  - Answers charges of anti-semitism; C... 100
- Oil
  - Anglo-American groups agree to supply Japan with oil from Dutch East Indies; EP 491
  - Defense commission urges attorney general Jackson to postpone action against oil companies; EP 286
  - Gillette, Senator, G. M., introduces resolution regarding oil purchases by the navy; E ....548; see also 523
  - Mexican oil rejected by navy department; accepts higher bid by Standard oil. I. F. Stone; S 523
  - Monopolies. M. A. Gildersleeve; C 180
  - Threatens to upset United States-Mexican relations; EP 162
- Oklahoma; civil rights in. E. Z. Green; C ....615; EP 647
- Olden, Rudolf, drowns in torpedoing of *City of Benares;* EP 259
- Olson, Peter
  - On C. Malcolmson's "Farley to Flynn"; C ..179; see also 106
- O'Mahoney, Senator J. C.; efforts to keep TNEC report to SEC secret, fail; EP 314
- Oran; British attack on French fleet; EP... 21
- *Osservatore Romano,* the, and the war. See.. 530
- Ovington, Mary White
  - Comment on C. E. Noyes article "Nazi challenge to democracy"; C ....347; see also 207

P

- *PM.* See New York *PM*
- Pacific ocean. See Far east; also names of countries
- Pacifism; and isolationism, among students. E. T. Berdahl; C 80
  - Pro-communist and pro-fascist peace groups in the United States.....245; EP 379
    - See also Selective service act
- Pan-American trade program. K. Hutchison; S 14
  - See also Latin America
- Panama Hattie. J. W. Krutch; D ....512; see also 641
- Parker, Fletcher D.
  - On resignation of O. G. Villard; C.. 60
- Pate, Maurice
  - Hoover and Polish relief; C ....459; see also 283; 592; 596
- Patiño, Simon. See Tin
- Pegler, Westbrook; on refugees; EP 647
- P.E.N. Club, international; London members appeal to writers abroad; C 70
  - War against. J. Dos Passos; C 644
- Persecution; not of Jews only. W. Zukerman; S 443
- Pétain, Marshal. See France
- Petrillo, James C.; restrained from barring musical artists; EP 182
- Petroleum. See Oil
- Phillips, Charles 73
- Pilzer, Avra
  - Postal referendum regarded as dangerous; C ....459; see also C 488
- Pinchot, Gifford
  - Why I am for Roosevelt 389
- Pinkham, H. W.
  - Conscientious objectors; C 488
- *P M.* See New York *P M*
- Poems
  - Autumn 1940. W. H. Auden 563
  - Blackout; B. R. Redman 245
  - But we who waited. D. C. Dejong.... 661
  - *Chanson de France.* I. Goll 274
  - Dance piece. B. Belitt................ 535
  - Descent in a parachute. B. Belitt 535
  - Ear, the. L. MacNeice 220
  - Late Pine Top Smith, the. P. Newman.. 478
  - Novelette. L. MacNeice 422
  - Period piece. N. MacLeod 535
- Pol, Heinz
  - Betrayal of France; S ......7, 27; see also EP 2, 21
  - Open letter to W. C. Bullitt on refugees; S 167
- Pollak, Walter Heilprin; death. Z. Chafee, jr.; S 318
- Polle, E.
  - Gestapo in Denmark; C 39
- Polls
  - *Editor and publisher;* shows newspapers favor Willkie; EP 161
  - *Fortune* questions executives on foreign relations 204
  - Gallup and *Fortune* polls predict Roosevelt victory; EP 406
  - Gallup polls; and the press 420
  - Gallup reports confusing; EP 378
  - Government by poll. A. Pilzer; C...... 459
- Pope, Generoso; and Fascist propaganda.... 364
- Popular front. See France
- Portela, Valladares and other Spanish loyalists arrested in unoccupied France; EP 646
- Portinari, Candido; Brazilian artist; exhibit at Modern Museum, New York. P. Rosenfeld; A 402
- Possony, Stefan Th.
  - Limited food relief for Europe; S ..597; see also ..596; E ....592; C ...283, 459
- *Post,* Washington. See Washington *Post*
- Postal referendum. W. P. Cortelyou; C..403; see also C 459, 488
- Potash, Irving; conviction under Sherman act reversed; EP.................. 462
- Potter, L. B.
  - Barter trade, dangers of; C 256
- Presidential campaign
  - Axis opposed to Roosevelt; EP......... 313
  - Campaign notes. F. Kirchwey; S 354
  - Communist party candidates barred from ballot in eleven states; EP 350
  - Flynn succeeds Farley as chairman of Democratic national committee. C. Malcolmson; S ....106; see also C.. 179
  - Honest campaign favored. M. Schulman; C 119
  - Isolationism, and the miracle of the rabbi; EP 379
  - Issues; need for debate. F. Kirchwey; S 45
  - Japan joins Axis; effects on campaign; EP 285
  - Notes. F. Kirchwey; S 354
  - Polls. See Polls
  - Post-election thoughts; unity needed. F. Kirchwey; S 465
  - Pre-mortem on Willkie. F. Kirchwey; S 317
  - Press loses election, the. I. F. Stone; S.. 467
  - Republican party and national defense; E 408
  - Roosevelt, E., acceptance of captain's commission becomes campaign issue; EP 315
  - Roosevelt, President, informs Farley of his intentions; EP 22
  - Roosevelt nominated. R. Bendiner; S... 66
  - Socialists back on the map. McA. Coleman; C 432
  - Southerners and the election. J. Daniels; S 330; 506
  - Tennessee press. J. Daniels; S 394
  - Thomas, N., and M. Krueger; candidacy supported by Independent committee for Thomas and Krueger; C 283
    - Nominated by Socialist convention. M. Coleman; C 432
  - Third term. See Roosevelt, F. D.
  - To the president-elect. F. Kirchwey; S 437; see also C 588
  - Unity: the freedom to disagree. J. Daniels; S ....477; see also 465
  - We the People for Willkie 420
  - Where McNary heads the ticket. R. L. Neuberger; S 268
  - Why I am for Roosevelt. Statements by J. Chamberlain; J. G. Winant; Van W. Brooks; G. Pinchot; J. N. Rosenberg 396
  - Why Roosevelt won; E 435
  - Willkie, Wendell L.
    - And race prejudice. F. Kirchwey; S.. 354
    - Backed by Lewis; I. F. Stone; S 413; see also EP ....405; C 487

    Campaign pledges; EP 349
    Nominated. R. Bendiner; S ....6; see also E 3
    Speaks at Elwood. F. Kirchwey; S... 144
    Speeches. B. Wertheim; S 292
    Tour of the west fails. R. L. Neuberger; S 385
      See also Roosevelt, F. D.; Willkie, Wendell L. and names of parties
Press, the. See Newspapers
Prices. See Business.
Primary elections. See Elections
Priorities and defense. I. F. Stone; S...... 439
Profits. See Business
Profits, excess. See Excess profits
Prout, Captain John T., Jr.; acquitted by military tribunal; EP 547
Public housing. See Housing

Q

Quiet please. J. W. Krutch; D 513
Quiz programs. See Radio

R

R., S.
  Prisoner of the Dutch; C 227
Rabbi, miracle of, and isolationism; EP..379; see also C 459
Radio; Italian propaganda in the United States 364
  Quiz programs. G. Joel; S 474
    See also Music
Railroads; congestion, dangers of. K. Hutchison; S 560
  Holding companies; federal regulation; EP 82
Rankin, Jeannette, defeats Thor Kelson, J. 112
Rapp-Coudert committee, criticized; EP..... 590
Rauschning, Hermann, in "The voice of destruction" 51
Raynolds, Robert
  Unity of common sense; C....543; see also 465, 468
Recorded music. See Haggin, B. H.
Redman, Ben Ray
  Blackout; P 245
Referendum, postal. See Postal referendum
Refugees
  American freighter leaves Marseilles without refugees; EP 83
  And the state department. F. Kirchwey; S 648
  Appeal for. J. Dos Passos; C 644
  Are our allies. F. Kirchwey; S 4
  Can be assets. N. Angell; S 236
  Congress urged to legalize the sending of rescue ships to Europe; EP 63
  Duty of the emigré, the. J. A. del Vayo; S 599
  From New York in 1776. O. L. Sawyer; C 376
  In defense of. F. Kirchwey; S........ 163
  In the Netherlands West Indies; S. R.; C 227
  Many children drown in torpedoing of *City of Benares;* EP 259
  Mexico agrees to admit Spanish refugees from France; EP 183
  No spies among. H. Pol; S 167
  Pegler, Westbrook, on refugees; EP... 647
  Revision of immigration laws suggested. F. Kirchwey; S 4
  Royal; EP 350
  Trapped in France; how to aid them; F. Kirchwey; S 124
  War and refugee relief instead of Christmas gifts; C 616
  War against persecution. J. Dos Passos; C 644
Regional religion. C. Kilpatrick; C........ 311
Religion and democracy. F. Kirchwey; S 521; see also C 643, 644
Republic steel, supreme court decision in case; E 492
Republican party
  And national defense; E 408
  Willkie creates organizational difficulties. J. L. Reynolds; S 235
  Willkie nominated. R. Bendiner; S 6
    See also Presidential campaign
Reuther, Walter P.; plan for mass plane production. I. F. Stone; S 624
Reyher, Rebecca Hourwich
  On resignation of O. G. Villard; C 58
Reynaud, Paul. See France—Riom trials
Reynolds, J. Lacey
  Willkie, G.O.P.'s problem child; S.... 235
Richardson, Conwell M.
  On resignation of O. G. Villard; C 60
Ridder, Joseph E., and defense............ 188
Rieber, Torkild, resigns from Texas company ....153; also 154
Ried, Friedrich, should be expelled; EP..83; see also 101
Rights, human and property. M.T.A.; C.... 160
Riley, Lewis A.
  Faith in democracy; C 375
  Gold into food; reply to C. E. Noyes' article "Where trade means safety"... 39
Riom trials. See France
Robert, L. W., junior, resigns as secretary of Democratic national committee; EP 286
Roman catholic church; fascist propaganda against. 533
  Political role of G. La Piana; S 530
Roosevelt, Elliott; acceptance of captain's commission creates controversy; EP .. 315
Roosevelt, Franklin Delano
  Administration
    Appeal for action. F. Kirchwey; S... 623
    Appeal to; to present program to congress for repeal of Johnson and neutrality acts; E 591
    Cabinet appointments of Stimson and Knox confirmed; EP 23
    Difficulties with Congress; EP 286
    New deal policies, and influence on business; E ....80; EP 434
    Polls. See Polls
    Praised. G. W. Mason; C 615
    Refugees. See Refugees
  Attacks on, by Willkie; E 232
  Elected; reasons; E 435
  Nomination. R. Bendiner; S........... 66
  Outlines plan to lease war materials to Great Britain; E 647
  Saint Lawrence seaway and power treaty to be resubmitted in the senate; EP 590
  Third term:
    Arguments against by liberals opposed to it; EP 22
    Considerations. I. F. Morrow; C..... 160
    In favor of. M. Schulman; C....119; V. S. Yarros; C 255
    Issue; senators Burke and Holt bolt Democratic party on; EP......... 63
    Speculations. C. Malcolmson; S 26
    Opposed by H. R. Luce; C.......... 40
    Vitality needed; EP 63
  Walter-Logan bill vetoed; EP 646
  Why I am for Roosevelt. Statements by J. Chamberlain; J. G. Winant; Van W. Brooks; G. Pinchot; J. N. Rosenberg 386
Rosenan, Fred
  Air-mail postage to South America, reduction urged; C 488
Rosenberg, James N.
  Why I am for Roosevelt 389
Rosenfeld, Paul
  Mural painting; A 485
  Portinari, C., exhibit at Modern museum, New York; A 402
Rosinski, Herbert
  Axis strategy and the war. S 440
Royal refugees in the United States; EP... 350
Rudd, Major Edward; attacks liberal text books 74
Rugg, Harold; campaign against his text books 33
Rumania
  Antonescu government follows Pétain's pattern; EP 230
  Axis settles Transylvania problem; EP.. 181
  King flees; Antonescu takes over; EP... 201
  New Versailles; Axis forces territorial concessions. L. Fischer; S ....206; see also EP 201
  Occupied by German troops; Iron Guard terror; EP 545
  Submission to the Axis; E 183
Russell-Overton amendment; opposed by industry; EP 202
  Opposed by Willkie; EP 181
Russia. See Union of soviet socialist republics
Rutherford, J. F. 110
Ruthven, Alexander G. See Academic freedom.

S

S., N.
  "Christian question," the; C 515
SEC. See Securities and exchange commission
S.T.F.U. See Southern tenant farmers' union
Sabotage; dangers in new anti-sabotage and anti-espionage bills; E 621
Saint Lawrence river; power interests campaign against development; E 464
  Seaway and power treaty; EP 590
Saint Louis *Post-Dispatch* attacks President Roosevelt on destroyer deal; E...... 203
Samras, Kharati R.
  Naturalization for Hindus; C.......... 516
Sanctuary, Colonel E. N. 532
Saposs, David. See National labor relations board
Sawyer, Olive L.
  Refugees from New York in 1776; C.. 376
Schacht, H. G.; plan for economic reconstruction 192
Schnitzer, Max
  Criticizes *The Nation's* stand on conscription; C ..100; see also EP...... 22
  United States should enter the war; C.. 228
Schönberg's "Pierrot Lunaire" B. H. Haggin; M 587
Schools. See Education
Schulman, M.
  Favors third term; C 119
Schuman, Frederick L.
  Final warning to America; excerpts trom Demosthenes' philippics 132
Scrap iron and steel institute on effects of embargo on scrap sales to Japan; EP. 462
Sculptors' guild. See Art
Securities and exchange act; report on, by American bar association; EP 162
Securities and exchange commission
  Challenged by New York stock exchange ruling on multiple trading. K. Hutchison; S 447
  Washington *Post* obtains report made by the SEC to the TNEC; EP 314
  Willkie and the commission; E 410
Selective service act (Burke-Wadsworth bill)
  And social security; EP 230
  Becomes law; Fish amendment eliminated; EP 230
  Better pay for conscripts urged. M.T.A.; C 160
  Burke, senator Edward R., proposes conscription bill; EP ..22; see also C... 100
  Burke-Wadsworth bill criticized; EP.... 81
  Burke-Wadsworth bill criticized. F. Kirchwey; S 184
  Burke-Wadsworth bill passed by the house; senate opposition to Fish amendment expected; EP 201
  Conscientious objectors. R. Baldwin; S.. 326
    Problem in democracy. P. C. French; C 515
    Provisions for; EP.................. 81
    Twenty Union theological seminary students refuse to register for draft; EP......350; see also C.......... 488
  Conscripting America; opposition to. M. S. Stewart; S......86; see also...... 85
  Conscription and democracy; letters.... 100, 200, 348, 376; see also........85, 86
  Dangers of. C. Droz; C................ 255
  Different standards in medical examinations by draft boards and army doctors cause hardships to draftees; EP.. 546
  Health problems in camps. J. Daniels; S. 449
  High percentage of draftees rejected as unfit by draft boards; EP............ 546
  Labor opposition; E.................. 233
  Negro artillerymen in the last war. R. Nash; C 375
  Negroes; discrimination against; EP.... 378
  No alternative to conscription; reply to M. S. Stewart's article "Conscripting America." F. Kirchwey; S......85; see also 86; C...................... 200
  Youth and the draft. R. Burgess and L. Detweiler; C 179
Serrano Suñer. See Spain
Shanghai. See British-Japanese relations
Shapiro, Morris
  Appeal for imprisoned Harlan county miners; C 644
Shaw, Alan, convicted of criminal syndicalism; EP 647
Shea, Donald 532
Sheean, Vincent
  Ireland; back door to invasion; S...146; see also 141
  Exception taken 200
Shipping. See Axis
Silber, Fritz
  C.I.O. convention at Rochester; *The Nation* editorial criticized; C, with editorial comment....348; see also EP.. 258
Slang, war, in Great Britain. L. V. Berry; S 446
Slocum, Frank D.
  Conscription and democracy; C.......... 348
Smith, Howard, on NLRB; EP............ 162
Smith committee, the, and the Waumbec case; EP 162
Smith, Preserved
  On resignation of O. G. Villard; C..... 58
Smythe, Edward J. 532
Social security act. See selective service act
Socialist party
  Back on the ballot; N. Thomas and M. Krueger nominated. McA. Coleman; C 432
Somaliland, lost by British to Italians; EP.. 141
South America; air mail postage, reduction urged. F. Rosenan; C................ 488
  See also Latin America
South, the. J. Daniels; S 506
Southern regionalism. C. Kilpatrick; C..... 311; see also...................... 195
Southern tenant farmers' union, and interstate migration; E.................... 622
Southworth, H. Rutledge
  Jehovah's witnesses; S 110
Southworth, H. Routledge, and W. R. Espy
  Franco in the Caribbean; S............ 500
Spain
  American credits to; proposals reported and denied; EP....377; EP........ 589
  Appeasing Franco. F. Kirchwey; S..... 493
  Axis plans for. J. Allen; S.......263; see also EP...................... 257

  - Breaks off diplomatic relations with Chile; EP 61
  - Five republican prisoners executed; EP 407
  - Franco awaits orders. J. Allen; S 263
  - Franco in Cuba. M. P. D.; C 120
  - Franco in the Caribbean. H. R. Southworth and W. R. Espy; S 500
  - Franco sympathizers in the United States 533
  - Gestapo in; L. Companys executed; EP 378; 407
  - Kent, V., turned over to Franco by gestapo; EP 646
  - "Non-belligerent" ally of Axis; EP....61; EP 257
  - Loyalists arrested in occupied France; EP 646
  - Role in the war; EP 285
  - Serrano Suñer becomes foreign minister; EP 377
- Spanish phalanx, aims of, in Latin America (map) 501
- Sparling, Harold A., campaigns for congress 112
- Spiegel, Edgar von 83; 153
- Stalin, decoration for. Low; Ct 499
- Standard oil company; and the Mexican oil situation; EP 162
  - Contract awarded to, by navy department. I. F. Stone; S....523; see also E 548
- Steel and iron; exports to Japan only under license; EP 618
  - Steel companies and Murray's plan for defense. I. F. Stone; S 650
  - Famine ahead. K. Hutchison; S 633
- Stein, Rose M.
  - Murray of the C.I.O.; S 172
  - Murray, P.; new C.I.O. president; S...524; see also E 519
  - Talk with Murray; S 629
- Stevenson, Mary Jane
  - T. Veblen's "Essays on our changing order"; C 544
- Stewart, James, and the American destiny party 112
- Stewart, Maxwell, S.
  - Conscripting America, opposition to; S....86; see also....85; C 376
  - Praised for article "Conscripting America." E. S. Newman; C 376
  - We need not fight in Asia; S 390
- Stimson, Henry L.; appointment confirmed; EP 23
- Stock exchange, New York. See New York stock exchange
- Stone, I. F.
  - Aviation's sit-down strike; S..126, 148, 188; see also EP....161, 181; C 404
  - Behind the Ford contract; S 595
  - Defense and the Wagner act; S 355
  - Hitler profits from our defense; S 319
  - Hull and the pact; S 291
  - Little steel "soviets"; S 650
  - Madden and morale; S 383
  - Mob rule in congress; S 551
  - Press loses election; S 467
  - Priorities and defense; S 439
  - Reuther plan for mass plane production; S....624; see also 623
  - Squeeze on Mexico, the, and Standard Oil; S....523; see also E 548
  - Supreme court decision Hansberry versus Lee; S 495
- Stoney, George C.
  - No N. L. R. B. for Ben Hill county; S 300
- Strauss, Harold
  - Liberty is divisible; S....552; see also.. 555
- Strauss, Patricia
  - Moscow line in Great Britain, the; S 296
  - What Dunkirk did for England; S....415; see also C 544
- Strikes
  - Aluminum company; deferred; EP 42
  - Gastonia strike, and F. E. Beal. J. Daniels; S 608
  - Vultee; E....520; see also 551
- Sullivan, Virgil C.
  - Defends withdrawal of Willkie's article from *The Nation;* C....515; see also 411
- Supreme court, United States
  - Negro convicted of rape, because of discrimination in picking jury; EP 591
  - Hansberry versus Lee, decision. I. F. Stone; S 495
  - Milk wagon drivers' case, Chicago; decision of circuit court reversed; EP 547
  - Republic steel; decision; E 492
- Suzanna and the elders. J. W. Krutch; D 457
- Sweezy, Paul M.
  - Comment on C. E. Noyes' article "Nazi challenge to democracy"; C....347; see also 207; EP 203
- Swing, Betty Gram
  - Chinese orphans, appeal for; C 616
- Swing, Raymond Gram
  - Hitler "revolution," S 626
  - On his article "Youth, war and freedom"; C. F. Ellis; C 39

T

- TNEC. See Securities and exchange commission
- TVA. See Tennessee valley authority
- Talmadge, G., reelected as governor of Georgia; EP 229
- Tashnags. See Armenian revolutionary federation
- Taxation. See Excess profits tax; Finance, public
- Tchou, M. Thomas
  - No deal with Japan; S 46
- Tennessee newspapers and the campaign. J. Daniels; S 394
- Tennessee valley authority
  - And Chattanooga *News-Free Press;* EP 618
  - Bill for expansion of power production approved; EP 42
  - Willkie and D. Lilienthal; J. Daniels; S 155
- Tenor, T. A.
  - Purge of fifth columnists in diplomatic service and army demanded; C 180
  - Textile workers' union; W. Dodge, organizer, assaulted. G. C. Stoney; S 300
- Theater, the; decline and fall of the drama. J. W. Krutch; D 512
  - See also Krutch, J. W. (for reviews)
- Third term. See Roosevelt, F. D.
- Thomas, Norman, and M. Krueger; candidacy supported by Independent committee for Thomas and Krueger; C 283
  - Nominated by Socialist convention. M. Coleman; C 432
- Thompson, Dorothy; column suppressed by New York *Herald Tribune;* EP 349
  - Reported planning to endorse Roosevelt 245
- Thorkelson, Jacob, defeated for congress 112
- Tientsin. See British-Japanese relations
- Tietzow, Olov 532
- Tin, battle of, E. Kelly and Patiñ; S 472
- Tobacco. See American tobacco company
- Tolan committee; hearings on interstate migration; E 622
- Transylvania, axis settlement of problem; EP 181
- Trombetta, Domenico, and Fascist propaganda 364
- Trotsky, Leon
  - And Stalin. L. Fischer; S 191
  - Block, H., attacked for article on Trotsky, C 459
  - Death; E 165
- True, James 73, 261
- Trusts. See Monopolies
- Turkey. See Union of soviet socialist republics
- Twelfth night. J. W. Krutch; D....540; see also 513; 642

U

- U. S. S. R. See Union of soviet socialist republics
- Ukrainian nationalist organizations and leaders 475
- Unemployment; and national defense. E. Lonigan; S 10
- Union now. See Federal union
- Union of soviet socialist republics
  - Axis policy in the Balkans, threat to; E 351
  - Baltic states request admission; EP 62
  - Conditions. J. Joesten; S 631
  - Education; fees to be charged for tuition in high schools and colleges; EP 316
  - Gedye, G. E. R., on censorship; EP 231
  - Molotov emphasizes ties with Berlin; EP 102
  - Molotov visit to Berlin; E..463; EP 489
  - Pact with Japan, chances of; EP 406
  - Pact with Japan, speculations on. F. Utley; S 320
  - Stalin, decoration for. Low; Ct 499
  - Trotsky and Stalin. L. Fischer; S 191
  - Turkey, rumors of alliance with; EP 41
  - See also United States
- Unions, labor. See labor unions
- United States
  - Agencies, governmental; Walter-Logan bill vetoed by Roosevelt; EP 646
  - And Brazil. S. G. Inman; S 322
  - And Canada. See Canada
  - And China; more substantial aid urged; EP 518
    - United States extends $100,000,000 credit; EP 545
  - And Great Britain, at Singapore. Low; Ct 391
  - And Japan. See Japanese-American relations
  - And Russia; understanding might forestall Soviet-Japanese pact. M. S. Stewart; S 390
  - And Spain; credit proposal reported and denied; EP 589
    - Rumors of wheat loan to Franco; EP 377
  - And the war:
    - Aid to Britain, vastly increased, urged. F. Kirchwey; S....105, 549; E 647
    - America and the "new world order" of the axis; E 288
    - American credits for Great Britain urged; EP 517
    - American inventory. W. Frank; S 168
    - Apathy in face of danger. F. Kirchwey; S 623
    - Armed intervention urged. F. D. Graham; C 311
    - Army medical corps. See Defense, National
    - Atlantic ocean no safeguard. S. G. Morley; C 256
    - Call for all aid for Great Britain; E 549
    - Conscientious objectors; R. Baldwin; S 375
    - Conscription. See also Selectiv service
    - Decline of American military leadership. H. S. Ford; S 12
    - Destroyer deal with Great Britain denounced by isolationists; E 203
    - Economic aid to Britain must be multiplied; E 381
    - Effects on business; EP 434
    - Excess profits. See Excess profits
    - German press threatens United States for aid to Great Britain; EP 645
    - Labor opposes draft; E 233
    - Loyalty, demand for. T. A. Tenor; C 180
    - Neutrality and Johnson acts; repeal urged; E........591; EP 618
    - "No foreign war" committee formed by V. Marshall; EP 646
    - Production, utmost, needed. H. Strauss and C. E. Noyes; S 552
    - Refugees. See Refugees
    - Roosevelt outlines plan to lease war materials to Great Britain; EP 647
    - Russell-Overton amendment opposed by industry; EP 202
    - Selective service. See Selective service
    - United States should enter. M. Schnitzer; C 228
    - Washington expects war. C. Malcomson; S...166; see also EP, 161; C, 375; 403
    - Washington releases bombers for Great Britain; EP 517
    - Way to win. M. Schnitzer; C 228
      - See also Conscientious objectors; defense, national; excess profits; refugees
  - Congressional elections; profit and loss; E 464
  - Diplomatic service; Leahy new ambassador to France; EP 517
    - Three members to be recalled from Paris at Nazi demand; EP 646
  - Fascism and nazism in. See Fascism and nazism
  - "Good-will" mission in South America; EP 2
  - Government, efficient. G. W. Mason; C. 615
  - Havana conference. See Latin America
  - Inventory. W. Frank; S 169
  - Land, basis of strength. J. Daniels; S 174
  - Maritime commission; nomination of J. K. Carson blocked; choice of J. I. Dempsey criticized; EP 407
  - Open hearing on nomination of Carson urged; EP 350
  - Members of American embassy staff in Paris to be recalled at German request; EP 646
  - Navy; speed-up act rushed through congress; EP 81
  - Unity, genuine, needed. F. Kirchwey; S, 465; see also C 543
  - "Usona" suggested as designation. J. B. Branch; C 615
    - See also Canada; Japan; Japanese-American relations; Latin America; Mexico
- Unity; of common sense. R. Reynolds; C 543
  - Pro and con. J. Daniels; S 477
    - See also Democracy
- Uruguay; naval base, plans for; EP 518
  - Nazi agents indicted; EP 287
- "Usona" suggested as designation for United States of North America. J. B. Branch; C 615
- Utilities, public; and fluorescent lighting. D. Hargraves; S....445; see also 543
- Utley, Freda
  - Japan's great bluff; S 320

V

- Vambery, Rustem
  - Balkan puzzle; S 49
  - Death of Robert Dell; C....100; see also E 65
- Van Loon, Hendrik Willem
  - On resignation of O. G. Villard; C 60
- Vargas, President. See Brazil
- Vatican. See Italy
- Veblen, Thorsten; "Essays on our changing order" recalled; C 544
- Vecchiotti, Gaetano 73, 301
- Velie, David
  - National guard needs streamlining; C 487

Index

Vienna, award of; significance. A. Kuh; S.. 243
Villard, Oswald Garrison
  And the war. H. Landsberg; C........ 488
  And *The Nation* advertisement of his letter backing Willkie; EP.......... 314
  On America first committee; EP....... 314
  On his resignation; letters; C.......58; 160
  Supports Willkie; EP....405; see also C 488
Vinson-Trammell limitations on defense contracts; EP 101
Viton, Albert
  Can the empire save Great Britain? S... 356
Voters, rural and small-town. D. R. Murphy; C 256
Vultee aircraft corporation; strike; E...... 520; see also.....................551, 561
  Winchell blames Nazis 533

W

WPA. See Works progress administration
Wage-hour law. See Fair labor standards act
Wagner act. See National labor relations board
Wald, Lillian D.; death; EP............ 203
Wall street; Munich in; S................. 25
Wallace, Henry A.
  And Avila Camacho's inauguration; EP... 546
  Nomination. R. Bendiner; S.......... 66
  To represent the United States at inauguration of Mexican president; EP 490
Waller, Odell. J. Daniels; S............... 635
  Appeal for. F. Becker; C............. 516
Walsh, senator David I., wins fight for profit limitation; EP.................. 2
Walsh-Healey act unjustly charged with obstructing placing of defense orders; EP 590
Walter-Logan bill vetoed by Roosevelt; EP. 646
War, European
  Aid to China is aid to Great Britain; E. 491
  Aid to Great Britain. F. Kirchwey; S... 105
  Air raids
    Battle of Britain; EP.............41, 121
    British morale; EP......141; E...... 233
    Great Britain prepared for further raids; EP 257
    Letter from London. P. Bottome; C.. 375
    Life in London. J. Huxley; S........ 503
    London nights; C.................. 544
    On Great Britain, intensified; EP..... 161
    On London. H. J. Laski; S......... 325
    On London and Berlin, continue; EP 201
    They don't know London! E. Mann; S 361
  And the Jews. W. Zuckerman; S...... 443
  Anglo-French alliance ends; EP....... 21
  Appeasement; Lindbergh speech; EP... 101
  Appeasement; Munich in Wall street; E 25
  Appeasement, Willkie and. F. Kirchwey; S 204
  As revolution. M. Lerner; S....68, 88, 129; see also C..................... 200
  Axis conference in Rome, on war plans; EP 257
  Axis-Japanese pact, the United States, and the war; E.................... 288
  Axis plans in the Mediterranean; E..... 407
  Axis plans for the winter; EP........ 229
  Axis strategy and the war. H. Rosinski; S 440
  British attack French fleet at Oran; EP. 21
  British attack on Italian fleet in Taranto harbor; EP 489
  British labor and the war. R. Bates; S.. 601
  Dakar expedition of de Gaulle fails; EP 257
  Dakar expedition called blunder; EP.... 285
  Diplomatic offensive by Hitler; EP..379; E 519
  Dunkirk, effect on Great Britain. P. Strauss; S 415
  Duty of the emigré, the J. A. del Vayo; S 599
  Economic aid to Great Britain must be multiplied; E 381
  English war slang. L. V. Berrey; S.... 446
  Fight, cheat or yield. H. G. Wells; S... 468; see also...................... 543
  Food for Hitler's victims. A. Hamilton; S...596; see also E, 592; C.....283, 459
  France, betrayal of. H. Pol; 7, 27; see also EP..........................2, 21
  France disappears as independent; EP.. 21
  Great Britain admits loss of Somaliland; EP 141
  Great Britain's morale unimpaired; EP.1, 41
  Indivisible war, the. R. Bates; S...... .... 496, 526, 601
  Ireland, back door to invasion. V. Sheean; S....146; see also EP.......... 141
  Italian debacle; E 620
  Italian drive on British Somaliland; EP. 121
  Italian setback in Greek campaign; EP 433, 461, 489
  Italy provokes Greece; EP 141
  Johnson and neutrality acts, repeal of, urged; E.......................... 591
  Limited relief for Hitler's victims. S. T. Possony; S....597; see also E, 592; C 283, 459
  Looting by Nazis. K. Hutchison; S.... 217
  Mediterranean front; E............... 407
  Moves to Near East; EP 229
  Nazi attack on Great Britain near; EP.. 1
  Peace maneuvers. F. Kirchwey; S..... 65
  Peace motion debated and rejected by house of commons; EP............. 589
  Peace rumors squelched; EP.......... 1
  Possibilities, complex. D. L. Bolinger; C 40
  Pressure on France to join Axis reported; EP 377
  Refugees. See Refugees
  Slang, English. L. V. Berrey; S...... 446
  Somaliland lost by British to Italians; EP 141
  Spain's role in the war; EP.......... 285
  Speculations on meeting of Hitler and Mussolini at the Brenner; E........ 316
  Struggle for the Mediterranean. A. Viton; S............................. 356
  Threatens freedom of conscience. S. Jameson and others; C............. 80
  War and refugee relief instead of Christmas gifts; C...................... 616
  Way to win. M. Schnitzer; C.......... 228
  Winter campaign, impending; E....... 316
  Year of war, a; E.................... 164
    See also names of countries
Ward, Louis B............................ 112
Warm, J. Louis
  On resignation of O. G. Villard; C..... 60
Warren, Avra M. to head new government refugee committee. F. Kirchwey; S.. 648
Warren, George L.; and the function of the president's advisory committee on political refugees. F. Kirchwey; S........ 649
Washington *Post* obtains report made by the SEC to the TNEC; EP............ 314
Waumbec mills. See National labor relations board
"Wave of the future," the R. G. Swing's reply to A. Lindbergh's book; S.... 626; see also B.................... 363
We the People, for Willkie................ 420
Wells, H. G.
  Fight, cheat, or yield; S....468; see also C 543
Wertheim, Barbara
  Speeches and writings by Willkie; S... 292
Westrick, Doctor Gerhardt Alois, Nazi agent EP 101, 153
Weygand, General Maxime, reported at odds with Vichy government; EP........ 461
Wheeler resolution, on investigation of foreign interests in key industries, adopted. I. F. Stone; S............ 319
White, William Allen, indorsement by *The Nation* criticized. D. L. Bolinger; C.. 40
Whitesmith, Ernest M.
  On M. Lerner's "The war as revolution"; C 200
Wiedemann, Fritz, most important Nazi agent in America 153
Wiegand, Charmion von
  Can art sustain the artist? S......160; see also C.......................... 228
Willard, Josiah
  On resignation of O. G. Villard; C.... 58
Willkie, Wendell L.
  And appeasement. F. Kirchwey; S.... 204
  And D. Lilienthal. J. Daniels; S...... 155
  And race prejudice. F. Kirchwey; S.... 354
  And the farm vote. C. C. Munz; S..186; see also C.......................... 256
  And the SEC; E..................... 410
  At odds with his party; opposes Russell-Overton amendment. J. L. Reynolds; S 235
  Attack on, by McNary, in speech two years ago....173; correction........ 329
  Backed by J. L. Lewis. I. F. Stone; S 413; see also EP....405; C........ 488
  Campaign pledges; EP 349
  Charges that the new deal ruined industry, refuted; E................. 380
  Deflation of; attacks on President Roosevelt; E 232
  Editor and publisher poll shows newspapers favor him; EP............. 258
  Endorsed by New York *Times*; EP.... 258
  Liberals backing him advised to consult his record. V. S. Yarros; C......... 255
  New Republic supplement on Willkie praised; EP 182
  Nomination; E....................... 3
  Objects to Russell-Overton amendment; EP 181
  Pre-mortem on. F. Kirchwey; S........ 317
  Reneges. F. Kirchwey; S....411; see also C 515; 533
  Satire on. McA. Coleman; S.......... 32
  Sends messages of thanks to Democratic candidates; EP....619; see also.... 533
  Speaks at Elwood. F. Kirchwey; S..... 144
  Speeches and writings; record. B. Wertheim; S 292
  Supported by O. G. Villard; EP...... 405
  Thanks F. Kirchwey for her article "Wendell Willkie reneges"....533; see also 411
  Tour of the west fails. R. L. Neuberger; S 384
    See also Presidential campaign of 1940
Wilson, J. B.
  On C. Malcolmson's article "Washington expects war"; C...403; see also.... 166
Winant, John G.
  Why I am for Roosevelt.............. 387
Winchell, Walter; blames Vultee strike on Nazis 533
Windsor, Duke of; pro-Nazi leanings. L. Farago; S 30
Windsor, duke and duchess of, in Florida; EP 619
Winter, Ella
  Criticizes "The irresponsibles" by A. MacLeish; C 40
Within the gates...... 51, 73, 112, 153, 193, 244, 301, 364, 419, 475, 532, 657
  Praised by J. Marcus; C............ 160
Wolfe, Thomas. By J. Daniels; S.......... 332
Wolfson, Abraham
  On resignation of O. G. Villard; C.... 60
Wood, Robert, convicted of criminal syndicalism; EP 647
Woolworth, F. W. and company; NLRB hands down decision; EP 122
Works progress administration
  Can art sustain the artist? C. v. Wiegand; S 150
  Criticism of; C....255; see also....... 376
  Purge; Long test case; EP............ 3
World government; between two worlds. H. Nicolson; S 651
  Sovereign. R. Raynolds; C....543; see also 465; 468
Wright, Frank Lloyd; exhibit at Modern museum, New York. T. Hamlin; A.. 541
Wright, Richard; dramatization of "Native son." J. Daniels; S................. 114

Y

Yarros, Victor S.
  Favors honest campaign; C............ 119
  Liberals backing Willkie criticized; C.. 255
Youth and national defense. J. Daniels; S.. 421
Youth and the draft. D. Burgess and L. Detweiler; C 179

Z

Zukerman, William
  Jews are not alone; S................ 443

BOOK REVIEWS

Books are indexed under author and title, and in some cases under subject.

The following explanatory letters are used in the index:

B	**Book review**
AN	**Brief annotation**
R	**Reviewer**

A

AP: the story of news. O. Gramling; AN.. 457
Adamic, Louis
  From many lands; B.................. 426
Adams, James Truslow
  Empire on the seven seas: the British empire, 1784-1939; B.............. 55
Aeschylus, the creator of tragedy. G. Murray; AN 178
Agar, Herbert, and H. Hill
  Beyond German victory; B........... 424
Ahlund, Nils
  Gustaf Adolf the great. Translated by M. Roberts; AN.................. 281
Alexander the great. L. V. Cummings; AN. 158
All out! How democracy will defend America. S. Grafton; B.................. 610
Allen, G. C.
  Japanese industry; B................. 429
Allen, H. H.
  Whither interest rates................ 52
America, I presume. W. Lewis; AN....... 400
America, incorporated. L. Huberman; B.... 75
American choice, the. H. A. Wallace; B.... 612
American empire, the. Edited by W. H. Haas; AN 585
American guide series. Federal writers' project; B 535
American policy in the far east: 1931-1940. T. A. Bisson; B.................... 429
American presidency, the: an interpretation. H. Laski; B 136
America's dilemma: alone or allied? N. Angell; B 610
America's last chance. A. Carr; B......... 637
America's lost plays; B.................. 480
Amerika. F. Kafka. Transl. by Edwin Muir; preface by Klaus Mann; B.......... 396
Anatomy of British sea power, the. A. J. Marder; AN 664
Ancient Greeks, the. W. K. Prentice; AN.. 585
And so to Bath. C. Roberts; AN.......... 373

Angell, Norman
America's dilemma; alone or allied? B. 610
Anti-semitism, two books on 577
Appel, Benjamin
People talk, the; AN 158
Armstrong, Hamilton Fish
Chronology of failure: the last days of the French republic; B 510
Armstrong, Margaret
Trelawny: a man's life; B 307
Arno, Peter
Illustrations to "Where are the customers' yachts?" F. Schwed; AN 253
Arnold, Matthew, the poetry of: a commentary. C. B. Tinker and H. F. Lowry; B 223
Arnold, Oren, and Hale, J. P.
Hot irons; B 75
Arnold, Thurman W.
Bottlenecks of business; B 220
Art, books on 510
Art of modern warfare, the. H. Foertsch; B 34
Art of the far east; B 510
"As steel goes. . ." R. R. R. Brooks; B 308
Asbury, Herbert
Gem of the prairie: an informal history of the Chicago underworld; B 398
Auden, W. H.; R 18
Audubon's America. Edited by D. C. Peattie; B 565
Auernheimer, Raoul
Prince Metternich: statesman and lover; AN 540
Author in transit. L. Hogben; AN 457
Australia's interests and policies in the far east. J. Shepard; B 429

B

Babes in the darkling wood. H. G. Wells; B. 276
Balkans, book on the. C. Sforza; B 662
Barksdale, Lena
Children's book list 454
Barretto, Larry
Journey through time; AN 373
Barzun, Jacques; R 96, 372, 661
Bates, Ralph
Fields of paradise, the; B 450
Bates, Ralph; R 424, 452
Battle shield of the republic. M. Wheeler-Nicholson; B 580
Bayles, William D.
Caesars in goose step; B 428
Beach, Leonard B.; R 309
Bell, Neil
So perish the roses; AN 400
Beloved returns, the. T. Mann; B 175
Bendiner, Robert; R 342
Benedict, Ruth
Race: science and politics; B 372
Benes, Eduard, the life of. E. B. Hitchcock; B 224
Benes, Vojta
Zalar millionu; AN 178
Bernadette of Lourdes. M. G. Blanton; B .. 197
Bernstein, Philip S.; R 577
Beyond German victory. H. Hill and H. Agar; B 424
Beyond tears. I. Litten; B 304
Big river to cross. B. L. Burman; B 175
Bishop, John Peale; R 55, 78, 339, 397, 508, 563, 637
Bisson, T. A.
American policy in the far east: 1931-1940; B 429
Black, Ruby
Eleanor Roosevelt; AN 457
Blackmur, R. P.
Expense of greatness, the; B 572
Blanton, Margaret Gray
Bernadette of Lourdes; B 197
Blitzkrieg. S. L. A. Marshall; AN 512
Bloch, Kurt
German interests and policies in the far east; B 429
"Bloody Mary," the life of. H. F. M. Prescott; AN 225
Bogan, Louise, R 305, 572
Books of 1940 580
Boothe, Clare
Europe in the spring; B 247
Borchard, Edwin, and W. P. Lage
Neutrality for the United States; AN. 178
Borsook, Henry
Vitamins: what they are and how they can benefit you; B 613
Boss, the: machine politics in action. D. D. McKean; B 340
Bottlenecks of business. T. W. Arnold; B... 220
Bowers, Claude G.
Spanish adventure of Washington Irving, the; B 309
Brewers' big horses, the. M. Walker; AN.. 139
Brimstone game, the: monopoly in action. R. H. Montgomery; AN 118
British relations with China: 1913-1939. I. S. Friedman; B 429
Britt, George
Fifth column is here, the; AN 253
Brogan, D. W.
France under the republic; B 338
Brooks, Robert R. R.
"As steel goes . . ." B 308
Brooks, Van Wyck
New England; Indian summer; B 137
Brown, Joseph E., and the Confederacy. L. B. Hill; AN 118
Buchler, Justus
Charles Peirce's empiricism. Foreword by E. Nagel; B 483
Burckhardt, C. J.
Richelieu: his rise to power. Transl. and abridged by E. and W. Muir; AN.... 225
Burman, B. L.
Big river to cross; B 175

C

Caesars in goose step. W. D. Bayles; B 428
Caldwell, Erskine
Jackpot; B 175
Canby, Henry Seidel, on Hemingway's "For whom the bell tolls"; M. Marshall; B. 609
Cantos LII-LXXI. E. Pound; B 637
Cantril, Hadley
Invasion from Mars, the. A study in the psychology of panic, with the complete script of the famous Orson Welles broadcast; AN 199
Canyon, the. P. Viertel; B 177
Capek, Karel
First rescue party, the; AN 281
Capitalism the creator. C. Snyder; B 76
Carlson, Evans Fordyce
Twin stars of China; B 307
Carlson, Major Evans Fordyce
Chinese army, the; B 429
Caribbean danger zone, the. J. F. Rippy; AN 457
Carr, Albert
America's last chance; B 637
Men of power: a book of dictators; AN. 430
Carpenter, Charles E.
Private enterprise and democracy; AN. 253
Carter, Reginald
He and his; AN 310
Cather, Willa
Sapphira and the slave girl; B 574
"Cato"
Guilty men; B 249
Chamberlain, John; R 54, 156
Chamberlin, William Henry
Confessions of an individualist, the; AN. 199
Chambrun, René de
I saw France fall: will she rise again? B 367
Chapin, Henry
West walking yankee; B 339
Chapman, Chanler, A.
Wrong attitude, the: a bad boy at a good school; AN 373
Charles Peirce's empiricism. J. Buchler. Foreword by E. Nagel; B 483
Chase, Stuart
Idle money, idle men; B 157
Chatokin, Serge
Rape of the masses; B 341
Chiang Kai-shek: marshal of China. S. Hedin; B 576
Children's book list. L. Barksdale 454
Chinese army, the. Major E. F. Carlson; B. 429
Christ-Janer, A.
George Caleb Bingham of Missouri; AN. 158
Chronology of failure: the last days of the French republic. H. F. Armstrong; B 510
Chugerman, Samuel
Ward, Lester F.; the American Aristotle. A summary and interpretation of his sociology; AN 38
Clark, Walter Van Tilburg
Ox-bow incident, the; B 344
Coleman, McAlister; R 279, 340
Coleman, J. Winston, jr.
Slavery times in Kentucky; AN 400
Collected poems of Kenneth Fearing; B..... 339
Collective labor agreement, the; E. Lieberman; B 36
Confessions of an individualist, the. W. H. Chamberlain; AN 199
Conrad, Sherman; R 279
Corey, Lewis; R 76, 116, 396
Cosmological eye, the. H. Miller; B 198
Costals and the hippograff. H. de Montherlant; B 250
Count ten. H. O. Storm; B 306
Country editor. H. B. Hough; B 279
Country growth. A. Derleth; AN 139
Crane, Stephen
Short stories. Selected and introduced by C. V. Doren; B 247
Crow, Carl
Foreign devils in the flowery kingdom; AN 641
Cummings, Lewis V.
Alexander the great; AN 158
Cutting, Suydam
Fire ox and other years, the; AN 641

D

Dago red. J. Fante; AN 281
Daiches, David
Poetry and the modern world; B 570
Dana, John Cotton. F. Kingdon; AN 585
Darby, Hugh H.; R 613
Davis, Hassoldt; R 276, 640
Death is not enough. M. Fraenkel; B 198
Deep grow the roots. M. Tomasi; AN 373
Defenders, the. F. Hoellering; B....156; see also 395
Derleth, August
Country growth; AN 139
Derleth, Karl
Still small voice; AN 664
Deutsch, Babette
One part love; B 78
DeVoto, Bernard
Minority report; AN 400
Dewey, John, essays in honor of; B 639
Diaghilev, Serge: his life, his work, his legend. S. Lifar; B 481
Dialectics of nature. F. Engels. Transl. by C. Dutt, with a preface by J. B. S. Haldane; B 308
Dictionary of clichés, a. E. Partridge; AN.. 512
Dies, Martin
Trojan horse in America, the; B 507
Diplomatically speaking. L. C. Griscom; AN 400
Dostoevski: the making of a novelist. E. J. Simmons. B 197
Douglas, Henry Kyd
I rode with Stonewall. Ed. by D. M. Green; AB 485
Downes, Anne Miller
Until the shearing; AN 400
Dream we lost, the. F. Utley; B 196
DuBois, W. E. B.
Dusk of dawn; AN 512
Dupee, F. W.; R 197
Dusk of dawn. W. E. B. DuBois; AN 512
Dutch interior. F. O'Connor; AN 485

E

Elam, Samuel Milton
Weevil in the cotton; AN 373
Eleanor Roosevelt. R. Black; AN 457
Embezzled heaven. F. Werfel; B 536
Empire on the seven seas; the British empire, 1784-1939. J. T. Adams; B 55
Empress of the dusk. a life of Theodora of Byzantium. J. W. Vandercock; AN.. 281
Enchanted wanderer: the life of C. M. von Weber. L. and R. Stebbins; B 96
Engels, Frederick
Dialectics of nature. Transl. by C. Dutt, with a preface by J. B. S. Haldane; B 308
English water colors; B 510
Epstein, Jacob
Autobiography; B 422
Ernst, Morris L.
Too big; B 34
Escape with me. An Oriental sketch book. O. Sitwell; B 95
Eshelman, Lloyd Wendell
Victorian rebel, a: the life of William Morris; B 663
Europe in the spring. C. Boothe; B 247
Expense of greatness, the. R. P. Blackmur; B 572

F

Fables for our times. J. Thurber; B 247
Faith for living. L. Mumford; B 221
Fame is the spur; H. Spring; B 538
Families. K. Schriftgiesser; AN 664
Family. the. N. Fedorova; AN 253
Fante, John
Dago red; AN 281
Far east, art of the; B 510
Far east, books on 344, 429
Farley, Miriam S.
Problem of Japanese trade expansion, the; B 429
Farrell, James
Father and son; B 335
Father and son. J. Farrell; B 335
Fearing, Kenneth
Collected poems; B 339
Federal writers' project
American guide series; B 536
Fedorova, Nina
Family, the; AN 253
Fernsworth, Lawrence; R 368
Fields of paradise, the. R. Bates; B 450
Fifth column is here, the. G. Britt; AN 253
Fifty years of war and diplomacy in the Balkans. C. Sforza; B 662
Finney, J. M. T.
Surgeon's life, a; B 640
Fire ox and other years, the; AN 641
First rescue party, the. K. Capek; AN 281
Fishback, Margaret
Time for a quick one; AN 485
Fleming, Peter
Flying visit, the. Illustrations by Low; B 175
Flexner, Abraham
I remember. The autobiography of Abraham Flexner; B 579
Flying visit, the. P. Fleming. Illustrations by Low; B 175
Foertsch, Hermann
Art of modern warfare, the; B 34
Fodor, M. W.
Revolution is on, the; B 570

- Ford, Harvey S.; R 35, 580
- Foreign devils in the flowery kingdom. C. Crow; AN 641
- Foreman, Clark, and J. Raushenbush
  - Total defense; B.... 426
- Forester, C. S.
  - To the Indies; AN 139
- For us the living. B. Lancaster; AN 485
- For whom the bell tolls. E. Hemingway; B 395; see also 609
- Foxe, John, and his book. J. F. Mozley; AN 512
- Fraenkel, Michael
  - Death is not enough; B 198
- Fraenkel, Michael, and H. Miller
  - Hamlet; B 198
- France, books on; B 247, 367, 510
- France under the republic. D. W. Brogan; B 338
- Frank, Waldo; R 422
- Freedom: its meaning. Edited by R. N. Anshen; B 661
- French cathedral windows; B 510
- Friedman, Irving S.
  - British relations with China, 1913-1919; B 429
- Frings, Ketti
  - Hold back the dawn; AN 373
- From many lands. L. Adamic; B 426
- Frost, Frances
  - Kate Trimmingham; AN 540
- Fry, Roger: a biography. V. Woolf; B 478
- Fry, Roger
  - Last lectures. Introduction by Kenneth Clark; B 478

G

- Gap of brightness, the. F. R. Higgins; B.... 397
- Gay, John, biography of. W. H. Irving; AN 199
- Geismar, Maxwell; R 248, 307
- Gem of the prairie: an informal history of the Chicago underworld. H. Asbury; B .. 398
- George Caleb Bingham of Missouri. A. Christ-Janer; AN 158
- German economy, 1870 to 1940. G. Stolper; AN 400
- German interests and policies in the far east. K. Bloch; B 429
- Ghostland, the. F. Rothermell; AN 310
- God bless the devil! Tennessee writers' project; AN 281
- Graf, Oscar Maria
  - Life of my mother, the; AN 641
- Grafton, Samuel
  - All out! How democracy will defend America; B 610
- Graham, Harvey
  - Story of surgery, the. H. Graham; B .. 97
- Gramling, Oliver
  - AP: the story of news; AN.... 457
- Graves, Robert
  - Sergeant Lamb's America; AN 457
- Great crusade, the. G. Regler; B.... 368
- Great hatred, the. M. Samuel; B 577
- Grebestchikoff, George
  - Turbulent giant (Micoula); B 662
- Greco, El. Edited by L. Goldscheider; B.... 510
- Greco, El; les oeuvres en espagne. C. Zervos; B 252
- Griscom, Lloyd C.
  - Diplomatically speaking; AN 400
- Guerard, Albert; R 247, 367, 637
- Guidebooks. Federal writers' project; B.... 535
- Guilty men. "Cato;" B 249
- Gustav Adolf the great. N. Ahlund. Translated by M. Roberts; AN 281
- Gutheim, Frederick A.; R 277

H

- Hacker, Louis M.
  - Triumph of American capitalism, the; B 396
- Hackett, Francis
  - I chose Denmark; B 611
- Hague, Frank, book on. D. D. McKean; B.. 340
- Haldane, J. B. S.
  - Science and everyday life; AN 281
- Hale, John P. and Arnold, O.
  - Hot irons; B.... 75
- Hambro, Carl J.
  - I saw it happen in Norway; B 304
- Hamlet. H. Miller and M. Fraenkel; B 198
- Happy valley. P. White; B 198
- Harris, Herbert
  - Labor's civil war; B 196
- Hawthorne, Nathaniel. E. Mather; AN 540
- He and his. R. Carter; AN 310
- Heart is a lonely hunter, the; C. McCullers; B 36
- Hedin, Sven
  - Chiang Kai-shek; marshal of China; B.. 576
- Hemingway, Ernest
  - For whom the bell tolls; B ....395; see also 609
- Herring, Pendleton
  - Politics of democracy, the: American parties in action; B ..250; see also C 403
- Higgins, F. R.
  - Gap of brightness, the; B 397
- Hill, Helen and H. Agar
  - Beyond German victory; B 424
- Hill, Louise Biles
  - Joseph E. Brown and the Confederacy; AN 118
- Hillyer, Robert
  - Pattern of a day; B 508
- Hintz, Howard
  - Quaker influence in American literature; AN 118
- Historian and scientist. G. Salvemini; B... 18
- History of Stone & Kimball and Herbert S. Stone & Co., a. With a bibliography of their publications, 1893-1905. S. Kramer; preface by F. G. Melcher; AN 158
- Hitchcock, Edward B.
  - "I built a temple for peace." The life of Eduard Benes; B 224
- Hitler and I. O. Strasser; B 224
- Hoellering, Franz
  - Defenders, the; B ....156; see also.... 395
- Hoellering, Franz; R 224
- Hogben, Lancelot
  - Author in transit; AN 457
- Hold back the dawn; K. Frings; AN 373
- Hook, Sydney
  - Reason, social myths, and democracy; B 370
- Hook, Sidney; R 308, 398, 423
- Hooton, Ernest Albert
  - Why men behave like apes and vice versa; B 539
- Horace Walpole: a biography. R. W. Ketten-Kremer; B 337
- Horace Walpole's correspondence with Madame du Deffand and Wiart. Edited by W. S. Lewis and W. H. Smith; B 276
- Hot irons. O. Arnold and J. P. Hale; R.... 75
- Hough, Henry Beetle
  - Country editor; B 279
- Huberman, Leo
  - America, incorporated; B.... 75
- Hugh Young: a surgeon's autobiography. By Hugh Young; B 307
- Hunter, Reginald
  - Porlock: a portrait. Foreword by J. C. Powys. Illustr. by W. O'Brien; AN.. 400
- Hutchison, Keith; R 34, 304, 424, 479, 611

I

- "I built a temple for peace." The life of Eduard Benes. E. B. Hitchcock; B .. 224
- I chose Denmark. F. Hackett; B 611
- I remember. The autobiography of A. Flexner; B 579
- I rode with Stonewall. H. K. Douglas. Ed. by F. M. Green; AN 485
- I saw France fall: will she rise again? R. de Chambrun; B 367
- I saw it happen in Norway. C. J. Hambro; B 304
- Idle money, idle men. S. Chase; B 157
- In the money. W. C. Williams; B.... 507
- Institute of pacific relations. Inquiry series; B 429
- Invasion. H. W. Van Loon; AN 457
- Invasion from Mars, the. A study in the psychology of panic, with the complete script of the famous Orson Welles broadcast. H. Cantril; AN 199
- Irving, Washington, the Spanish adventure of. C. G. Bowers; B.... 309
- Irving, William Henry
  - John Gay: favorite of the wits; AN... 199
- J'accuse! The inside story of the men who betrayed the French nation. A. Simone; B 247

J

- Jackpot. E. Caldwell; B 175
- Janeway, Eliot; R 157, 612
- Japanese industry. G. C. Allen; B 429
- Japan's case examined. W. W. Willoughby; B 78
- Japan's emergence as a modern state. E. H. Norman; B 429
- Jewish fate and future. A. Ruppin. Transl. by E. W. Dickes; B 577
- Jews, two books on.... 577
- Joel, George; R 609
- John Cotton Dana. F. Kingdon; AB.... 585
- John D. Rockefeller: the heroic age of American enterprise. A. Nevins; B....450; see also C 588
- John Foxe and his book. J. F. Mozley; AN.. 512
- John Gay: favorite of the wits. W. H. Irving; AN 199
- Joseph E. Brown and the confederacy. L. B. Hill; AN 118
- Josephson, Matthew
  - President makers, the: the culture of politics and leadership in an age of enlightenment, 1896-1919; B 342
- Journey through time. L. Barretto; AN 373

K

- Kafka, Franz
  - Amerika. Transl. by Edwin Muir; preface by Klaus Mann; B 396
- Kasner, Edward, and T. Newman
  - Mathematics and the imagination; B... 16
- Kate Trimmingham. F. Frost; AN.... 540
- Kaus, Gina
  - Melanie; AN 310
- Ketten-Kremer, R. W.
  - Horace Walpole: a biography; B 337
- Kingdon, Frank
  - John Cotton Dana; AN 585
- Kipling, Rudyard. E. Shanks; AN.... 373
- Kirstein, Lincoln; R 481
- Kohn, Hans
  - Not by arms alone; B 568
- Kohn, Hans; R 16, 177, 249, 338, 610
- Kramer, Sidney
  - History of Stone & Kimball and Herbert S. Stone & Co. With a bibliography of their publications, 1893-1905; preface by F. G. Melcher; AN 158
- Krey, Laura
  - On the long tide; AN ..485; see also C 544
- Kronenberger, Louis; R 570
- Krutch, Joseph Wood; R 16, 276, 337, 480

L

- Labor's civil war. H. Harris; B 196
- LaFarge, Christopher
  - Poems and portraits; B 339
- Lage, William Potter and E. Borchard
  - Neutrality for the United States; AN .. 178
- Lancaster, Bruce
  - For us the living; AN 485
- Laski, Harold
  - American presidency, the: an interpretation; B 136
  - Where do we go from here? a proclamation of British democracy by a labor spokesman; B 452
- Last lectures. R. Fry. Introduction by Kenneth Clark; B 478
- Last poems and plays. W. B. Yeats; B 333
- Lavery, John
  - Life of a painter, the; AN 38
- Lazarsfeld, Paul F.
  - Radio and the printed page. An introduction to the study of radio and its role in the communication of ideas; B.... 277
- Lederer, Emil
  - State of the masses; B 341
- Lerner, Max; R ....250; see also 403
- Letter of credit. J. Weidman; B 336
- Letters on poetry from W. B. Yeats to Dorothy Wellesley; B 333
- Let there be sculpture: the autobiography of Jacob Epstein; B 422
- Levant, Oscar
  - Smattering of ignorance, a 57
- Levin, Alfred
  - Second duma, the. A study of the social-democratic party and the Russian constitutional experiment; AN 430
- Lewis, Wyndham
  - America, I presume; AN 400
- Lieberman, Elias
  - Collective labor agreement, the; B.... 36
- Lifar, Serge
  - Serge Diaghilev: his life, his work, his legend; B 481
- Life of a painter, the. T. Lavery; AN.... 38
- Life of my mother, the. O. M. Graf; AN.... 641
- Lindbergh, Anne Morrow
  - Wave of the future, the; B....336; see also 626
- Lion in the garden, a; AN 38
- Litten, Irmgard
  - Beyond tears; B 304
- Low, David
  - Illustrations to "The flying visit" by P. Fleming; B 175
- Lowry, H. F., and C. B. Tinker
  - Poetry of Matthew Arnold, the: a commentary; B 223
- Lyle, Jean; R 197

M

- Mackenzie, Helen F.
  - Understanding Picasso; AN 430
- Madame Dorthea. S. Undset; B 117
- Magazines, reviews of 336, 610
- Maillol; B 510
- Make bright the arrows. E. St. Vincent Millay; B 563
- Man and society in an age of reconstruction. K. Mannheim; B 398
- Man named Grant, a. H. Todd; AN 253
- Man who loved children, the. C. Stead; B.. 399
- Mann, Thomas
  - Beloved returns, the; B 175
- Mannheim, Karl
  - Man and society in an age of reconstruction; B 398
- Man's place, a. R. Sender; B.... 424
- Marder, Arthur J.
  - Anatomy of British sea power, the; AN. 664
- Maritain, Jacques
  - Science and wisdom; AN 225
- Mark Twain's travels with Mr. Brown. Collected and edited with an introduction by F. Walker and G. E. Dane; AN.. 540
- Marshall, Margaret; R 75, 95, 175, 196, 247, 304, 335, 395, 450, 535, 609

Marshall, S. L. A.
  Blitzkrieg; AN ... 512
Martha Washington cookbook, the. B ... 536
Mary, queen of England; Mary I, biography of. H. F. M. Prescott; AN ... 225
Masterpieces of European painting in America; B ... 510
Mathematics and the imagination. E. Kasner and J. Newman; B ... 16
Mather, Edward
  Nathaniel Hawthorne: a modest man; AN ... 540
Maurois, André
  Tragedy in France: an eyewitness account. Transl. by Denver Lindley; B. 367
Mayer, Milton S.; R ... 398
McCullers, Carson
  Heart is a lonely hunter, the; B ... 36
McInnis, Edgar
  War, the: first year. Introduction by R. G. Swing; B ... 640
McKean, Dayton David
  The boss: machine politics in action; B. 340
Melanie. G. Kaus; AN ... 310
Mellquist, Jerome; R ... 252, 510
Men of power: a book of dictators. A. Carr; AN ... 430
Menninger, Karl; R ... 97, 307, 454, 539, 640
Metternich, Prince. R. Auernheimer; AN... 540
Mexico reborn; V. C. Millan; B ... 35
Millan, Verna Millan
  Mexico reborn; B ... 35
Millay, Edna St. Vincent
  Make bright the arrows; B ... 563
Miller, Henry
  Cosmological eye, the; B ... 198
Miller, Henry, and M. Fraenkel
  Hamlet; B ... 198
Millis, Walter
  Why Europe fights; B ... 16
Milner, Ian F. G.
  New Zealand's interests and policies in the far east; B ... 429
Minority report. B. DeVoto; AN ... 400
Modern French painters. R. H. Wilenski; B 54
Montgomery, R. H.
  Brimstone game, the: monopoly in action; AN ... 118
Montherlant, Henry de
  Costals and the hippogriff; B ... 250
Moral basis of democracy, the. E. Roosevelt; B ... 336
Morgan, Charles
  Voyage, the; B ... 453
Morris, William, book on ... 663
Mozley, J. F.
  John Foxe and his book; AN ... 512
"Mr. Secretary"; B. A. Williams; AN ... 38
Mumford, Lewis
  Faith for living. B ... 221
Munitz, Milton Karl
  Moral philosophy of George Santayana, the; B ... 37
Murray, Gilbert
  Aeschylus, the creator of tragedy; AN. 178
Music, books on ... 57
Myers, Gustavus; R ... 450; see also letter by L. M. Hacker; G. Myers' reply... 588
Myers, L. H.
  Pool of Vishnu, the; AN ... 158
My name is Aram. W. Saroyan; AN ... 430

N

Nathaniel Hawthorne: a modest man. E. Mather; AN ... 540
Negro in Virginia, the. Virginia writers' project; AN ... 253
Nemesis? D. Reed; B ... 224
Nest of simple folk, a. S. O'Faoláin; B... 175
Neutrality for the United States. E. Borchard and W. P. Lage; AN ... 178
Nevins, Allan
  John D. Rockefeller: the heroic age of American enterprise; B....450; see also C ... 588
New England: Indian summer. Van Wyck Brooks; B ... 137
New Zealand's interests and policies in the far east. I. F. G. Milner; B ... 429
Newman, James, and E. Kasner
  Mathematics and the imagination; B .. 16
New ways of war. T. Wintringham; B... 16
Niebuhr, Reinhold; R ... 221, 274, 341, 370, 568
Norlin, George
  Things in the saddle; B... 610
Norman, E. Herbert
  Japan's emergence as a modern state; B. 429
Nostradamus, oracles of. C. A. Ward; reissued; B ... 175
Not by arms alone. H. Kohn; B ... 568

O

O'Brien, Justin; R ... 76, 565
O'Connor, Frank
  Dutch interior; AN ... 485
Œuvres de Greco en espagne, les. C. Zervos; B ... 252
O'Faoláin, Seán
  Nest of simple folk, a; B ... 175
O'Hara, John
  Pal Joey; AN ... 400
Oliver Wiswell. K. Roberts; B....509; see also ... 609
One part love. B. Deutsch; B ... 78
On the long tide. L. Krey; AN ....485; see also C ... 544
Oracles of Nostradamus. C. A. Ward; reissued; B ... 175
Orr, Douglas W.; R ... 579
Our future in Asia. R. A. Smith; B ... 344
Ox-bow incident. W. Van Tilburg Clark; B 344
Oxford book of christian verse, the. Edited and chosen by Lord David Cecil; B.. 278

P

Pal Joey. J. O'Hara; AN ... 400
Paris France. G. Stein; B ... 76
Partridge, Eric
  Dictionary of clichés, a; AN ... 512
Pass through Manhattan. R. Wormser; AN. 310
Pattern of a day. R. Hillyer; B ... 508
Peirce, Charles, empiricism. J. Buchler. Foreword by E. Nagel; B ... 483
People talk, the. B. Appel; AN ... 158
Perry, Ralph Barton
  . . . Shall not perish from the earth; B. 428
Philosopher of the common man, the. Essays in honor of John Dewey to celebrate his eightieth birthday; B ... 639
Picasso. H. F. Mackenzie; AN ... 430
Pilgrim hawk, the. G. Westcott; B... 636
Poems and portraits. C. La Farge; B ... 339
Poetry and the modern world. D. Daiches; B 570
Poetry of Matthew Arnold, the: a commentary. C. B. Tinker and H. F. Lowry; B ... 223
Pol, Heinz
  Suicide of a democracy. Transl. by Heinz and Ruth Norden; B ... 367
Politics of democracy, the: American parties in action. P. Herring; B....250; see also C ... 403
Pool of Vishnu, the. L. H. Myers; AN... 158
Porlock: a portrait. R. Hunter. Foreword by J. C. Powys. Illustr. by W. O'Brien; AN ... 400
Portrait of the artist as a young dog. D. Thomas; AN ... 512
Pound, Ezra
  Cantos LII-LXXI; B ... 637
Prentice, William Kelly
  Ancient Greeks, the; AN... 585
Prescott, H. F. M.
  Spanish Tudor, a: the life of "Bloody Mary." AN ... 225
President makers, the: the culture of politics and leadership in an age of enlightenment, 1896-1919. M. Josephson; B.... 342
Preston, George H.
  Psychiatry for the curious; B ... 454
Prince Metternich: statesman and lover. R. Auernheimer; AN ... 540
Private enterprise and democracy. C. E. Carpenter; AN ... 253
Problem of Japanese trade expansion, the. N. S. Farley; B ... 429
Programme for progress, a. J. Strachey; B. 116
Psychiatry for the curious. G. H. Preston; B ... 454

Q

Quaker influence in American literature, the. H. Hintz; AN ... 118

R

Race: science and politics. R. Benedict; B... 372
Radio and the printed page. An introduction to the study of radio and its role in the communication of ideas. P. F. Lazarsfeld; B ... 277
Rahv, Philip; R ... 396, 536
Rape of the masses, the. S. Chatokin; B.... 341
Raushenbush, Joan, and C. Foreman
  Total Defense; B... 426
Read, Conyers; R ... 55
Real danger of gold, the. H. Scherman; B.. 222
Realm of spirit, the. G. Santayana; B... 423
Reason, social myths, and democracy. S. Hook; B ... 370
Reed, Douglas
  Nemesis? B ... 224
Regler, Gustav
  Great crusade, the; B... 368
Revolution is on, the. M. W. Fodor; B... 570
Reyher, Rebecca Hourwich; R ... 426
Richelieu: his rise to power. C. J. Burckhardt. Transl. and abridged by E. and W. Muir; AN ... 225
Rilke, wartime letters of; B ... 305
Rippy, J. Fred
  Caribbean danger zone, the; AN ... 457
River, W. L.
  Transit in U. S. A.; B ... 368
Roberts, Cecil
  And so to Bath; AN... 373
Roberts, Elisabeth Madox
  Song in the meadow; B ... 55
Roberts, Kenneth
  Oliver Wiswell; B ....509; see also ... 609
Rockefeller, John D.; biography. A. Nevins; B ....450; see also C ... 588
Rodin, Auguste, book on; B ... 510
Roger Fry: a biography. V. Woolf; B... 478
Rogers, Lindsay; R ... 136
Romains, Jules
  Seven mysteries of Europe; B ... 564
Romantic rebel: the life and times of George Sand. F. Seyd; B ... 248
Roosevelt, Eleanor
  Moral basis of democracy, the; B ... 336
Roosevelt, Eleanor. R. Black; AN... 457
Rosenfeld, Paul; R ... 198, 507
Rosinski, Herbert; R ... 426
Rosscommon. C. A. Smart; AN ... 139
Rothermell, Fred
  Ghostland, the; AN ... 310
Rourke, Constance; R ... 54, 565
Rubens, paintings and drawings; B ... 510
Rudyard Kipling. E. Shanks; AN ... 373
Rukeyser, Muriel
  Turning wind, a; B ... 55
Rumsey, Adeline
  When the bough breaks; B ... 222
Ruppin, Arthur
  Jewish fate and future. Transl. by E. W. Dickes; B ... 577

S

Salomon, Louis B.; R....36, 117, 177, 198, 222, 250, 278, 306, 344, 368, 399, 453, 509, 538
Salvemini, Gaetano
  Historian and scientist; B... 18
Samuel, Maurice
  Great hatred, the; B ... 577
Sand, George, life of. F. Seyd; B... 248
Santayana, George
  Realm of spirit, the; B... 423
Santayana, George, the moral philosophy of. M. K. Munitz; B ... 37
Sapphira and the slave girl. W. Cather; B.. 574
Saroyan, William
  My name is Aram; AN ... 430
Scherman, Harry
  Real danger of gold, the; B ... 222
Schlamm, William S.
  This second war of independence; B.... 428
Schriftgiesser, Karl
  Families; AN ... 664
Schwed, Fred
  Where are the customers' yachts? Ill. by P. Arno; AN ... 253
Science and everyday life. J. B. S. Haldane; AN ... 281
Science and wisdom. J. Maritain; AN ... 225
Science front, 1939. F. S. Taylor; AN ... 199
Second duma, the. A study of the social-democratic party and the Russian constitutional experiment. A. Levin; AN. 430
Sender, Ramón
  Man's place, a; B ... 424
Serge Diaghilev: his life, his work, his legend. S. Lifar; B ... 481
Sergeant Lamb's America. R. Graves; AN.. 457
Seven mysteries of Europe. J. Romains; B.. 564
Seyd, Felizia
  Romantic rebel: the life and times of George Sand; B ... 248
Sforza, Carlo
  Fifty years of war and diplomacy in the Balkans; B ... 662
  Shall not perish from the earth. R. B. Perry; B ... 428
Shanks, Edward
  Rudyard Kipling; AN ... 373
Shepard, Jack
  Australia's interests and policies in the far east; B ... 429
Siegfried, André
  Suez and Panama. Transl. by H. and D. Hemming; AN ... 400
Simmons, Ernest J.
  Dostoevski: the making of a novelist; B. 197
Simone, André
  J'accuse! The inside story of the men who betrayed the French nation; B.. 247
Sinclair, Upton
  World's end; B ... 54
Sitwell, Osbert
  Escape with me. An oriental sketch book; B ... 95
Slavery times in Kentucky. J. W. Coleman, jr.; AN ... 400
Smart, Charles Allen. Rosscommon; AN.... 139
Smattering of ignorance, a. O. Levant ... 57
Smith, Robert Aura
  Our future in Asia; B ... 344
Snyder, Carl
  Capitalism the creator; B ... 76
So perish the roses. N. Bell; AN ... 400
Song in the meadow. E. M. Roberts; B.... 55
Spain, books on; B ... 368, 395
Spanish adventure of Washington Irving, the. C. G. Bowers; B ... 309
Spanish Tudor, a: the life of "Bloody Mary." H. F. M. Prescott; AN ... 225

Spring, Howard
  Fame is the spur; B 538
Stark, Freya
  Winter in Arabia; B 536
State of the masses. E. Lederer; B 341
Stead, Christina
  Man who loved children, the; B 399
Stebbins, Lucy and Richard.
  Enchanted wanderer: the life of C. M. von Weber; B 96
Stefansson, Vilhjalmur
  Ultima Thule; B 640
Stein, Gertrude
  Paris France; B 76
  What are masterpieces; AN 512
Stern, G. B.
  Lion in the garden, a; AN 38
Stewart, Maxwell S.; R 78, 222, 307, 344, 429, 576, 640
Still small voice. A. Derleth; AN 664
Stoic and epicurean philosophers, the. The complete extant writings of Epicurus, Epictetus, Lucretius, Marcus Aurelius. Edited, and with an introd. by W. J. Oates; AN 430
Stolper, Gustav
  German economy, 1870 to 1940; AN... 400
Stone, I. F.; R 221
Storm, Hans Otto
  Count ten; B 306
Story of surgery, the. H. Graham. B 97
Strachey, John
  Programme for progress, a; B 116
Strasser, Otto
  Hitler and I; B 224
Suez and Panama. A. Siegfried. Transl. by H. and D. Hemming; AN.......... 400
Suicide of a democracy. H. Pol. Transl. by H. and R. Norden; B 367
Sumner today. Selected essays by W. G. Sumner. Ed. by M. R. Davie; AN .. 585
Sumner, William Graham
  Sumner today. Selected essays. Ed. by M. R. Davie; AN 585
Surgeon's life, a. J. M. T. Finney; B 640

T

Taylor, F. Sherwood
  Science front, 1939; AN 199
Tennessee writers' project
  God bless the devil! AN 281
Theatre; America's lost plays; B 480
Theodora of Byzantium, a life of. J. W. Vandercock; AN 281
They wanted war. O. D. Tolischus; B 177
Things in the saddle. G. Norlin; B 610
This second war of independence. W. S. Schlamm; B 428
This is our own. M. De L. Welch; B 55
Thomas, Dylan
  Portrait of the artist as a young dog; AN 512
Thurber, James
  Fables for our times; B 247
Time for a quick one. M. Fishback; AN... 485
Tinker, C. B., and H. F. Lowry
  Poetry of Matthew Arnold, the: a commentary; B 223
Todd, Helen
  Man named Grant, a; AN 253
Tolischus, Otto D.
  They wanted war; B 177
Tomasi, Mari
  Deep grow the roots; AN 373
Too big. M. L. Ernst; B 34
To the Finland station: a study in the writing and acting of history. E. Wilson; B 274
To the Indies. C. S. Forester; AN 139
Total defense. C. Foreman and J. Raushenbush; B 426
Tragedy in France: an eyewitness account. A. Maurois. Transl. by D. Lindley; B 367
Transit U.S.A. W. L. River; B 368
Treasury of the world's great letters, a. Edited by M. L. Schuster; B 536
Trelawny: a man's life. M. Armstrong; B.. 307
Triumph of American capitalism, the. L. M. Hacker; B 396
Trojan horse in America, the. M. Dies; B.. 507
Turbulent giant (Micoula). G. Grebestchikoff; B 662
Turning wind, a. Poems by M. Rukeyser; B. 55
Twin stars of China. E. F. Carlson; B...... 307
Tyler, August; R 36

U

Ultima Thule. V. Stefansson; B 640
Understanding Picasso. A study of his styles and development. H. F. Mackenzie; AN 430
Undset, Sigrid
  Madame Dorthea; B 117
Until the shearing. A. M. Downes; AN 400
Utley, Freda
  Dream we lost, the. B 196
Utley, Freda; R 663

V

Vambery, Rustem; R 510, 570, 662
Van Loon, Hendrik Willem
  Invasion; AN 457
Vandercock, John W.
  Empress of the dusk. A life of Theodora of Byzantium; AN 281
Victorian rebel, a: the life of William Morris. L. W. Eshelman; B 663
Viertel, Peter
  Canyon, the; B 177
Virginia writers' project
  Negro in Virginia, the; AN 253
Vitamins: what they are and how they can benefit you. H. Borsook; B 613
Vivas Eliseo; R 37, 483
Voyage, the. C. Morgan; B 453

W

Walker, Mildred
  Brewers' big horses, the; AN 139
Wallace, Henry A.
  American choice, the; B 612
Walpole, Horace: a biography. R. W. Ketton-Cremer; B 337
Walpole, Horace, correspondence with Madame du Deffand and Wiart. Edited by W. S. Lewis and W. H. Smith; B. 276
War, the: first year. E. McInnis. Introduction by R. G. Swing; B 640
Ward, Charles A.
  Oracles of Nostradamus; reissued; B ... 175
Ward, Lester F.; The American Aristotle. A summary and interpretation of his sociology by S. Chugerman; AN 38
Wartime letters of Rainer Maria Rilke. Transl. by M. D. Herder Norton; B.. 305
Wave of the future, the. A. M. Lindbergh; B ....336; see also R. G. Swing; S.. 626
Weber, C. M. von, life of. L. and R. P. Stebbins; B 96
Wechsler, James A.; R 507
Weevil in the cotton. S. M. Elam; AN 373
Weidman, Jerome
  Letter of credit; B 336
Welch, Marie De L.
  This is our own; B 55
Wells, H. G.
  Babes in the darkling wood; B 276
Werfel, Franz
  Embezzled heaven; B 536
Wescott, Glenway
  Pilgrim hawk, the; B................. 636
West walking Yankee. H. Chapin; B 339
Weyl, Nathaniel; R 35
What are masterpieces? G. Stein; AN...... 512
Wheeler, Nicholson M.
  Battle shield of the republic; B 580
When the bough breaks. A. Rumsey; B.... 222
Where are the customers yachts? F. Schwed, jr. Ill. by P. Arno; AN 253
Where do we go from here? a proclamation of British democracy by a labor party spokesman. H. Laski; B 452
White, Morton G.; R 639
White, Patrick
  Happy valley; B 198
Whither interest rates. H. H. Allen 52
Why Europe fights. W. Millis; B 16
Why men behave like apes and vice versa. E. A. Hooton; B 539
Wilenski, R. H.
  Modern French painters; B 54
Williams, Ben Ames
  "Mr. secretary"; AN 38
Williams, William Carlos
  In the money; B 507
Willoughby, Westel W.
  Japan's case examined; B 78
Wilson, Edmund
  To the Finland station: a study in the writing and acting of history; B...... 274
Winter in Arabia. F. Stark; B 536
Wintringham, Tom
  New ways of war; B 479
Wolfe, Thomas
  You can't go home again; B 278
Wolfson, Theresa, R 308
Woolf, Virginia
  Roger Fry; a biography; B 478
World's end. U. Sinclair; B 54
Wormser, Richard
  Pass through Manhattan; AN.......... 310
Wrong attitude, the: a bad boy at a good school. C. A. Chapman; AN 373

Y

Yeats, W. B.
  Last poems and plays; B 333
  Letters on poetry, to Dorothy Wellesley; B 333
You can't go home again. T. Wolfe; B...... 278

Z

Zabel, Morton Daywen; R 137, 175, 223, 333, 478, 574, 636
Zalar millionu. V. Benes; AN 178
Zervos, Christian
  Les œuvres de Greco en Espagne; B.... 252

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The Shape of Things

THE BALKAN WITCH'S BREW THREATENS TO boil over at any moment, but frantic Axis efforts to damp down the fire may for a time keep the pot at a simmer. It seems clear that neither Rome nor Berlin had advance notice of the Russian ultimatum to Rumania, and their surprise resulted in mixed signals. Thus the German legation in Bucharest blamed the Soviet move on British intrigue and assured Rumania of Germany's help in recovering the lost territories as soon as the war in the west was ended. Official quarters in Berlin, on the other hand, sought to give the impression that Russia's action was taken with the full consent of the Axis. The occupation of Bessarabia is likely to deprive Germany of deliveries of grain and oil-seeds from the one region in Southeast Europe where a good harvest is expected. Further it gives Russia control of the mouth of the Danube, even though early reports that Stalin had demanded a naval base at Constanza are not yet confirmed. The inclusion of Bukovina in the ultimatum brings to the Soviets a province which has never been Russian and was included in the old Austro-Hungarian Empire to which Hitler considers himself heir. Its population is mainly Ukrainian, and Hungarian Ruthenia is now the only section of the Ukraine outside Russian control. Moscow's next move may be to acquire this province, making sure that no Ukrainian territory is left to Germany as a future base of operations.

* * *

THE NAZI ATTACK ON BRITAIN MAY BEGIN any day. Russia's march into the lands which Germany regards as peculiarly its *Lebensraum* provides an additional reason for haste. But the risks of an attempt at invasion are very formidable so long as the Royal Air Force is unconquered. Every night now German bombers are ranging far and wide over Britain seeking to smash airfields, factories, and docks. But Britain is replying in kind and is hitting hard at German oil reserves. Both sides report great success for their own planes and negligible damage by those of the enemy. But it is noteworthy that British reports of attack on German objectives are far more detailed and circumstantial than Nazi reports of raids over Britain. In Africa and the Mediterranean Britain also seems to be holding its own although it refuses credit for the death of Italo Balbo, whose fate seems comparable to that of General von Fritsch. Meanwhile the mysterious peace rumors, for which both London and Berlin deny all responsibility, appear to have been squelched. Mr. Chamberlain, still under attack as the arch-apostle of appeasement, has broadcast to the world his determination to stand with Churchill in resisting the Nazis to the end. And, indeed, it is difficult to see any basis of negotiation between a Hitler more convinced than ever of his world-conquering destiny and a Britain still buttressed with powerful resources and in no mood to acknowledge defeat.

* * *

HOPE THAT FRENCH RESISTANCE WOULD BE carried on in the colonies appears to have vanished, and the final disposition of the French navy remains a mystery. The armistice terms imposed by Italy were conceived with a cleverly calculated moderation. Had Mussolini demanded military occupation of territories on which no Italian soldier had been able to set foot, it is improbable that the colonial commanders would have tamely submitted. But only in the case of Djibouti is there to be any immediate surrender of French possessions. Elsewhere France will remain in nominal control at least, and disbandment of armies will be limited by the retention of forces sufficient to maintain internal order. This may prove quite a task, for the French collapse is likely to stir up the native nationalists both in Syria and North Africa. Events in France itself, occupied and unoccupied, are largely hidden behind a thick curtain drawn by the censors. There are reports of frightful distress, and in Paris one-third of the remaining population is said to be unemployed and without resources. There are rumors of movements by fascist groups, and Laval has indicated that a government on authoritarian lines will soon be inaugurated. But it will take more than synthetic fascism, seeking to salvage what it can for the "two hundred," to put France back on its feet.

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HEINZ POL'S GRUESOME STORY—WE USE THE word advisedly—of the forces inside France which joined with the mechanized armies of Hitler to crush the Third Republic is not simply a post-mortem on the betrayal of a great country; it constitutes a terrible warning to the narrowing group of nations not yet overrun by fascism. The men who betrayed France did not bear foreign names. On the contrary it was the "best people" of France who out of ineptitude or plain sabotage helped to deliver the country to its enemies. Mr. Pol, who is a responsible journalist, does not minimize the external factors which led to the fall of France; but there is little question that that fall could not have been accomplished so easily without help from within. France, like every other country, had its hysteria about fifth columns of foreign origin; but one of the functions of that hysteria, wherever it prevails, is to provide a smoke screen for the real traitors, the men high in the ranks of industry and government who are themselves fascists in everything but their public speeches.

* * *

THREE UNITED STATES CRUISERS ARE NOW pursuing "good-will" missions in South America, but if we are to combat the influence of high-riding European dictators, we shall have to contribute something more solid than good-will to the pan-American balance sheet. South of the Rio Grande swarms of Nazi agents are seeking to cash in on German victories, and they are subsidizing newspapers and radio stations on a lavish scale. Since the victory over France they have begun to make proposals for gigantic barter deals, confidently offering delivery for early fall. There may be, of course, an element of bluff in such offers, which serve to "prove" the overwhelming confidence of the Nazis. But in any case South America, cut off from almost all its European markets, is approaching a trade crisis and is in a mood to listen to even specious suggestions of relief. The newly arranged Import-Export Bank $20,000,000 credit to Argentina is a counter-move in the right direction, but there is urgent need for a really comprehensive plan to promote closer economic relations among the American states. Otherwise we had better be prepared for a scramble to get on the dictators' bandwagon. The recent speech of President Vargas, despite subsequent denials, was a significant straw in the wind. Another is the decision of the Uruguayan government to drop its inquiry into Nazi activities, which had uncovered evidence of extensive conspiracy. Following threats that Germany would break off relations, ten Nazi leaders have been released. Another reason prompting this step, it is reported, was pressure from a neighboring state, which has hinted that Uruguay should avoid getting into a situation where it might have to ask armed assistance from the United States

LARGER PROFITS FOR ITS "PATRIOTISM" ARE being demanded by business, with the support of army and navy authorities. It is significant that Assistant Secretary of War Johnson expressed opposition to the 7 per cent profit limit written into the navy shipbuilding bill by Senator Walsh. Both army and navy men appeared against the limitation proposal, which has now been applied to planes as well as ships. The revelation that the navy had prepared a billion dollars' worth of cost-plus-10-per-cent contracts on the old scandalous World War basis helped Senator Walsh win his fight for profit limitation. Actually the limit is 8 per cent on contracts arrived at by competitive bidding, 7 per cent on negotiated contracts. The profit is figured on cost, not on invested capital. The *Wall Street Journal* grieves that under the new law airplane manufacturers "will do well to net 5 per cent on their government contracts." But its own survey shows that a net of 5 per cent would have yielded airplane companies as high as 20 per cent on invested capital. We cannot believe these profits are so meager as to undermine the loyalty of our poor shipbuilders and plane manufacturers. To counterbalance passage of the profit limit we have the defeat of the Connally amendment to the tax bill that was designed to "take the profits out of war" and of the excess-profits tax sponsored by La Follette, which would have taken 40 per cent of all profits above 20 per cent on invested capital.

* * *

HENRY FORD HAS MADE HIMSELF A HERO to Nazi sympathizers in his own country and no doubt further ingratiated himself with the Führer by his refusal to manufacture Rolls-Royce airplane engines for the British government. He says he will make planes for the defense of the United States only. We could take Ford's "pacifism" and "patriotism" more seriously if he were not the holder of a decoration from the Nazis and had not in the past demonstrated his sympathy with many of their views. It is easy to understand Ford's friendly feelings toward the Third Reich and his unwillingness to help the British people fight for their homes and lives against Nazi aggression. He has always run his factories after the fashion of a totalitarian dictator; he has had his own plug-uglies to keep "order," his own corps of spies to watch workers. There is no freedom of speech behind the Ford gates in Dearborn and little in their vicinity. At the same time Ford is apparently trying to dictate to the American government how to run its defense program. The plans for the Rolls-Royce motor are British-owned and have been lent to our government without fee. Nine thousand were to have been manufactured, six for the British, three for us. Splitting up the order would increase their cost to both countries.

THE OLD LESSON THAT LOYALTY IS NOT to be exacted by force, persecution, or discrimination has been forgotten in the purge now under way of all Communists, Bundists, and members of native fascist and terrorist organizations from the WPA rolls. The door is opened to snooping, spying, and spite work, and most persons who come under the ban are probably committing perjury to save their jobs. In New York City, where 85,000 workers signed affidavits disavowing any connection with subversive groups, only ten have been dropped so far, nine for refusing to fill out affidavits, one for admitting membership in the Communist Party. So far no one has admitted being a Nazi. A fifty-seven-year-old stenographer, Mrs. Charlotte I. Long, may provide the test case which the Workers' Alliance will take to the courts. In our present mood of xenophobia, the fact that Mrs. Long is Kansas-born, is eligible for membership in the D. A. R., and claims descent from seventeenth-century immigrants to this country will probably be helpful. Mrs. Long told newspapermen that she is "an American who hates fascism with all [her] heart and soul" but who thinks it un-American to ask WPA workers for their political affiliation and therefore refuses to sign the affidavit. We believe the law an unconstitutional discrimination unlikely to survive appeal to the Supreme Court.

The Willkie Challenge

TWO men were nominated for President by the Republican convention in Philadelphia, both of them Democrats. In picking Wendell L. Willkie as its candidate, the convention virtually guaranteed the renomination of Franklin D. Roosevelt for a third term. No other Democrat can hope to win the election. The high-pressure publicity campaign put on for Willkie and the sums no doubt spent behind the scenes to win him the nomination would not have been effective if utility men were still synonymous with Insull, as in the thirties. In Willkie the Republicans have a candidate who comes close to matching Mr. Roosevelt in personal affability and vigor. In a real sense Willkie was drafted. The party bosses did not want him and Wall Street did, but he was picked despite his connections rather than because of them. Before Willkie's genuine appeal Hoover's attempt to do a Bryan with synthetic epigrams turned out to be a forlorn performance. If John L. Lewis, as has been suggested by his friends, was engaged in a sinister attempt to trap the Republican Party into insuring its defeat by renominating Hoover, the plot failed. The party picked its best possible candidate, and the Democrats will have to do the same to beat him.

In one respect we take satisfaction in the nomination of Willkie. His position in favor of aid to Britain in its desperate struggle against Nazi aggression means national unity on foreign policy in a time of crisis for the Western civilization of which we are a part. Willkie, like the President himself, is for all measures short of war, and that issue—so important to our national defense—will not figure in the campaign. There will be recriminations and counter-recriminations on defense, no doubt, but the two major parties will be demonstrating their willingness, in Landon's phrase, to end politics at the water's edge. This will be bad news in Berlin, good news in London. On the question of foreign policy the Republican platform faces sixteen ways at once in an effort to pick up the votes of both the isolationists and those who would extend aid to Britain. But the candidate is more important than the platform, and Willkie has already made his position clear. Mr. Roosevelt's offer to confer with him on foreign policy is in line with Hoover's offer to confer with Roosevelt in 1932. We hope that Willkie, unlike Roosevelt, will accept the invitation. Too much is at stake to give even the appearance of disunity on the question of all aid "short of war."

On domestic issues the cleavage between Roosevelt and Willkie is a fundamental one, though the former has been striving recently to placate the right and the latter to reassure the left. On domestic issues the Republican platform is part pure Throttlebottom—"the Republican Party has always protected the American worker"; "a prosperous and stable agriculture is the foundation of our economic structure"—part the most ludicrous straddle. It pledges a square deal to the Negro but skirts no closer to the anti-lynching issue than to condemn "mob violence." It will protect labor's right to organize but thinks the Wagner Act ought to be amended to provide "orderliness" in collective bargaining. It indorses "the principle" of the Truth-in-Securities Act but thinks it possible to "keep the securities market clean without paralyzing it." It is still for a high tariff—but a high tariff for everybody, "for agriculture, labor, and industry." (The Hawley-Smoot tariff was put over as an aid to agriculture.) It favors regulation of stock exchanges but is also for their "self-control." It wants old-age pensions put on a pay-as-you-go basis and relief returned to local control. The platform indicates that the Republicans as a whole have learned nothing. They did not renominate Hoover, but they wrote a Hoover platform.

The choice between Willkie and Roosevelt is a choice between two methods of national defense. Both will build bigger navies and armies, but only Roosevelt promises continuation of a task even more important to our defense—the task of building a juster and more secure social order. The stability of our democratic society ultimately depends, not on paying high profits to munitions makers and giving free rein to the "enterprise" of the bankers behind Willkie, but of building an America in which every man can have a home and a job. In the long run only that kind of America can be defended, because only that kind of America will be immune to the treachery and the dry rot and the dissatisfaction that have proved Hitler's most effective allies abroad. That kind of America will not be built by Commonwealth and Southern or by the House of Morgan, its bankers. Only a continuation of the New Deal can make it a possibility, and only Mr. Roosevelt can carry on the New Deal.

Crisis in the Far East

AT A time when public attention is distracted by political conventions and the disintegration of Europe, the United States is confronted with the most severe challenge of a century to its interests in the Far East. Japan's proclamation of hegemony in Eastern Asia has been cleverly disguised by its spokesmen as a "Monroe Doctrine for Asia." But unlike the American Monroe Doctrine, it has nothing to do with the protection of existing states or the preservation of the status quo. It is a program of stark aggression, a program for the destruction of all but Japanese sovereignty throughout the vast area of Eastern Asia and the South Seas.

The change is not, of course, to be brought about overnight. Nine years of intermittent conflict have left China far from conquered. Presumably the campaign against Chungking will be moderated in order that the Japanese may take advantage of the unprecedented opportunity to push what has always been their main drive —against Great Britain, France, and the United States. Indo-China is in danger of being snuffed out at almost any moment. Its ports are already blockaded by the Japanese navy; the Japanese army is massed along its borders. And it is clear that Japan does not intend to stop at Indo-China. Pressure is being brought on Britain to stop shipments to China over the Burma road. If Britain gave in to this demand as well, China would be completely cut off from supplies and could be quickly defeated. This would free a million and a half Japanese soldiers for further conquests. British rejection of the Japanese demand would doubtless, unless the United States took a hand, be followed by an attack on Hongkong and Shanghai. The Dutch East Indies with their rich resources of oil, rubber, tin, nickel, and sugar are in equal peril.

It is easy to say, as the Republicans seem to have said at Philadelphia—judging by the omission of any reference to the Far East in their platform—that what happens to the French, British, and Dutch possessions in the Pacific is no concern of the United States. In just such manner the British Tories convinced themselves that the fate of Spain and Czechoslovakia was no concern of theirs. But what is happening in the Far East is just as ominous for us as are the disasters in Europe. The threat to our security from the East is perhaps even more imminent. Japan's conquest of the Allies' possessions would leave our outposts—the Philippines, Guam, and Midway Island—at its mercy. Moreover, American industry is virtually dependent on rubber, tin, and fiber imports from the East Indies, the Straits Settlements, and the Philippines. And we shall hardly escape paying the price if the Japanese brand of fascism becomes dominant throughout Asia.

If Japan is to be stopped, the initiative must come from the United States. France and the Netherlands are prostrate. Britain is ready to give up unless assured of some backing by the United States. Some groups in Washington are said to favor appeasement of Japan so as to free our hands to aid Britain against Germany. Yet under existing conditions the greatest aid we can render is in the East. There was a time when Japan could have been stopped by economic pressure without the risk of war. That time has passed. But even today the risks of action are far less than those of inaction. Japan has been seriously weakened by three years of continuous warfare. It has in recent months been studiously careful to avoid giving direct offense to the United States. The threat of an embargo, which the President may now impose by executive action, might still dissuade Japan. The return of the fleet to Hawaii is a welcome sign of firmness. Failure to act may mean not only defeat for China, and for us the ultimate loss of essential supplies, but that we shall eventually clash with an immensely strengthened, insatiable military power.

These Are Our Allies

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

REFUGEES. The mounting flood, sweeping across Europe, now has reached the sea. Multiplying as they moved, the enemies and victims of fascism, the enlightened, free, and humane elements of a whole continent, are, almost literally, gathered at the ocean's edge in the few remaining uncaptured ports of France or, even worse, in closed detention camps, waiting for rescue or destruction.

Where can they go? Obviously, the New World is their only hope. On this continent and in South America great spaces and great resources wait to be used. The Americas together should offer sanctuary to every human being suffering under fascist or Communist rule. An agreement to this end should be proposed at the pan-American conference at Havana this month; its details should be worked out and the organs of control set up. Private funds for the transportation and resettling of refugees should be augmented by government subsidies. The United States should set a generous example by combining the quotas for several years so that immediate haven can be granted to a fair proportion of the refugees.

It may be necessary to change our whole conception of immigration. After emergency measures have been taken, Congress should reconsider the basis of admission to the United States. At present persons seeking entry are required to prove their positive value as immigrants, but this is a temporary provision. If Hitler's new Europe becomes an established reality, it may be necessary to refuse entrance to all persons who cannot show that they are exiles or refugees. We cannot afford in days to come to harbor fascists or the satisfied subjects of fascism, but our own liberties will be fortified if we welcome Europe's democratic outcasts.

What We Must Do Now. But that is for the future. Today the problem is one of rescue. If Western Europe had been shattered by earthquake, our government would rush help to the victims, saving first of all those in greatest peril. Western Europe has suffered a catastrophe more devastating than any act of God—a catastrophe which has trapped thousands of victims. Those who still live must be saved. Only the United States government has the power to do it.

Those must be helped first who are closest to capture and would suffer the worst fate if they fell into the hands of their enemies. They are the marked men, the anti-fascist leaders. They are Germans, Austrians, Czechs, Poles, Italians, Spaniards, and political refugees from the newly conquered territories of the west. A few thousand can be found and identified. They are known to committees and to fellow-refugees in this country.

No quota changes are necessary to save them. The Administration could do two things immediately. First, it could order our consulates in France to offer sanctuary to specified individuals. This is an old custom honored in all other wars. Second, it could offer such persons transit visas for the United States. It could even admit them temporarily, as an emergency act, without visas. Third, it could charter ships flying neutral flags to bring them safely out of Europe.

To select those to be saved first will be a delicate task but not an impossible one. Each national group and many relief organizations can provide lists of the most obviously imperiled anti-fascists. Many such lists have already been thrust into the hands of State Department officials. To facilitate the task of selection, the department might ask the help of a few representative American citizens already close to the problem but free from factional or racial commitments. They could examine the suggestions of interested groups and seek the advice of national leaders, and could make clear-cut representations to the Administration.

I can only urge that, by this method or another, effective steps be taken immediately. The task is one for today or tomorrow; if it is delayed longer, it will not need to be done at all.

The Rank and File. The followers, the anonymous thousands, must be saved too. But that is a task for the day after tomorrow. France has agreed by the terms of the armistice with Hitler to "hand over all German subjects indicated by the German government." But at worst it will take a little time for the mass of refugees to be spotted and delivered to their fate. In that time, the American nations, if they act promptly, could prepare a plan and offer it to both France and Germany. Hitler wants the open enemies of his rule; presumably he will let the rank and file escape if they are able.

Our Opportunity. Out of this vast continental migration one great good can come if we are willing to see it. The United States and the other Americas can gain as citizens the best democrats of Europe, men and women who value freedom above every other good, who risked death and suffered exile rather than give it up. We can use such citizens. Their experience will help to shatter our complacency and stiffen our own resistance to the terror that drove them from their homes. Only anti-fascists can fight fascism.

CONTENTS

THE SHAPE OF THINGS 1

EDITORIALS:

- THE WILLKIE CHALLENGE 3
- CRISIS IN THE FAR EAST 4
- THESE ARE OUR ALLIES by Freda Kirchwey 4

GRAND OLD PARADOX by Robert Bendiner 6

WHO BETRAYED FRANCE? by Heinz Pol 7

DOES DEFENSE MEAN JOBS? by Edna Lonigan 10

GENERALS WITHOUT IDEAS by Harvey S. Ford 12

EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS by Keith Hutchison 14

IN THE WIND 15

BOOKS AND THE ARTS:

- WALTER MILLIS EXPLAINS by Hans Kohn 16
- BEAUTY BARE by Joseph Wood Krutch 16
- "WHAT IS CULTURE?" by W. H. Auden 18
- RECORDS by B. H. Haggin 20

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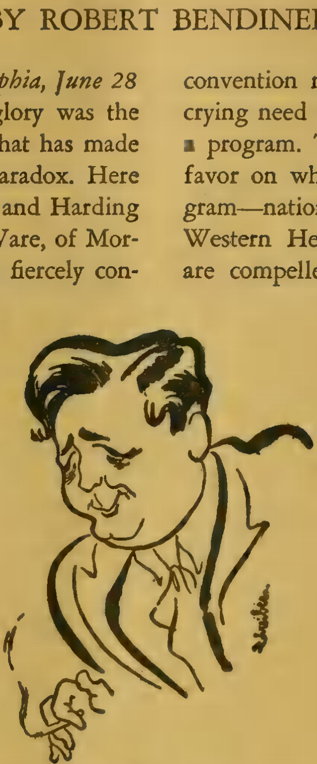
Grand Old Paradox

BY ROBERT BENDINER

Philadelphia, June 28

WENDELL WILLKIE'S call to glory was the natural climax of a convention that has made the G. O. P. the Grand Old Paradox. Here were the bosses of the party of McKinley and Harding and Coolidge, of Hanna and Penrose and Vare, of Morgan and du Pont and the Liberty League, fiercely conspiring to head off the candidacy of "Wall Street's man"—and failing in the face of a genuinely popular revolt. Here was a convention that made the Republican the peace party and elected its most interventionist candidate; a convention that censured Roosevelt for being too outspoken in his condemnation of the dictators and rebuked him for being the American Chamberlain; a convention that indorsed the New Deal's major tenets and demanded the death of the New Deal lest the country perish.


Wendell Willkie

Some of the anomalies that have made Philadelphia a place of wonder this past week are more artificial than real. The Taft people's references to Willkie as a public-utilities man, for example, may be set down as a classic instance of the pot calling the pot a pot. But for the most part the contradictions are genuine. With the exception of a few smart governors like Stassen and Baldwin who climbed on the Willkie bandwagon early in the day, and perhaps John Hamilton himself, who maintained at least a neutral position, most of the party machinery worked day and night against Willkie. A Congressional cabal arrived at the scene on the first day and warned that it would go badly with local candidates if the ticket was headed by Willkie. Senator McNary, who ironically has been made Willkie's running-mate, handed out the opinion that "the West, which the Republican Party must carry, will go against us if Mr. Willkie heads the ticket." Others threatened that they would not be candidates for lesser office if Willkie won. Likewise, it was all too true that Willkie had the blessing of the Street. Thomas Lamont was reliably said to have flitted in and out of the city like a shadow, and the Whitneys were in evidence and eager for a Willkie victory, as were lesser lights from the southern tip of Manhattan.

Behind the contradictions and discrepancies of the convention ran two fairly clear threads. First was the crying need for a personality to compensate for lack of a program. The fact is that the Republicans look with favor on whole sections of the current Roosevelt program—national defense, economic coordination of the Western Hemisphere, curbing the fifth column—and are compelled out of political expediency to indorse much that they don't relish. They are thus left in the position of having to make artificial distinctions and to resort to negative appeals: Of course we want collective bargaining, but the Wagner Act "has made impossible the normal friendly relations between employer and employees." Of course we're for national defense, but we can't leave it to the starry-eyed New Dealers. Of course we believe in government responsibility for relief to the unemployed, but there's too much graft and incompetence in the present Administration, and so on.

This poverty of difference between the two party programs is too much the tradition in American politics, however, to have been solely responsible for the convention's strange gyrations. More fundamental were the war and the headlong sweep of the Nazis. Philadelphia sand proved too shallow to hide the war from the eyes of the most confirmed ostrich. William Allen White polled the delegates to discover that a good 70 per cent favored giving aid to the Allies, and the delegates I spoke to without exception favored some measure of help. Almost all of them were careful to stipulate that they didn't want to see this country drawn in, but a few from the South were ready to go to any necessary length, and one roundly cursed the resolutions committee for emerging with a national-defense plank that was scarcely legible through the footprints of the weasel.

It was this issue of the war and the instinctive conviction of the delegates that they couldn't beat Roosevelt with nobody that hurled the party machine on the rocks and proved the undoing of the orthodox candidates. In their talks with the press, Dewey, Vandenberg, and Taft showed scarcely a trace of the past few months' history, no sign that they understood that continental Europe was now a solid bloc, economically and philosophically hostile to the United States. Dewey talked of uniting the

Western Hemisphere economically—and perhaps politically—but insisted that we couldn't take cotton and wool that would compete with our domestic product. Vandenberg admitted vaguely that aiding Britain might be regarded as a defense measure but called it a "secondary consideration." He thought it should be limited to speeding up American production and letting Britain buy its share. Hoover knew what was going on, but his thoughts were all on coming to terms with Hitler ("there must be an end to provocative speech by our officials . . . the day will come when we might be of service to humanity in dealing with these same men") and was apparently scared away from developing this theme more fully by an advance news story which tagged him with the deadly word "appeaser." Even Willkie became coy when the subject arose, but he had come to the convention already clearly spotted as an interventionist.

From the first it was clear that Dewey, Taft, and Vandenberg had communicated to the delegates an impression of inadequacy. Dewey's first-ballot lead was taken for granted, but no one I talked to seemed to believe he really had a chance, and several Willkie enthusiasts went to the length of declaring their intention to bolt the party if he were nominated. Taft enjoyed considerable respect, but opposing delegates usually took the view that he was too mild for the times, that the dictators were hardly likely to listen seriously to the Casper Milquetoast from Cincinnati.

With convention sentiment as marked as it was, why did the G. O. P. bosses allow themselves to be caught out on a limb? They were blinded, I believe, by their intense hostility to Willkie and by a mistaken confidence in their ability to stop him. They never forgot that he was not a "real Republican." Brilliant, unstable, independent, an outsider whose disposal of patronage might prove a constant worry to the veteran hangers-on, Wendell Willkie had all the sins in the politician's Bible. Up to the very end the leaders hoped to save the day by the time-worn methods of the horse-trader. They were caught off guard by the swiftness of the Willkie drive, and before they could catch their breath they had nothing left to trade. This was particularly true of Pennsylvania's Boss Pew, who held that state's fat block of votes pinned down to James through five ballots although the Willkie tide had set in strongly in the third. On the last ballot the Pennsylvanians still voted for James on the roll call and asked permission to change only when Willkie was within a few votes of election. Had Pew made a deal with Taft on the fifth or even the sixth roll call, the results might have been different. As it was, he can take no credit for the Willkie victory, and like many another Republican boss may go into eclipse.

Who Betrayed France?

BY HEINZ POL

THE collapse of France was due to four causes, all of them internal—treachery and sabotage, deep-rooted pacifism, ignorance regarding Hitler and the Nazi mentality, a complete lack of organizational ability. The treachery and sabotage, which were chiefly responsible for the breakdown, were the work in the first place of the political circles of the right, aided and abetted by certain groups among the high military and civil officials. Pacifism was strong among the millions who inclined toward socialism as well as in almost the entire middle class and prevented the people from grasping the dangers inherent in French foreign policy and the special nature of the struggle against Hitlerism. This failure to understand the danger and this unquenchable yearning for peace were utilized both by the pro-Hitler right and by the Communists, who during the war engaged in anti-war rather than in pro-Communist propaganda. The lack of any capacity for organization, to which many of the mistakes in strategy and in the mobilization of industry can be attributed, is deeply rooted in the peculiar character of the French. Regardless of class or political conviction, the Frenchman loves to improvise his undertakings and abominates all forms of organization. But let the facts speak for themselves.

In 1932 a commercial treaty based upon the exchange of ore from French Lorraine for German coal was concluded between Germany and France. In the beginning the ore deliveries were limited to a bare 100,000 tons a month. In 1934, however, they rose to 400,000 tons a month, obviously to meet the needs of Germany's rearmament. On the French side the Comité des Forges stood behind this agreement, and François-Poncet, a member of its board of directors and French ambassador in Berlin, paved the way for the negotiations; the chief German representatives were Schacht and Stinnes.

When Hitler in the spring of 1936 occupied the Rhineland, the ore shipments from France were halted, and the first Popular Front Cabinet of Léon Blum, who then came into power, decided to cancel the agreement or at least to modify it considerably. As soon as this intention became known, the French industrialists, led by M. de Wendell, interceded with the government and declared that they would have to throw on the street 50,000 workers unless the ore shipments were immediately resumed. In addition they stated that they would accept the government's social legislation only if they were given a free hand in the export trade. Under this pressure Blum yielded. Indeed, when Schacht came to Paris and requested that the agreement be expanded, Blum was ready to do so. Beginning with the summer of 1936, 600,000 tons of ore were shipped to Germany monthly, and in the first part of 1937 the deliveries at times reached 800,000 tons a month.

The shipments were again halted during the crisis of 1938, but Ribbentrop, who visited Paris in December, 1938, succeeded in obtaining their resumption in even greater volume. Germany "met France halfway" in that Ribbentrop promised to send German freight cars to France to transport the ore at German expense. Even at that time Franco-German holding companies had been organized in Luxemburg and Belgium allegedly to reduce overhead. Just before the outbreak of war these were reorganized so that to the outward eye they appeared to be controlled solely by Belgians and Luxemburgers. At the same time other companies were organized in Spain, chiefly at Bilbao, Santander, and Barcelona. The real purpose of all these corporations was to assure continuation of the ore shipments from France during the war and their transshipment to Germany in the guise of sales to neutral countries. By this arrangement the Franco-German agreement was able to remain in operation during the war, though on a somewhat reduced scale. According to confidential reports that fell into the hands of Reynaud, some 200,000 to 300,000 tons of ore were shipped to Belgium and Spain monthly from September, 1939, to April, 1940. A small amount also went to Italy.

Reynaud's knowledge of these shipments contributed to his fall although he belonged to that wing of the right which had for years, in contrast to Bonnet and Flandin, fought against the Nazi peril. Pétain, in his capacity as ambassador to Spain, told Daladier and later Reynaud that the Franco government would stop all export of foodstuffs to France if ore shipments to Spain stopped, and Laval demanded that the shipments to Italy by way of Switzerland be continued.

Politicians and ministers like Laval and Bonnet not only openly showed their sympathy for Germany during the war but were actually able to enlist the active support of leading generals. In order to understand this we must glance back at the Cagoulard movement of 1937 and 1938. This affair was glossed over by the government, but the known facts prove that it was the first attempt on a large scale by the extreme right, aided by some of the higher army officers, to introduce dictatorship into France by force and then to bring France to join the totalitarian states. When the secret activities of the Cagoulards became too widely talked about, the police intervened, though with considerable reluctance, for Berthoin, head of the all-powerful Sureté Nationale, was a friend of the movement. The police took care not to touch the real leaders, though everybody in France knew that among the military organizers of the Cagoulard formations were such figures as Generals Weygand and Gouraud, and that Pétain openly sympathized with them. Cagoulard arsenals were found in Paris and Clermont-Ferrand containing rifles and machine-guns almost exclusively of German origin. In order not to alarm the public still further, the search for other stores of arms was stopped, and only about a hundred Cagoulards were arrested. None of them were ever brought to trial. About half of them were discharged at the outbreak of the war, the other half somewhat later. Among them were many officers on the active and reserve list.

The case of General Michelin proves that the Cagoulards had no intention of ceasing their activities in behalf of Hitler even during the war. General Michelin is a member of the family that owns the Michelin Works, the largest automobile-tire company in France. The firm's main plant happens to be in Clermont-Ferrand, the focus of the Cagoulard movement. General Michelin, who was one of the military instructors of the Cagoulards, was, and still may be, the commander of the Fifth Military Area with headquarters in Orléans. This Fifth Area was of particular importance during the war. Lying at the heart of France, it contained, in addition to numerous military encampments, a large number of industrial plants and railroad centers of military importance. Here are two flagrant examples of Michelin's sabotage:

The French offensive along the Moselle River last September had to be stopped short because the necessary heavy artillery, instead of arriving on time, remained somewhere in central France. The story was told in October by the official *Temps*, to the horror of its readers. Now in the Fifth Area, particularly in the railway yards of Orléans, Bourges, and Vierzons, dozens of cars loaded with heavy artillery stood idle until mid-October. I talked to railway workers at Vierzons who expressed their amazement that no orders to move had arrived.

General Michelin did even worse with the tanks. Three plants in his area, near Bourges and Montargis, had built tanks that were regarded as miracles. They weighed about seventy tons, were extraordinarily fast and maneuverable, and had armor heavier than that of the German eighty-ton tanks, behind which the Nazis succeeded in making their great break-throughs. These French tanks never reached the front at all. Those that emerged from the plants remained in the freight yards of the Fifth Area. I myself was able to admire a dozen of them at the Vierzon station. When the Germans occupied the region of Orléans early in June, they set eyes for the first time on the French miracle tanks, according to the official German news agency. Needless to say, the Germans joyfully took over these tanks and used them against the retreating French troops.

Other acts of sabotage, many of which I witnessed, consisted in not carrying out orders or in delaying for months before obeying. In April, 1940, I was at a concentration camp at Cepoy, which is likewise in the Fifth Area. We were taken to a spot near Montargis to conduct clearing operations. We were told that an airport was to be built there. A sergeant of the flight division stationed there told us that the airport should have been finished by April 1 according to the original plan. When we had been at work for two weeks, operations were again suspended.

In the Sixth Military Area (Rouen-Le Havre) I was able to observe the efforts of the French military authorities to stir up bad feeling between the French and British. The Sixth Area was full of British troops, and transports were arriving daily at Le Havre. Misunderstandings began with the question of feeding the British troops. Originally an agreement had been made under which British formations stationed in France were to be provisioned from French military kitchens. British soldiers in Le Havre told me that the meals had been so unpalatable that they had been forced to send to England for all their food and to do their own cooking. "But could you not at least have bought your supplies here, if you didn't like the French way of preparing them." I objected. The soldiers laughed. "Well, perhaps the butchers sell good meat to the French. All we were able to get was the refuse. This was supposed to be on orders from above."

Relations between the French and the British soldiers were as bad as they could be. The French soldiers had orders not to salute British officers. At Le Havre it was plain that there was no personal contact of any kind. Our camp was in a harbor dépôt, one section of which was occupied by French soldiers, the other by British. A gangway connected the two sections but had been barricaded so that the French and the British could not possibly meet. This anti-British attitude had its inspiration in the highest ranks. A friend of mine reported a conversation which he had with his camp commander, an enthusiastic reader of the *Action Française*. This sheet, read in nearly all officers' circles, contributed a great deal toward making certain French elements pro-Nazi. The camp commander explained to my friend that the whole guilt for the war attached to the bankers of the City of London. When my friend courageously interjected that in Paris, too, were bankers who deserved condemnation, the commander lapsed into ill-humored silence, concluding the conversation by reiterating that England bore the main responsibility for everything.

It would be unfair not to mention that Gamelin made strong efforts to suppress the anti-British propaganda within the French army. He had no more success than Georges Duhamel and Jean Giraudoux, both of whom resigned from the Ministry of Information and the control of broadcasting because, among other things, they did not agree with the prevailing anti-British attitude.

Pierre Laval

Gamelin lacked energy. As soon as he met resistance to his wishes and proposals he yielded, partly because he was very ambitious and unwilling to lose his post. He had no direct connection with the fifth columnists, but he realized what was going on. He did not clamp down because he did not want to give the opposition the chance to attack him. Daladier made him commander-in-chief in place of Weygand, who, after all, had been somewhat compromised by the Cagoulard affair, but then Daladier rejected or delayed for months nearly all Gamelin's proposals for army reorganization. Thus his plan to fortify the Franco-Belgian border was not carried out in time. Daladier relied on the reports of the Intelligence Service, which indicated that Hitler did not intend to move against France until he had carried out his attack on England. When Weygand replaced Gamelin as head of the army, he lost invaluable time in reorganizing practically everything, out of spite against his predecessor; he refused, on the other hand, to agree to steps taken by Reynaud to remake the General Staff. Weygand was not actually pro-Nazi, but he was strongly anti-British and in favor of a military dictatorship.

The French espionage service not only failed to do its part but to some extent deliberately worked for the benefit of Germany. Conditions became so bad that Reynaud dismissed part of the personnel and had three high functionaries arrested. Some of the agents in Belgium, the Netherlands, and Switzerland quite evidently had been bought. They contented themselves with handing on material from persons who were nothing more than agents in the German Intelligence Service. The plan which these persons sold to their French colleagues seemed to show that Hitler had no intention of attacking anywhere in the West during 1940 but meant to concentrate his attention on the Balkans. Gamelin, led astray in this manner, instructed his subordinate, Weygand, to organize the great army of the Orient, which was to be prepared to intervene in Southeastern Europe with the help of the Turks. Only weak French contingents remained behind to protect northern France in the spring of 1940. Not even the industrial centers of northern France had been relocated, or the population evacuated, as had been done in Alsace-Lorraine.

As for the question of sabotage in the war industries, it is difficult to establish in many instances whether the trouble was actually sabotage or lack of organization. A few cases, however, could hardly have been the result of mere inefficiency. I should like to describe an incident that took place near Vierzon. A large aircraft-construction shed was being built there—or rather it was supposed to be in process of building. I spent three months in Vierzon, and during that time only a handful of workers busied themselves with the shed for a few hours each day. One day I got into conversation with the engineer who was supervising the job. He told me offhand: "We're in no hurry; the war will last a long time. Besides, we have plenty of airplanes, and if we need any more we can buy them in America."

Former Air Minister Pierre Cot is generally held responsible for the insufficient number of airplanes. It may very well be that Cot did not do much to speed aircraft construction in peace time. But the activities of his successor, Guy la Chambre, a personal protege of Daladier, were infinitely worse, indeed fatal. This man, who administered the most important defense arm of the country, at a time of crisis, until Reynaud kicked him out, was simply out to play a role in high society. The work of carrying on his ministry he left to the experts. Proposals for the construction of new types of airplanes he accepted or rejected entirely in accordance with his social relations with the engineers and airplane manufacturers. It was he who, on the basis of expert reports prepared at his behest, insisted at every Cabinet meeting that it was unnecessary to place large orders in America; the French aircraft industry was large enough, he said, to supply all the needs of the army with better and more maneuverable models. Because he was constantly giving orders for new models, mass production could never get under way, and French airplane production during the war barely exceeded peace-time production, which, in turn, had rarely reached a hundred planes a month.

Despite all of these damaging facts, it would be incorrect to conclude that the actions of one part of the political right—industry, finance, high military and civil officials—were sufficient to bring about defeat. The left, too, failed in its own fashion. The greater part of the nation was inwardly unprepared for the war. This negative attitude played a large part in the complete lack of organization which characterized the French war effort.

[*An analysis of the role of the left in the French defeat will appear next week.*]

Does Defense Mean Jobs?

BY EDNA LONIGAN

WHAT are the prospects that the national-defense program now in preparation will mean full employment in the United States? The prevailing comment is cautious. Industrial leaders warn of the danger of too great expectations, and they are wise. Speculative hopes for a sudden magic increase in employment as a result of defense appropriations would prove as disappointing as were the hopes of improvement from government welfare spending or from European war orders. Nevertheless, the gain in employment from defense activity has already begun.

Defense funds will find their way into our economy in four main streams: through enlargement of the armed forces; through the manufacture by private industry of guns, tanks, airplanes, battleships; through the manufacture of armament at government arsenals and navy yards; and through public-works projects for military purposes, such as piers, docks, airports, and utility units. In addition, there may be new civilian public works, especially roads and bridges. Informed persons assert that this country has not a single transcontinental road on which men and armament could move freely, unimpeded by narrow bridges and bad turns.

The Bureau of Labor Statistics has worked out an interesting parallel between defense spending and PWA spending. "By and large," says Ford Hinrichs, chief economist of the bureau, "a billion dollars of defense money creates about the same amount of employment as a billion dollars spent by PWA. PWA funds have been spent about half for materials, about a third for labor, and the rest for other expenses, including supervision. A billion dollars, therefore, provides work for about half a million men a year, half of them at the site and half back in the mines and factories from which come materials and machinery." This does not mean that a defense appropriation of five billion dollars will necessarily be converted into work for two and a half million men, but the comparison is useful as a starting-point in estimating what the program promises.

There can be no definite estimate of what this country will spend for defense. Two billion dollars will not buy a national-defense program geared to an air fleet of fifty thousand planes. Since defense is a capital expenditure and there is no advantage in spreading appropriations over several years, we may expect special appropriations of four, five, or more billions before December 1. To that must be added the amount that will be spent by the British—Allied purchases have already sent employment in the mechanical and shipbuilding industries to record heights—and the cost of ships and guns bought by South American countries. Finally we may expect an enormous development of civil aviation. In this connection it is well to remember that reemployment need not be planned in every industry at once. It is sufficient to give the right impetus at key points. Plane manufacture, for example, is followed by the training of pilots and ground crews, the expansion of service shops, and the building and operation of landing fields. Ripples from the automobile industry reach into textiles, glass, rubber, electrical equipment, garages, roads, road-building machinery, and even the reconstruction of the peripheries of American cities.

Against these gains must be set certain losses. Some airplanes and tanks will be made by men who formerly made automobiles. Such shifts in industry are common and cause little strain in a flexible economic system. At the end of the last war arms factories began to make ice-boxes, electric-signal plants changed to radios, munitions makers developed rayon, plastics, and a host of synthetic products. Mass production of planes, moreover, may hold down employment gains. The industry was ripe for mass production before the Allied orders came in, but it needed capital and an enlarged market. Now airplane journals tell of the standardization of design, of new tools, new materials, and belt-line assembly methods—all bringing great savings in labor, time, and cost. These developments, however, will at first require more construction work, plant alterations, machine-building, and tool and die work. In the end, too, labor-saving may mean more employment because low prices create popular demand.

Another factor that will tend to offset employment gains stemming from the defense program is the declining total of government emergency work. Employment under PWA grants, according to John M. Carmody, Federal Works Administrator, fell from 280,000 in July, 1939, to 80,000 in June, 1940. Mr. Carmody said that total employment in all emergency programs—PWA, the Housing Administration, public roads, and WPA—was expected to reach a peak in August and then turn downward. This is the first time that the government has had an estimate of future employment in its entire emergency program. Even more serious reductions have resulted from the upheavals in business occurring as Hitler has shut off the Danish demand for cottonseed oil-cake one day and Mussolini has closed the Mediterranean market the next. In spite of industry's capacity to absorb shocks, the disturbances of trade following the seizure of Holland alone left whole areas of business temporarily paralyzed. Now the French market is gone. Looming up also are the unpredictable losses in the consumption industries due to taxation.

Considered geographically, gains will probably come first to New England, especially Connecticut, and to New Jersey, the industrial Middle West, and the West Coast. The rest of the country may then be expected to benefit from migration and from those fractions of pay envelopes that trickle back home. A greater share of the new employment will go to men than to women. Women in the main work in the steadier consumer industries. Men take the highs and lows. Mary Anderson, chief of the Women's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor, has said that not even American intervention in the war would give to women's work the impetus provided by the last war. "During the World War," she said, "men were withdrawn from industry to the front-line trenches. That is not happening now. But there will be expansion in many industries and occupations where women excel, for example, in examining and precision work. Women are employed largely now in the assembling of watches, because of their smaller, nimbler fingers. That will be true in many of the industries manufacturing for defense." Women are now working, Miss Anderson pointed out, on airplane parts, and will probably do more of this kind of work with mass production. They are also employed in the manufacture of powder and in stamping, machining, and electrical work. Rising employment, Miss Anderson believes, will lessen the prejudice against married women.

In the heavy industries production and employment will not mount until designs are approved and contracts let. The speed with which this is done depends on the government. As designs are standardized, the time can be shortened. Contracts can be signed promptly or wound in yards of hampering red tape. Mr. Knudsen and his colleagues, together with skilled government executives, are trying to simplify some of the ponderous mechanism of army, navy, and civil purchasing.

From the moment contracts are closed, industry takes the responsibility. Machines have to be retooled, dies made, and new tools designed before production can start in volume. Estimates of the time required for retooling vary from six weeks to six months and even, in some cases, to eighteen months. Reemployment will change gradually from a long, slow curve to a steeply ascending one.

Industry faces a serious shortage of skilled machinists, though many skilled machinists with fifteen or more years of experience have been out of work from five to ten years. Industry will not take them on for fear that they can no longer keep up with production. Here is a striking illustration of the need of a sound and fair public policy on the distribution of work—a policy that will recognize the claims of young and old, employed and unemployed, the thoroughly skilled and those who have been rushed through superficial training.

One question raised by the defense program is whether or not such spending, with its great release of technical and industrial initiative, will revive the risk-taking that relief spending could not provide. It was the disappearance of production for the future market which wiped out so much employment between 1928 and 1940. Advance production gets under way much more quickly than contract work.

It must be recognized that defense spending will fan the fires of inflation smoldering in our huge piles of excess reserves. On the other side one can only make the unorthodox assertion that the best defense against inflation lies in strengthening the productive arts.

The question of how high employment will go is not primarily one of mathematics. The people are aroused. For the first time since before 1929 industry is energized. Men talk of machine tools instead of ideologies. In Washington, men who know industrial design and production techniques have lost their hang-dog look. It is not possible to forecast by simple mathematical processes the growth that will take place in a suddenly revivified industry freed in large measure from finance capitalism.

Just after the President's defense speech there was a curious lull. The President seemed to think his Cabinet could handle the defense program. Wall Street was bearish. Financial men were saying, "When That Man tells us what to do, we'll do it. He wants his social-welfare experts to run it. Let them take the responsibility." Now all that has been changed—by some subtle, elusive influence. .Newspapermen did a magnificent job in insisting that the Cabinet could not guide industrial preparedness. The sentiment of the people was clearly for action. The President was too serious about defense to ignore their demands. And, least noticed of all, some of the industrialists saw at last that this was no moment for Achilles to sulk in his tent. Here was an industrial program requiring all the skill of the best production men—at once. Their decision to accept their responsibility and volunteer their services and Mr. Knudsen's acceptance of the leadership of the Advisory Council for National Defense helped to overcome the shell-shock and self-frustration that have paralyzed industry for the last ten years, and may have saved the system of free enterprise. For a time at least these steps may have also saved us from a dictated war economy.

We still cannot be sure how far industry will follow this farsighted lead. It is not enough to have a Knudsen in the Defense Council, or to give him full authority. Our economy contains a great burnt-over area where men, tools, skill, and organization that should have been growing, maturing, reseeding themselves have been destroyed. That area is still a waste land. Industrial leadership must stretch itself to take care not only of defense, but also of that sector where over a long period leadership has failed to develop normally. Without it we shall have neither guns and tanks nor full employment.

Generals Without Ideas

BY HARVEY S. FORD

AT A recent press conference the President outlined a military theory which seems to represent not only the views of the Administration but also those of the country at large. If you have two armies equal in every respect except one, the President remarked in substance, equal in heavy artillery, equal in infantry, equal in the air, but unequal in light artillery, the army that lacks light artillery is going to be beaten. It is, he added, just a question of equality in every weapon of warfare. There was no mention, it will be noted, of what is really the most potent factor in war—intelligent military leadership—and it is my belief that by ignoring this factor we are once more lulling ourselves into a security which has no foundation in fact.

In the President's summary, the problem of defense is reduced to simple terms, and terms which contain much that is comforting to the people of the United States. For after all, in spite of the depression, this is still a rich country; it is furthermore a rather highly industrialized state and one which contains large amounts of the raw materials necessary for war industries. Therefore, provided only that the American people are willing to make the tremendous sacrifices required, it is quite within the limits of probability that the United States can achieve not only equality in every weapon of warfare but perhaps superiority as well.

However, the truth is that national defense is a far more complex problem than merely the achievement of equality in every weapon of warfare. History demonstrates quite clearly that even superiority in weapons and numbers has not insured victory, and that time after time the physically weaker power has triumphed. In every case, moreover, the factor which has enabled the weaker nation to conquer the stronger has been generalship. It is, indeed, an indisputable fact that just as it is impossible for a rich man to buy his way into heaven, so is it impossible for a rich nation to buy its way to victory. No army, however strong, can prevail without competent leadership, and here the United States is faced with a melancholy fact: if we are to judge by the last war, the fount of American military ability, once so renowned, has dried up.

The Civil War was certainly the golden age of American generalship. Both sides brought forth able commanders in numbers for which history provides few comparisons, and the war is therefore still studied throughout the world, although the weapons and tactical methods employed have long since been outmoded. In contrast, in no war in the history of the United States with the possible exception of the War of 1812 were American armies so badly led as in the World War. Our greatest battle, the Meuse-Argonne, is also our most shocking example of bad generalship. Day after day for six weeks American infantrymen were hurled in blundering frontal attacks upon the strongest intrenched positions fortified with the best modern weapons. Although we outnumbered the Germans five to one, and although the American army entered the battle immensely superior in physical condition and morale, only the most meager results were achieved at the price of shocking casualties. Meanwhile, the war was being won elsewhere.

In comparing the leadership of the World War and Civil War armies one notes first that the A. E. F. was commanded by professional soldiers, and the Union and Confederate armies by amateurs. Taking one hundred of the most brilliant Civil War generals, fifty on the Union side and fifty on the Confederate, one finds that only sixty-five were graduates of West Point. Of these sixty-five, one-third had resigned from the army before the war to enter other fields of activity, and thus were not professional soldiers. Moreover, fifteen of the sixty-five were young men—the average age of the entire one hundred was only forty years at the outbreak of the war—who had graduated from the academy in the decade immediately preceding the war and had not had time to succumb to the deadening routine of professional soldiering. Thus the majority of the divisional, corps, and army commanders in the Civil War would not today be considered professionals; in the vast body of company and field officers very few of that type were to be found. It may be inserted parenthetically that there were more long-service regular officers among the Confederates—the losing side—than among the Unionists. In the World War, on the contrary, all the important command and staff offices were held by regular soldiers, as were also a large share of the regimental positions. Moreover, for the first time in history, as the boastful memoirs of Pershing and his generals attest, the conduct of the war was turned over wholely and unreservedly to the soldiers.

It might perhaps seem logical to intrust a war to men trained in the profession, but this view is superficial and does not take into account the real conditions of peacetime professional soldiering. Day after day the regular officer performs the same petty task in the same rigidly prescribed manner. Eventually he becomes immersed in small administrative details, and routine becomes the end and not the means. His mind practically petrifies. Furthermore, as the result of the abhorrence felt for professional armies in democratic countries, the regular officer is strictly excluded from the political, social, and economic life of his fellow-countrymen. As a natural consequence, the military caste develops a point of view having no connection with that of the civil population. When war comes, and the professional soldier is suddenly given the command of armies composed largely of civilians, he lacks even common understanding of their outlook, and the futility of attempting to force a civilian army to accept the archaic ideology of the military caste is beyond his comprehension. Finally, rigidly conditioned as he has been since youth by the mechanical routine of the small regular army, he finds it impossible to change his methods even though his command may have been increased by hundreds of thousands. His purpose is not to win the war quickly and cheaply but to win it in accordance with ideas and rules which have long since ceased to apply.

In recent years, it is true, service with the ROTC, the CMTC, the National Guard, and the CCC has broadened the regular officer's views to a remarkable degree; and the New Deal policy of appointing army officers to administrative political positions has given him much valuable experience. General Marshall is an enlightened soldier, and since his appointment as Chief of Staff a year ago the whole outlook of the army, in thinking and in training, has improved. Nevertheless, it should be remembered that our present officers were educated in the Pershing school of the World War. Should they be promoted to the command of armies fighting with the same allies against the same enemy in the same theater of war, it is conceivable that in time of crisis they would revert to the tactics of the Meuse-Argonne, and that we might expect the same huge casualty lists and the same meager results. It may be that the greatest handicap of the Allies in the present war is the fact that they won the last one. The conservative military mind always assumes that the next war will be won by the same methods as the last. The Germans, having been defeated, were willing critically to examine the World War and to profit by its lessons. The French, and to a lesser extent the British, took up in September, 1939, where they had left off in November, 1918.

The consequences are obvious, and far from comforting.

In a highly specialized, technical age it is perhaps natural to expect military men to be technical experts, and to give them precedence over civilians. Yet some years ago, in an excellent little book called "The Navy: Defense or Portent," Charles A. Beard thoroughly exposed the naval expert, and the general is no more infallible. To note but one instance, in the 1940 hearings before the House subcommittee on military appropriations the chief of cavalry declared that in his estimation a mobile striking force should consist of one part mechanized troops and about three parts horse cavalry and that there were occasions when men on horseback should charge machine-guns, and he finally inserted into the record a long statement on the vital necessity of the horse in war. Any armchair military critic—the group so greatly despised by the professional soldiers—could have pointed out the folly of this attitude. But the occasional critic who raises his voice against the military in this country gets no hearing, even from his fellow-civilians.

What is needed is to have the knowledge of the art of war much more widely diffused among the people. The old idea that since war is an evil it should not only not be studied but be completely ignored is really the root of the problem. Thus, in 1917, because they detested war and had no understanding of it, President Wilson and Secretary of War Baker turned the whole business over to the soldiers. From this shameful surrender stems our present humble subservience to the generals, the supposed experts into whose power the whole country is docilely given in time of war. During the Civil War Lincoln's common sense, supplemented by his resolute spirit, prevented the rise of any dominating military clique. Disregarding their outraged protests, he ruthlessly removed one general after another until he found a competent commander.

To recapitulate, two things are vital to our security: (1) a nation-wide study of the military aspects of war, not only by politicians and civilian leaders but by the general public—in this way the civilian may come to stand on equal terms with the soldier and contest his claims for dominance; and (2) the destruction of the military caste. This can be accomplished by permitting professional soldiers to take part in the political, social, and economic life of the country, not, as at present, as a self-centered pressure group, but as individuals exercising their normal rights as citizens. The gap between the professional soldier and the civilian will then largely be bridged, and a new, healthy atmosphere created. From this new type of soldier we may confidently expect competent commanders to develop as they did during the Civil War. It is important to remember that the construction of huge armaments alone will not insure success. We must also have good generals.

Everybody's Business

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

Good Neighbor, Good Customer

WE NOW realize the extent to which we have unconsciously depended on the British fleet to keep war out of this hemisphere and, as a result, are taking steps to double the United States navy regardless of cost. But are we yet fully aware of the way in which our economic welfare is linked to that of Great Britain? Not only is it our most important customer, but its huge buying power has provided other countries with the dollars needed to pay for our goods. For instance, this country has consistently maintained a favorable balance of trade with Latin America as a whole. This has only been possible because Britain, after providing much of the capital for development of Latin American resources, was content to receive the interest on its investment in the form of goods. Buying more from our southern neighbors than it sold to them, it enabled them to accumulate foreign exchange with which to square their commercial debts to us.

Should Hitler win the war and establish a Germanized Federation of Europe, we have been warned to expect a total change in commercial methods. To start with, every effort will be made to make that continent and the colonies dependent on it as nearly self-sufficient as possible, and since in any case the standard of living in the conquered countries will diminish, it is almost certain that total demand for the staple foodstuffs which both North and South America produce will drop sharply. Thus the already burdensome problem of surplus farm goods will be multiplied. Dealing in a buyer's market, the German monopoly will undoubtedly direct its purchasing to the best political advantage. Suppose it wishes to undermine our democratic system by intensifying existing economic difficulties. Then it will turn to the Argentine for wheat, corn, and meat, and to Brazil for cotton and fruits, offering good prices and encouraging these countries to increase production. In return for these favors it will demand political concessions, and since most South American countries must "export or die," it will get what it wants. Moreover, as the Nazis will insist on trading on a barter basis, they will cut into our own market for automobiles, steel, machinery, and other manufactured goods.

Anticipating the possibility of developments of this kind, the President and his advisers are at work on a plan for a hemispheric cartel which would permit a united sellers' front to a totalitarian Europe. It is suggested that this organization should buy up the exportable surpluses of the chief commodities produced in the Americas and hold them off the market until they could be sold on satisfactory terms. There are, however, many difficulties involved in this scheme. As the cartel would buy at a fixed price—say, the average of the last five years—producers would be tempted to expand production. Consequently it would be necessary to allot a quota to each participating state and devise some means by which it could be enforced. We know how hard it has been to restrict production among our own farmers. How much harder would it be to get twenty-one sovereign states to agree on a collective decision and abide by it?

If this snag were surmounted, we should still have to face the possibility that the German monopoly would attempt to break the cartel by refusing to deal with it. Assuming that Europe and Africa are under their control, the Nazis could probably intensify production enough to keep themselves going for some time without American resources. The Germans have been conditioned to short rations for the sake of a cause, and, in any case, they would undoubtedly arrange for most of the belt-tightening to be done by the victims of their aggressions. Twelve months' boycott would be likely to break the loyalty of some members of the cartel or exhaust its capital, the bulk of which would be subscribed by this country.

Some commentators on this scheme have suggested that it would mean opening the United States market to Latin American competition. This Mr. Roosevelt has denied, but to my mind the plan would be a great deal sounder, economically, politically, and psychologically, if it recognized the necessity of making this country a good customer as well as a good neighbor. An economically unified Europe, organized on totalitarian lines, can only be balanced by an economically unified Western Hemisphere, and the greatest obstacle in the way of that achievement is the United States tariff. We cannot go on expecting Latin American countries to buy those goods which we produce most efficiently while we refuse to buy from them the products in which they excel unless these happen to be non-competitive. That, in essence, is the commercial policy of George III, and if we are to pursue it with any hope of success we shall have to go the whole imperialist hog and control Latin America by armed might.

Yet economic union for the Americas on a voluntary and democratic basis is not impossible if this country offers genuine leadership, if it is prepared to give as well as to take, and if it is farsighted enough to make immediate sacrifices for the sake of long-range advantages. An essential preliminary would be the removal of those regulations, such as the "sanitary" ban on Argentine beef, which employ dishonest pretexts to supplement the tariff. Until this is done it is absurd to expect whole-hearted cooperation from the most powerful of the Latin American republics.

A pan-American emergency conference is expected to meet shortly. The first item on the agenda ought to be the discussion of an all-round progressive reduction in tariff barriers designed to establish the hemisphere as a free-trade area within a few years. The second should be a program of capital investment aiming at the development of those mineral and vegetable products for supplies of which the hemisphere is at present largely dependent on outside sources. We have the capital, represented by vast numbers of idle men and machines, which Latin America, potentially rich but actually poverty-stricken, has the capacity to absorb. But to be effective the investment program must be something more than the haphazard bond-selling in which our bankers indulged in the twenties. It must be continuous, it must not aim at quick profits, and it must be linked to a trade program which will make repayment in goods possible.

In the Wind

THE PRESIDENT recently held an "off-the-record" session with prominent youth leaders. He listened patiently to some hecklers, lectured patiently to his audience, and then left the room. Whereupon, Harry Hopkins, who was also present, assailed the hecklers, insisting that they knew the answers to their questions. The chief controversy was over national defense.

MOST NEW YORK lawyers, including some close to the Mayor, were stunned by the Christian Front verdict. They believe the turning-point in the trial occurred in its opening stages when the prosecution, after a feeble attempt to bar pro-Coughlin jurors, stopped probing very deep. Anti-Coughlinites were carefully weeded out by the defense. The immediate effect of the verdict has been a spurt in Christian Front activity.

THE BRITISH Library of Information has opened a branch at the World's Fair where reference books on British life are available. The New York *Times* reported factually: "The publications distributed cover a wide range, from 'The Louse and How to Deal With It' to 'Early Medieval Art in the British Museum.'"

C. B. S.'s MORNING round-up of news is pretty dismal these days, what with the war and other things. Each morning, however, the Boston outlet follows the round-up with this announcement: "This is WEEI. The following message is transcribed. [Then to music] Hah, hah, hah, let's be gay, you need Mopsy every day."

AFTER THE pro-dictator speech of President Vargas of Brazil the *Free American*, organ of the Nazi Bundists here, commented solemnly: "[The speech] leaves the inevitable inference that the Brazilian voters have become alarmingly indoctrinated with fascist ideas."

IF THE deportation of Harry Bridges is voted by Congress there may be a stormy sequel. Maritime-union officials insist that no seamen will man a boat taking Bridges away. Meanwhile, a group of New York lawyers is preparing a blast against the deportation.

THERE'S A REAL clash between the President and War Department officials over military-training plans. The department prefers the Byrnes bill, with its sweeping draft provisions: the President is trying to avoid large-scale militarization and wants a civilian youth program.

AMONG THOSE with whom Colonel Lindbergh has conferred frequently in recent weeks is Merwin K. Hart, famous in *Nation* pages.

[The $5 prize for the best item submitted in June goes to Ruth Berkson of Champaign, Illinois, for the story about Station WBBM published last week.]

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

Walter Millis Explains

WHY EUROPE FIGHTS. By Walter Millis. William Morrow and Company. $2.50.

FOUR years ago the Emperor of Ethiopia sent from Addis Ababa an urgent appeal to the civilized world: "Do the people of the world not yet realize that by fighting on until the bitter end I am standing guard in the last citadel of collective security? I must still hold on until my tardy allies appear. If they never come, then I say prophetically and without bitterness: The West will perish." Few people then believed him. The allies did not come. People opposed to "alarmism" and "warmongering" successfully lulled the democracies of both hemispheres into false security. But four years later many nations which had thought of themselves as a world apart from the African kingdom had followed it to an extent that would have seemed fantastic in 1936. The Second World War started in eastern Asia and in Africa, it may end in America, but its real center remains Europe.

Walter Millis, to whom we owe some of the excellent editorials on foreign policy in the New York *Herald Tribune,* has given us the best short history of the two decades between the two world wars that has yet appeared. It is an unpretentious book; it does not attempt to reveal any new facts or to throw any new light upon old ones. But even a reader fully conversant with the history of the last twenty years will read the book with sustained interest. So great is the art of the author—the balance of his judgment and the clarity of his approach—that he has succeeded in weaving out of well-known facts a brilliant and fascinating book. It is not concerned with moral judgments or with underlying philosophies or tendencies; it is a cool and an objective book; nevertheless, it captures the imagination of the reader and carries him swiftly through the tangled web of world politics. Unfortunately, like most books of this kind, it does not go back beyond 1918, does not at least try to define the different political and social thought processes prevailing in nineteenth-century England, France, and Germany. Thus the author can ask whether European peace could have been maintained "by inviting Germany to come back as a great power, as strongly armed as any other and therefore willing to be peaceful." As if Germany had not been as strongly armed as any other power in 1914—and Italy and Japan after the World War—without "therefore" willing to be peaceful.

Two or three points seem to the reviewer too little stressed in the present book—for instance, the role of Belgium after the tragic death of King Albert, the importance of the two elections of Hindenburg in 1925 and 1932, the reasons for and the implications of the Polish-German agreement of 1934. The omission of a discussion of America's neutrality legislation in relation to the present war is regrettable. January, 1933, marked, though few people knew it at that time, the beginning of the end of many things, not only in Europe but throughout the world.

But on the whole Mr. Millis puts before us again and again, in a very unobtrusive way, the real reasons for the rise of the fatal threat to liberty throughout the world. During these eight years there were many, as there are even today, "who could never quite bring themselves to believe that Hitler and his associates really meant what they said, and who shrank from the risks of war and the costs of heavy rearmament." They felt "that if they were careful not to annoy him, Hitler would come to a reasonable policy." Thus half-hearted measures were tried, and everything that might lead to war was ruled out; the horrors of war seemed certain, whereas some miracle might still direct Hitler into another direction. And so the general confusion and division of opinion between and within the democracies, the democratic reluctance to face the idea of war, and the tendency of democratic governments to put off all decisions led to the catastrophe of 1939 by a road along which Mr. Millis guides us with competence and insight; his terse style delights the reader in spite of the gloomy message which it conveys. After the outbreak of war the democratic nations which were not yet involved continued the old game of trying to keep the war from spreading, hoping that they would be let alone and that somehow things would turn out all right. They did not.

HANS KOHN

Beauty Bare

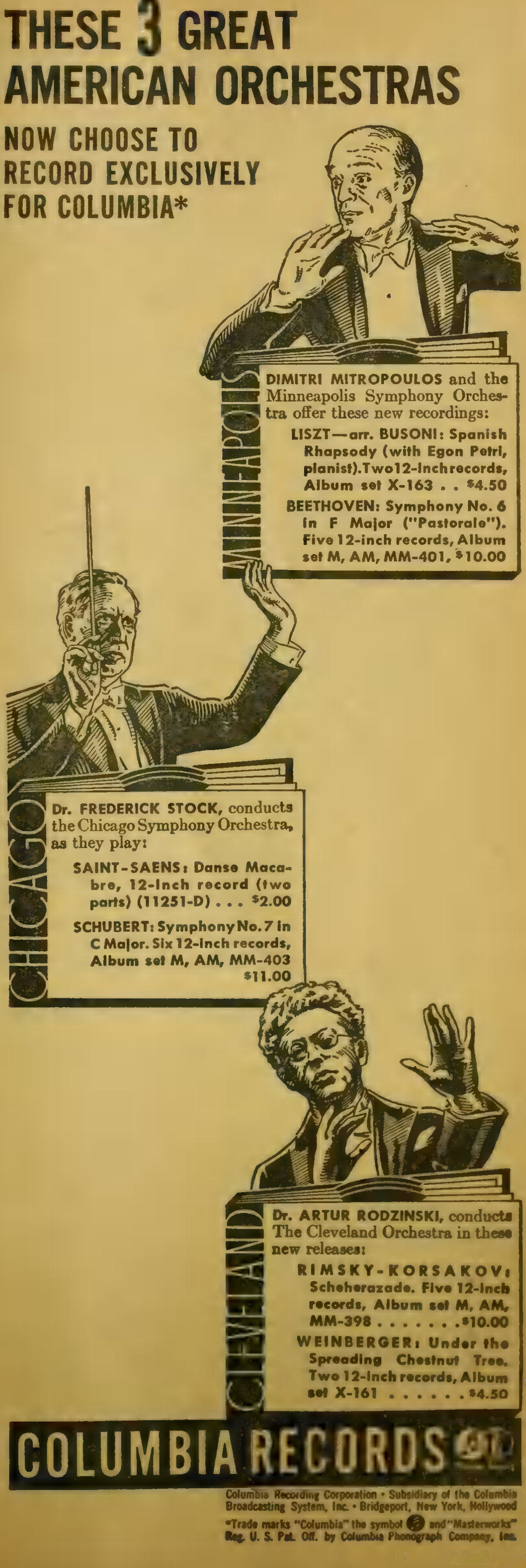
MATHEMATICS AND THE IMAGINATION. By Edward Kasner and James Newman. Simon and Schuster. $2.75.

IN RECENT years there have been a number of books devoted to mathematics for the layman. None of those I have read adopts the same approach or covers exactly the same field as the present volume, and none, I think, combines equally well perspicacity with an honest refusal to permit the layman to delude himself into supposing that he understands more than he actually does. Nearly any reader will find occasion for the hardest thinking he is capable of, though what is required is not a previous familiarity with mathematical tools—very little of which is assumed—but the ability as well as the willingness to think in terms of abstract logic. Granted the latter, one is certain to come away from the book with both a genuine knowledge of what various branches of mathematics are about and a considerably expanded imagination.

Each of the nine chapters deals with a different topic, and all are more or less self-contained. The subjects range all the way from such specific ones as famous puzzles and paradoxes to the consideration of the scope and meaning of such relatively new fields of investigation as the non-Euclidean geometries and topology—the latter being, by the way, ultimately identical with what is sometimes called rubber-sheet geometry and concerned with those properties of a figure which remain unchanged by distortion. There is an admirable discussion of the meaning of *pi* and other transcendental numbers and an elegant solution of the paradox of Zeno which may bring peace to those who find the more usual one—by means of the finite limit of the sum of an infinite series—not wholly satisfactory. But despite the number and diversity of topics the book is given unity both by consistency in intention—in what it proposes to do for the reader—and by a consistent conception of the nature and meaning of mathematical thinking.

In the two latter respects the present volume could hardly be more different than it is from Lancelot Hogben's "Mathematics for the Million." Hogben, being a materialistic utilitarian, regards mathematics simply as a tool; he aims to increase his readers' ability to figure or at least to understand how figuring is done, and he dismisses all pure mathematics as merely a form of mysticism invented to help keep the proletariat in subjection. Kasner and Newman, on the other hand, though they do give specific solutions to many concrete problems, are not primarily concerned with mathematics as a tool, and they regard it as fundamentally a method of logical thinking valid over a field much larger than that in which it has been found to have practical applications. It is a method of dealing with the possible—that is, the self-consistent—not merely with that small section of the possible which is known to be actual; and only, so it seems to me, when mathematics is so regarded can the science have any interest different from that of bookkeeping. Mathematical logic appears to be capable of investigating not only certain classes of the phenomena of the universe but also what would have to be true in any possible universe. And it thereby gives the best, indeed the only, reason I know for supposing that the operations of the human mind have any large validity or that the categories of the understanding are not so completely peculiar to us that they make it impossible to know any sort of reality except that of subjective sense impressions.

To devise a successful method of calculation and thereby to solve a specific problem is, perhaps, to bring imagination to a full stop, and for that reason the most stimulating chapters in the present book are those which, like the chapter on transcendental and imaginary numbers, are concerned not with a calculation but with concepts the full significance of which even mathematicians do not understand. The Greeks knew that the ratio of the diameter of a circle to its circumference could not be stated except by saying that it was greater than a certain number and less than another. But the mystery of *pi* is not exhausted by the concept of incommensurability. For one thing it can be expressed in ways much more striking than by the familiar 3.14159—which seems so arbitrary but which happens to be the only form in which it could easily be printed here. For another thing it is not merely the ratio of a diameter to a circumference. It turns up in many calculations, including those of actuaries, which have nothing to do with circles. In other words, it expresses some recurring relationship, the fundamental nature of which we do not understand. Nor is *pi* the only such quantity. The one known conventionally as *e* is



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another which is fundamental in some mysterious way. So is the imaginary number the square root of minus one, often indicated by the letter *i*. And then, mystery of mysteries, one added to *e* raised to the *i*-times-*pi* power is zero. Nobody knows what this fact signifies, but it does indicate that these three quantities, none of which is in itself easy to comprehend, are not only each fundamental in the structure of the universe but also in some queer way related to one another. At least the legendary formula which proves the existence of God ought to include all three of them.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

"What Is Culture?"

HISTORIAN AND SCIENTIST. By Gaetano Salvemini. Harvard University Press. $1.75.

THIS book is a reprint of four lectures given at Chicago University with an appended essay What Is Culture?—a brilliant attack on the elective system. It is a somewhat melancholy reflection on this system that university graduates should require these lectures at all. The attitude which Professor Salvemini expounds with the most beautiful lucidity ought to have been learned by all of them in high school. As he reminds us, "History has become a primary category of our thought, an a priori according to which an experience groups itself. . . . To a large extent 'Know thyself' means today, See the origins of thyself in the past." Until a student has learned the following things: (1) "Disconnected facts have no interest in themselves. They were all born free and equal. Facts begin to acquire significance only when they are grouped in a system of cause and effect. Only then does knowledge contribute to wisdom." (2) "The statistical method is valid when one wants to learn the average weight of pigs of various ages, but does not work when one wishes to measure the power of the human brain or the strength of revolutions." (3) "Objectivity results not from the absence of bias but from controversy between conflicting preconceptions, a controversy which is at bottom cooperation." (4) "One must give up the illusion of being to learn everything"—until he has learned this, the student is incapable of learning anything else.

"Historian and Scientist" is a timely book for another reason. One of the most disquieting intellectual developments of the last fifty years has been the exaltation of Causal Necessity and the denial of Logical and Moral Necessity. The discovery that the *intensity* with which men have believed in ideas and values has often been due, not as they imagined to their logic, but to their cultural or economic environment, instead of teaching them greater logical caution and moral vigilance, has led many people, and not only professed fascists either, to deny the possibility of making any judgment except one of practical expediency. We are becoming more and more like the characters in Wagnerian opera. To this decadent and, in the long run, unrealistic attitude of those "whose objectivity might be described as inclining neither on the one hand to partiality nor on the other to impartiality," Professor Salvemini is a formidable adversary. Intellectuals or not, we all need to be reminded that "one who is guilty of a dishonest or cowardly action is not entitled to exonerate himself with disingenuous scientific arguments; these arguments are, as Pareto would say, derivations from a residue. Withdraw the derivatives, and what remains at their root is not a scientific doctrine but a base character."

Culture, in fact, is something more than merely a relative anthropological concept. "Men are born not with equal abilities but with an equal weakness." Culture, then, is something to be won, and difficult to retain. It is not knowledge, though knowledge is essential; it is not intellect or will, though these are the means to its attainment; it is not self-expression, though those who have it are more truly themselves: it might be defined as a power to resist a blind all-or-none reaction to the immediate stimulus, a willingness to make choices and to admit when, as will often happen, they prove wrong, an awareness, with Dante, that "man was never without love natural and love rational. The natural is always without error, but the other may err through an evil object . . . love is the seed of every virtue in you and of every deed that deserves punishment."

W. H. AUDEN

CONTRIBUTORS

HEINZ POL, a German émigré journalist, has just arrived in the United States from France, where he has lived for several years. Since the outbreak of war he has been interned in various camps. His analysis is based on wide acquaintance with officials, journalists, and army officers.

EDNA LONIGAN, at present a free-lance journalist, was formerly chief statistician of the New York Labor Department and a specialist in employment in the United States Treasury Department.

HARVEY S. FORD, secretary of the American Military Institute in Washington, has for many years been a close student of the art of war. He has written numerous articles for military publications and is at present collaborating with Major Joseph Mills Hanson on a book on the Civil War.

HANS KOHN, professor of modern European history at Smith College, is the author of "Revolution and Dictatorship" and other books.

W. H. AUDEN, English poet and critic, is at present in this country. He is coauthor of "Letters from Iceland" and "Journey to a War."

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RECORDS

IN DVORAK'S unfamiliar Symphony No. 2 one is startled every now and then by an echo of some stylistic mannerism of Brahms, who was Dvorak's contemporary; but the work is entirely uncharacteristic of Brahms in its spontaneity, its melodic flow, its rich color, though unusual for Dvorak in its somber, powerful first movement. The performance by the former Czech Philharmonic under Talich is excellent and well recorded (Victor: M-663, $7.50). Whereas Dvorak is one of the most easily accessible of composers, Berlioz is for the fairly sophisticated listener who follows with interest and fascination the unpredictable steps in the musical thinking of one of the most original of musical minds. For such listeners Victor offers a fine new set of the Symphonie Fantastique made by Bruno Walter with the Paris Conservatory Orchestra (M-662, $9). As for Ravel's "Daphnis and Chloë" Suite No. 2, there is only one reason for listening to it or recording it; and that is Koussevitzky's performance with the Boston Symphony—one of the wonders of the age, which even in the old Victor recording demonstrates its superiority to Ormandy's newly recorded performance with the Philadelphia Orchestra (M-667, $4.50).

For those interested in singing there is a first volume of songs recorded by Povla Frijsh (M-668, $5.50). I say "interested in singing" because most of the songs themselves—by Fauré, Gluck, Sinding, Grieg, Gröndahl, Schubert, Schumann—are minor examples; but the art with which Mme Frijsh sings them is extraordinary; and skilful recording gives her voice itself an agreeable quality on the records that it does not have in the concert hall. The recording in the set (M-664, $5) of Bach's Wedding Cantata (No. 202) does not do as much for Elisabeth Schumann, some of whose notes, as they emerge from the phonograph, are ear-piercing. For the most part, however, her singing is admirable; also, the playing of the instrumental ensemble is satisfactory; but the work itself I care very little about. Jussi Bjoerling sings Schubert's "Ständchen" and "An Sylvia" (12725, $1.50) with simplicity and good taste; but the powerful voice is too unwieldy for the subtlety of inflection they require.

There are a few lovely details in the first movement of the Schubert Quartet misleadingly designated as Opus 168, and the finale is charming; but it is nevertheless a youthful exercise of no great consequence. I have never before heard from the Busch Quartet anything as fine—in the literal sense of the word—as its performance of this work (M-670, $6.50). Listening to Menuhin play a movement from Mozart's Sonata K. 301 with his sister Hephzibah and a movement of K. 378 with his less interesting sister Yalta (16106, $2), I am astonished again at how the impressive musician of ten has grown into the unimpressive musician of twenty-three or four. As for Brailovsky's record of Chopin's Berceuse (15382, $2), I dislike the mannered phrasing and the consequent lack of the repose this piece should have. The performances of Chopin's Ecossaises on the reverse side are better; but I do not find the pieces very interesting.

With the withdrawal of the old Victor and not so old Columbia sets there has been no recording available of Schubert's wonderful Quartet Opus 161. Royale has now issued one (610/13, $4) made by the New York Philharmonic-Symphony Quartet, which comprises Messrs. Piastro, Pogany, Kurthy, and Schuster of the orchestra. A group of this sort can overcome almost any handicap sooner than the handicap of a poor first violinist; and the excellence of Mr. Schuster and, to a lesser degree, Mr. Kurthy merely throws into sharper relief the deficiencies in tone and style of Mr. Piastro. Moreover, four first-desk men of an orchestra do not achieve the finesse in ensemble performance that is possible for a group of superlative players who devote themselves entirely to such performance for years—the finesse that not only delights the connoisseur of ensemble performance but is important for effective presentation of the music, as one can learn if one listens to what this Schubert quartet, especially the last movement, sounds like as the Philharmonic-Symphony men play it on Royale and then as the old Kolisch Quartet plays it on Columbia. What the Philharmonic-Symphony group give us is a performance with warmth and spirit but no subtlety, and with beautiful playing by Mr. Schuster in the Trio of the third movement. The recording is not advantageous to the sound of the performance; and while Mr. Piastro manages to stay on pitch better than usually, an off-center record produces horrible wavering throughout the second side.

Royale also has issued the Philharmonic-Symphony Quartet's recording of Tschaikovsky's Quartet Opus 11 (595/7, $3), which is vastly superior to the recent Columbia Roth Quartet version, except that Mr. Piastro's excesses of phrasing make the performance of the Andante Cantabile vastly inferior. As for Mozart's Divertimento K. 251 (614/5, $2), whatever charm the music might have is obscured by the performance of the Royale Chamber Orchestra led by Henry Nosco.

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The Shape of Things

FASCIST FRANCE IS NOT FRANCE; IT IS A miserable rump of a state existing under the absolute control of Nazi Germany. In this fact lies the only comfort that can be drawn from the events of these bitter days. The government of fascist France has never had the sanction of the people or their elected representatives; it usurped power in the hour of surrender and it exercises the functions of government at the will of the German dictator. The new constitution, emerging from the cunning mind of the fascist Laval, expresses the final degradation of slavery. Only outlines have appeared in the press, as this is written, but it is enough to know that France is to be governed by a dictatorship, probably with Pétain as its titular head, and that the parliament will be superseded by two "advisory" chambers, an upper house appointed by the government and a lower house composed of representatives of business and professional groups. Trade unions "in the old sense" and political parties are to be abolished. Before this paragraph appears, the old French Assembly will have passed on this "constitutional reform." But its function is purely decorative, and the outcome has been announced in advance. If sufficient support for the new instrument of tyranny should be lacking in the Assembly, "a legal solution," according to the D. N. B., the official German news agency, "has already been provided to make delay impossible." The formulas for such "legal" solutions are well known in Nazi Germany and can be applied by Hitler's French agents without serious modification. France as an independent political entity has disappeared —at least for the duration.

*

BUT THE NEW FRANCE CAN DO GREAT HARM to the cause of freedom. Because its leaders act and speak as if they exercised genuine authority, they are able to do Hitler's work as his acknowledged agents could never do it. The British attack on the French fleet at Oran was a desperate act of self-defense obviously justified by Pétain's refusal to keep the nation's promise to turn over the fleet to Britain in case of surrender. It was justified, but according to all reports it has caused deep resentment in France. The Pétain-Laval junta has denounced the "perfidy" of the British and has been able to exploit the tragic event effectively in the interest of its German bosses and its own reactionary and anti-British policy. The eloquent words of Churchill explaining the attack at Oran in all its painful aspects were unable to reach the ears of the French people, now cut off as completely as the Germans themselves from unexpurgated news. They may not know for years to come of the pledges and alternative offers which accompanied the British demands on the French naval commander at Oran.

*

AND SO ENMITY BETWEEN THE FORMER Allies mounts. France has broken off diplomatic relations with Britain, and Britain has announced the necessity of blockading France. The Germans and Italians have permitted the French government to rearm its air squadrons, and French aviators are bombing British warships in Gibraltar harbor. Thus ends the alliance between the two greatest European democracies, an alliance which only a month ago seemed on the verge of becoming a permanent union. It has been smashed, not by the victorious arms of Germany, but by the collapse of French unity and fighting spirit. The causes of the collapse are discussed in two articles by Heinz Pol published in this week's issue of *The Nation* and the one before. The lesson contained in those articles should be studied and memorized by all Americans.

*

BRITAIN'S REFUSAL TO CLOSE THE BURMA road has brought a sharp request from Japan that the decision be reconsidered. At the same time a Japanese army spokesman has made a violent protest over the arrest by United States marines of sixteen Japanese gendarmes in the American defense sector of Shanghai. A struggle over immediate Japanese policy has been under way between the "moderate" extremists represented by the Foreign Office and the fanatical patriotic societies. The disagreement has revolved chiefly around Foreign

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Minister Arita's declaration of pan-Asiatic policy, While both groups agree on the desirability of expansion in eastern Asia and the South Seas, the military clique wants a clear declaration of alignment with the "new world order" of the Axis. The reply to Britain and the truculent protest over what was clearly a minor incident in Shanghai would seem to indicate that the extremists are gaining ground in spite of what should be strong deterrents. Tokyo knows that Britain has been in consultation with the United States as well as with the Dominions. Secretary Hull has made it clear that this country has not deviated from the policy laid down in the Nine-Power Treaty. An American embargo on essential war supplies would seriously cripple Japan in case British resistance were protracted. Moreover, the American fleet at Hawaii is in a position to cut off the Japanese from their home base if they venture to attack the Netherlands East Indies in search of supplies. The defense of Shanghai or of French Indo-China, on the other hand, presents great difficulties, and for the moment Japan may confine its attack to these two areas. Any such respite, however, would be temporary, for Japan has unmistakably declared its intention of ruling the Far East. Whether or not it retains its non-belligerent status with respect to the European war, its aims and aspirations link it irrevocably with the Axis.

*

CASUALTIES IN MEXICO'S PRESIDENTIAL election stand at 47 killed and 300 injured as we go to press. This is serious enough, but it does not add up to the revolution that alarmists inside and outside Mexico have been predicting. Crucial days, however, are still ahead. Both Camacho and Almazán claim an overwhelming victory. The votes cast for the presidential candidates will not be officially counted until Congress meets on September 1. It has been widely predicted that Almazán's procedure will be to summon his own Congress at Monterrey. Then if the victory is awarded to Camacho, President Cárdenas will be faced with the necessity of dissolving the opposition body, by force if necessary. On the day the people went to the polls Cárdenas repeated once more his pledge of a free and honest election; but he is in the peculiar position of being able to convince the opposition of his sincerity only by declaring their candidate victorious, since Almazán would presumably not accept any other result as valid. As a matter of fact other elements will play a greater part in Almazán's decision than will the election figures. As the European situation worsens and the United States becomes more deeply involved, the likelihood of American support for a coup against the Cárdenas regime grows smaller. Washington is obviously anxious to hasten a settlement of the oil controversy. It may be expected also to discourage support by American interests of any attempt to let loose civil war in Mexico.

INEVITABLY THE EFFECTS OF THE NAZI hurricane have aroused this country to a demand for adequate military protection. Just as inevitably that demand has speeded the pulse and gladdened the eye of every brass hat in America. Early in June we predicted that the Roosevelt Administration would be compelled to sponsor some sort of plan for universal training. The President's proposal for a triple program of compulsory military, technical, and vocational training followed shortly after, with Sidney Hillman selected as the man to draw up the detailed plan. Scarcely had the anti-New Dealers spat out the word "regimentation" than Senator Burke of Nebraska followed through with a military-training bill which would compel registration of 40,000,000 Americans between the ages of eighteen and sixty-five. At the same time the army and navy are hard at work on schemes of their own, and Raymond J. Kelly, national commander of the American Legion, is racing ahead with a plan to raise the huge "unofficial" army under Legion auspices, with armed "security units" in every community. How to be prepared and still avoid the pitfalls of militarism is a question posed by the times. Straight military conscription of the kind proposed by Senator Burke is not the answer. It did not save France. If we must defend ourselves by force it is clear that our hope lies in a people's army, democratically controlled and democratic in spirit. The Administration's program, with its emphasis on vocational as well as military training, points in this direction. Liberals would do well to sacrifice enough of their pacifist purity to prevent that program from being ground beneath the heels of the Burkes, the Kellys, and the professional militarists.

*

POSTMASTER GENERAL FARLEY'S REPORT OF his "entirely satisfactory" talk at Hyde Park indicates that at least Franklin D. Roosevelt and Mr. Farley know what is going to happen at Chicago. Although the die apparently has already been cast, arguments are still being feverishly urged against the Roosevelt candidacy by anti-third-term liberals. Most ingenious of these is the proposition worked out by Walter Lippmann, which runs like this: If the Republicans had chosen a Dewey or a Taft, it would have been mandatory for the Democrats to draft Roosevelt as "the only available candidate who understands the world we are living in." But the Republicans did the smart thing; they nominated Wendell Willkie. A third term, the argument continues, is justified only when "the vital interests of the nation are at stake." Obviously they are not at stake with a Willkie prepared to step into the White House. Hence Roosevelt owes it to the country to retire. The lucid Lippmann mind seems to us to have slipped a cog or two. Willkie's grasp of foreign affairs could be many notches above that of a local racket-buster and still be no match for

Adolf Hitler. Again assuming the grasp, Mr. Willkie's big-business background does not offer the best vantage-point either for carrying on a fight against fascism or for dealing with a Hitlerized Europe in the event of a British collapse; Herbert Hoover also understands what is going on. But even granting an identity of foreign policy between Roosevelt and Willkie, there is the little matter of domestic policy. Or does Mr. Lippmann believe that as long as the country arms to the teeth against Nazi Germany, American liberals will have nothing to worry about?

*

CONFIRMATION OF STIMSON AND KNOX FOR their respective Cabinet posts will doubtless have been voted before this issue reaches our readers. The isolationist opposition in Senate committees fell considerably short of expectation. Colonel Stimson was approved by the Military Affairs Committee by a vote of 14 to 3, while Colonel Knox gained the approval of the Naval Affairs Committee by a vote of 9 to 5. Although the isolationists, as anticipated, centered their attack principally on Knox, the hearings brought out that he was much the more cautious of the two in his attitude toward aid for Great Britain. Stimson realistically declared himself in favor of all aid short of war as a means of bolstering the defenses of the United States. Among these short-of-war measures he would include the use of the United States navy to convoy American supply ships to Europe and the opening of American ports and naval bases to the British fleet. Although favoring civilian aid to the Allies, Knox opposed both proposals on the ground that such conduct "would mean war." Mr. Stimson doubtless understands the risks of active assistance to Great Britain and is well acquainted with the legal difficulties involved in the type of aid which he suggests. But more clearly than anyone else in public life he has recognized the danger to our security that will arise if Britain falls and aggression remains unchecked. We only wish that this recognition were more widespread.

*

THE TIN HORNS OF FASCISM BLOW LOUDER in the air of publicity, acquittals, and short jail sentences. Joseph McWilliams is boasting that his conviction for making anti-Semitic remarks at a street meeting was just what he wanted. "I was in that court putting on a show," he said. The membership of the Christian Front, we understand, is booming since the acquittal of nine of the defendants in the Brooklyn conspiracy trial. But the prosecution of aspiring terrorists and dictators for even minor infractions of the law is an important part of the defense of our institutions, especially since political criminals are more than likely to go in for ordinary crimes as well—witness Fritz Kuhn, who has been happily relegated for some time at least to the silence of Sing Sing. Such prosecutions, however, must be intelligently handled. In the case of the Christian Front it appears that the charge of conspiracy to overthrow the government was too drastic to be supported by the evidence—though the acquittal of nine defendants on all charges should be considered and investigated in the light of the fact that Father Brophy, one of the Christian Front's most eloquent spokesmen, has boasted publicly that the forewoman of the jury in the Brooklyn trial is his cousin. The arrest and conviction of McWilliams, especially if it is followed by other arrests and convictions on the same charge, are all to the good, in spite of his blustering.

*

LIFE MUST GO ON, WE SUPPOSE, EVEN IN defeated France, but it has been going on a little too glibly in Kathleen Cannell's dispatches from Paris to the New York *Times* (Delayed; via Berlin). On June 29 she revealed that the French dressmakers plan to return to Paris from their exile in Biarritz and present their August collections as usual. The sparrows in the Tuileries, wrote Miss Cannell, "miss their jolly little namesakes, the *moineaux,* as Paris affectionately calls her midinettes." She also noted rather proudly that "the

CONTENTS

THE SHAPE OF THINGS 21

EDITORIALS:

NEEDED—AN AMERICAN LEAGUE OF NATIONS by Freda Kirchwey 24
MUNICH IN WALL STREET 25
HE WILL RUN—HE WON'T RUN by Charles Malcolmson 26

WHO BETRAYED FRANCE?

II. THE GUILT OF THE LEFT by Heinz Pol 27
HEIL EDWARD WINDSOR! by Ladislas Farago 30
MEMO TO W. W. by McAlister Coleman 32
IN THE WIND 33

BOOKS AND THE ARTS:

GOLIATH IN BUSINESS by Keith Hutchison 34
WHO WAS THE MORE SURPRISED? by Harvey S. Ford 34
INSIDE MEXICO by Nathaniel Weyl 35
SOMEONE TO TALK TO by Louis B. Salomon 36
THE COLLECTIVE BARGAIN by August Tyler 36
CRITIQUE OF SANTAYANA by Eliseo Vivas 37
IN BRIEF 38
RECORDS by B. H. Haggin 38

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Paris couture will have set a record—of not having missed a single season Paris fashion opening because of this war." Miss Cannell is obviously looking forward to the openings. We too. We're curious to see what a well-oppressed people will wear.

Needed—an American League of Nations

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

AT HAVANA, less than two weeks from now, the independent nations of the American continents will confront the problem of adjusting their highly competitive economies and their nationalistic attitudes to a new world situation. Today they face in cold reality what has for years loomed as a threatening possibility. Europe, to the edge of the Continent, has been bombed or terrorized into unity under fascist control. Even if Britain holds out, the hope of an actual victory over Hitler seems diminishing. It hangs on such huge uncertainties as Russia's future moves and the ability and willingness of the United States to throw ever-increasing material help into the anti-fascist balance.

Meanwhile, the process of coordinating the battered Continent is being hastened. Rumania has announced its adhesion to the Axis and has expelled British experts and business men. It is constructing a full-fledged one-party dictatorship and anti-Semitic laws. France is being led through a valley of shadows toward a fascist regime; French food is being rationed according to Nazi orders; French bombers have attacked Gibraltar. Holland is bending under the weight of German threats; the Nazi military commander has charged the population with "disloyalty toward the German occupation" and forbidden any demonstration in favor of the Netherlands government. Sweden is negotiating a series of agreements with Germany and Denmark and Norway to coordinate its trade with that of its Nazi-controlled neighbors. Unless the lid blows off the Balkans, Hitler should be able to establish some sort of Continental order, however uneasy, before winter comes. It is with a fascist Europe that the Americas will have to deal. We have waked up to find the nightmare of the past years an ugly fact.

In Hitler's new Europe millions of people are going to be hungry next winter. That is certain, even today. If Great Britain is defeated, the Continent will become a clamorous market for all kinds of foodstuffs and many other sorts of goods. It will have little money, but the Nazis have long since learned to buy without money. The numerous variations of the barter system backed by powerful forms of political persuasion have supplied Germany with most of its necessities for years past. When this system is extended over a whole continent it becomes a formidable economic threat.

The German government described as "pointless" Mr. Hull's announcement that the United States would not tolerate any transfer of territory in the Americas from one European power to another; the United States had no reason to assume that it intended to take over the American possessions of the conquered nations. But the German note went on to explain that the Monroe Doctrine was valid only if the Americas refrained from interfering with European affairs, and it assailed that doctrine as favoring certain powers above others. Mr. Hull's answer was very crisp. He said that the United States had no territorial designs on any nation and that the Monroe Doctrine established no domination by this country over the other nations of the hemisphere; it merely protected the Americas against threats of domination from abroad. And President Roosevelt reiterated Mr. Hull's warning in a statement given out a day or so later by Mr. Early:

> But, for example, should a victorious Germany lay claim to territories of conquered nations in this hemisphere, we hold that the issue comes within the province of the Monroe Doctrine. We hold that it works in this way: The United States does not take over the islands or territorial possessions of the conquered nations, but it believes and holds the position that their disposition and administration should be decided among and by all of the American republics.

Meanwhile, American warships are cruising around the French West Indies. The British are reported to have established a blockade of Martinique to prevent a shipment of American-made planes from being carried to France; they have denied the rumor, but the United States clearly intends to supervise all belligerent activities in those waters.

In South America German plots multiply. All reports indicate that only quick action by the Uruguayan government, with help from Brazil, and the approach of a United States cruiser prevented a Nazi-backed coup in Montevideo. Edward Tomlinson has described in the New York *Herald Tribune* a plan to create a "New Germany" in territory to be carved out of Chile, Argentina, Uruguay, Bolivia, Paraguay, and part of Brazil. This scheme may still be in the fantasy stage, but in these days no fantasies dare be entirely discounted. Correspondents from Cuba report heavy Nazi propaganda directed chiefly against the United States. The proposed cartel plan for buying up and selling through a central agency all Latin American surpluses is attacked as a trick to establish "Yankee imperialism" in a more dangerous form.

This is the background against which the deliberations of the American nations at Havana must proceed: Europe united under fascist control, with Adolf Hitler, as the

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Nazis openly claim, its economic dictator and the world's greatest potential purchaser—on his own terms; the Americas, deeply penetrated by Nazi propaganda, sharply divided within themselves, but partially aware of the threat offered by a fascist Europe to their economic and political independence.

Effective defense can be achieved in only one way. The United States should propose at Havana the early creation of a *real* pan-American union—an American league of nations. Unlike the Geneva League of unhappy memory, the American league must assume certain sovereign powers. It must be intrusted with control over the foreign trade of both continents. This implies a revolutionary change from the competitive methods now in effect; but no halfway measure can succeed. Only a democratic totalitarianism—if such a phrase may be allowed—can resist the absolutist totalitarianism of the European continent. Planning is necessary, centralized control is necessary, and some sort of merchandising cartel, as suggested by the Administration, may be the best instrument through which to achieve both. But such a system must be worked out and administered collectively and not under the domination, however benevolent, of the United States. Otherwise it will not work at all.

The American league of nations must also control the military defense of the hemisphere. The United States will be in a position to supply most of the actual power, but it must not assume the role of self-appointed armed protector. The strength of the other nations must be increased, with United States funds if necessary, and the combined forces of the Americas must be put at the disposal of the league.

The preliminary steps toward an American league of nations have been taken at the various pan-American conferences, by the Neutrality Committee now in continuous session, and by the international neutrality patrol now guarding the vast "safety zone" in the waters around the American continents. The value of a more formal and permanent body, clothed with definite, if limited, sovereignty, lies partly in its effect on men's minds. Only a genuine surrender of national power offers promise of collective security. Failure to recognize this basic fact was the rock on which the Geneva League went aground. An American league must profit by the mistake of Europe—a mistake which proved fatal.

Perhaps such a scheme is chimerical. If so, our hope of defending this hemisphere is, by the same token, a poor one. If national ambitions and national jealousies and the power of interested commercial groups are strong enough to defeat genuine collective action, then Hitler will be able to pick off his victims one at a time, by economic weapons or political ones, or by military attack, as he has done in Europe. Havana will provide a test of the Americas' capacity for self-preservation.

Munich in Wall Street

NOTHING succeeds like success, and domestic opinion is already beginning to show the effects of Nazi victories in Europe. A strong ferment is being set up for changes in home and foreign policies that may drastically affect our way of life. The changes portended demonstrate the fallacies of isolationism, the impossibility of sealing a hemisphere, and the problems which would be created for us by a final German victory. In the field of domestic politics, the new trend is toward the scuttling of labor and social legislation. In the sphere of foreign politics, it is toward economic appeasement of the Third Reich. In the first instance the drive is open, in the second it is still subterranean. Its strength should not be underestimated.

In calculating the potential force of these trends, one must keep in mind the attraction that dictatorship holds for large sections of the big-business class. Since the days of Alexander Hamilton this class has cared little for democracy, and has fought every extension of it. Economic changes in our own country have given it power by replacing the older, more individual forms of property and of business enterprise by huge corporations undemocratically operated and resentful of democratic political controls. The forces that have wiped out the small business man in so many areas of enterprise have more recently been reducing an ever larger proportion of our farmers to the status of tenants, many of them to that of homeless wanderers on the roads. Economic power is being concentrated in the hands of fewer and fewer people, and it will become ever harder to maintain this nation half-democratic, half-dictatorial. For the realm of business is a realm of dictatorship over masses of unorganized investor-owners with no real voice in the management of their property and over workers who precariously maintain a certain amount of organization.

So the cry rises from flabby gentlemen in Wall Street that the people of the democratic countries are getting "soft." Business men who resent the slightest supervision by government say we must have "discipline." The financial prophets who thought the world would come to an end if the budget was not balanced now praise the fascist dictatorships for "their better grasp of fundamental economic truth" (*Commercial and Financial Chronicle*, June 29, 1940). The entrepreneurs who set up a wail over a profit limit of 8 per cent on defense orders are telling each other that labor must stop being so "selfish" and must work longer hours for less money. Social reforms and labor standards dearly won are being steadily undermined by propaganda of this kind. The democracies of Europe were weakened by their failure to extend democracy to the economic realm. These gentry would also undermine democracy by reducing its value to the masses—by threatening their security and lowering their living standards.

More and more this undercover propaganda for less democracy is accompanied by talk that we must "come to terms" with Hitler; Herbert Hoover, by his remarks in private and public, has shown himself to be one of the principal protagonists of this point of view. "Basic issue confronting U. S.," says a confidential service for business executives, in its elliptical fashion, "to appease or not to appease a victorious Hitler." The German armies now control an enormous market, and its bargaining power is commensurate with its consuming ability. *Berlin-Rome-Tokyo,* speaking for the German Foreign Office, has already warned the United States to play the game according to Nazi rules—or else. In 1937, 42 per cent of our copper exports, 37 per cent of our cotton exports, 27 per cent of our oil exports, 18 per cent of our tobacco and machine-tool exports, 15 per cent of our automobile exports went to the enlarged Third Reich and the countries now under its control. True, only a small portion of these exports went to Hitler's Greater Germany. Most of them were taken by Scandinavia, the Netherlands, and France. Significant and revealing is the fact that of the 42.7 per cent in wheat exports to the sections of Europe dominated by Germany, only 1.9 per cent went to the Greater Reich.

The service for business executives quoted above concludes that we must "expect a super-Munich for this country to come later." It is important to know what some influential people expect.

He Will Run—He Won't Run

BY CHARLES MALCOLMSON

Washington, July 8

FOR the most part Washington is convinced that Wendell Willkie will get his wish. At the conclusion of the Philadelphia contest, the Republican nominee expressed a desire to "take on the champ," meaning Mr. Roosevelt. Today, one week before the Democratic convention in Chicago, a great majority of New Dealers and others believe Mr. Willkie will be afforded that opportunity.

There are exceptions, of course. A surprising number of Roosevelt partisans, both in and outside official life, think the President will not accept the nomination, which is sure to be offered him. These New Dealers fall into one of three classes: (1) those who are opposed to a third term for anybody, including F. D. R.; (2) those who favor another term for Mr. Roosevelt but fear he cannot overcome the third-term tradition and who therefore want him to retire while he's still the "champ"; (3) those who can't forget Mr. Roosevelt's penchant for dramatic gestures and therefore anticipate a "surprise" announcement from him on the eve of the convention.

Third-termers, on the other hand—and they are not *all* jobholders with selfish interests at heart—believe the President has waited so long to declare his intentions that the situation is now completely beyond his control. They think he will be nominated on the first ballot and drafted even in the face of a last-minute message announcing his retirement. In substantiation they point to a number of facts. The nomination of Willkie by the Republicans is one. What the New Dealers wanted most was a G. O. P. ticket of Taft and Dewey. They felt that almost any liberal Democrat—Hull, Jackson, Douglas, even Wheeler—could lick a combination like that, and they were probably right. But the startling and politically unparalleled upsurge of Willkie has given them a fright; they now feel that only the President is a sure winner. And they are sure he knows it, too, and won't let them down.

Then there is the anticipated retirement of Jim Farley, an outspoken opponent of the third term. This lends color, if not substance, to the conclusion that Mr. Roosevelt is willing to be drafted. It's a cinch that genial Jim, who has very earnest Presidential ambitions of his own, would not bow out if he had any hope the President would not run. Stories of Farley's "retirement" from politics should not be taken too seriously, however. It is reported that he is working to keep his two closest cronies on the Democratic National Committee, Secretary Lawrence "Chip" Robert and Treasurer Oliver Quayle, neither of them third-termers, very much in the party picture.

Finally, third-termers are placing great stock in such straws as the comment of Harry Hopkins on Willkie's nomination. Hopkins remarked that in view of this development the President would have to deliver only two campaign speeches, "one in Maine and one in Vermont." Since the Secretary has been living at the White House for months and is closer to the President than anyone else in Washington, this is regarded as "proof" of Mr. Roosevelt's third-term availability.

Democrats of all kinds are finding some consolation in the currently tangled Republican situation. Reaction to the Willkie victory among Republicans here was decidedly mixed, though most of them appear to feel that the convention took the wisest course in selecting a "glamour boy" to compete with Mr. Roosevelt. But even on the surface all is not harmony. The Taft and Dewey partisans have taken the blow gracefully and have expressed willingness to pitch in and help. The Old Guard, including a lot of Middle Western Congressmen, aren't so tractable, however, and have been mumbling in their beards all week. This is particularly true of the Vandenberg and James supporters, some of whom set new indoor records for high dudgeon when they returned to their air-cooled offices in the Capitol.

As for the Western Republicans, they are placing their hopes principally upon McNary's public-utilities-ownership, isolationist, anti-reciprocal-trade record. This, incidentally, is a source of high glee in Democratic cloakrooms, where McNary's unfortunate declaration on the eve of the balloting in Philadelphia—that the Republicans must carry the West to win but were sure to lose if Willkie was nominated—has all but been set to music. It is true the Republican policy-makers will find it a ticklish task to splice the widely divergent Willkie and McNary views, but it should not prove too serious an obstacle. Nobody votes for a Vice-President anyway.

In an article on the Republican convention outlook several weeks ago I made some rather harsh comments on Mr. Willkie, basing them largely upon an address he had just delivered in Washington. There followed a number of letters from *Nation* readers, reasonably enough demanding substantiation. Unfortunately, Mr. Willkie's speech was off the record and not quotable. My suggestion of pre-fascism may have been excessive, although Willkie spoke glowingly of rule by the financial and industrial elect. I am still convinced that my interpretation was essentially justified, but under the circumstances I concede that it would have been better to exhibit more restraint.

Who Betrayed France?

BY HEINZ POL

II. The Guilt of the Left

THE pacifism which is such a dominant trait in the average Frenchman today was carefully nurtured by political parties and other organizations. And even during the critical months preceding the outbreak of the war it contained the elements of defeatism. I remember that my concierge, who had no particular political affiliation, was incensed at the idea that France should go to war if Hitler attacked Poland: "Why don't they give him Alsace-Lorraine? That's all he wants from us. We can do very well without it. It's not worth sacrificing hundreds of thousands of lives for." The pacifism of the Socialists was traditional. In 1914 Jaurès was murdered because he opposed the war. Early last September the friends of Léon Blum were afraid he might be assassinated by members of his own party because, though basically a pacifist, he had come to be a defender of *Realpolitik,* realizing that the fight against Nazism was inevitable. An overwhelming majority of the Socialists, though they did not always openly admit it, were followers of Paul Faure, who believed that war could be avoided if Hitler were given a free hand in Eastern Europe.

Faure was supported in his anti-war propaganda chiefly by those Socialist workers who had been employed for years in the war industries and who inundated the Socialist Party leaders with reports that France was not sufficiently prepared to go to war. The belief was widespread among these workers that France should wait at least another two years. In that time, they were convinced, affairs in Europe would develop in such a way as to make French participation in a war altogether unnecessary. There would be, for instance, a clash between Hitler and Stalin.

Léon Jouhaux, leader of the trade unions with their five or six million members, also had strong pacifist leanings, but for different reasons. He feared the war might wipe out the social and economic gains of the workers. When I was in Le Havre I met a sergeant about forty years of age, the father of a family, a Socialist, and a trade-union secretary. He explained his point of view as follows: "Hitler could have been more easily defeated if France had had time to become the most highly industrialized country in the world and to attain the greatest social development. That would have made such a strong impression on the German masses that a revolution would have been inevitable. The war should never have started; now everything will go to pieces." He added that this was the general feeling among French trade unionists.

At the outbreak of the war Jouhaux and the trade unions were placed in an embarrassing position. The government threatened the dissolution of the unions and the arrest of their leaders unless all Communists were ousted. The Communists had two million members in the trade unions, where they held many of the key positions. In order to save his position Jouhaux was forced to repudiate his former convictions, at least outwardly, and to play the role of super-patriot. The Communists were ousted, and Jouhaux gave Daladier assurances of his loyalty. The rank and file, however, who had been educated along pacifist lines, lost all orientation, and their interest in the trade-union movement slackened.

The anti-war propaganda of the Communists was much more aggressive than that of certain groups of the Socialist and Radical Socialist parties, but since the government and the public immediately clamped down on the Communists and imposed heavy penalties on them, the actual extent of their activity was considerably less than was commonly believed. Such influence as the Communists had is to be attributed to the fact that anti-war propaganda impressed the people whether it came from the right or the left. After the publication of the Russo-German pact the Communists lost hundreds of thousands of members, but even non-Communists found some of their anti-war arguments plausible. Many agreed with them that France should not have entered the war without having Russia as an ally. The Communist anti-war propaganda influenced particularly women in the larger cities; it did not penetrate into the countryside, which was pacifist anyway. In any event Daladier himself had to admit to the Army Commission of Parliament that no acts of sabotage were known to have been committed by Socialist or Communist workers, and that the General Staff had issued nothing but favorable reports about the behavior of Communists at the front.

Blatant pacifist propaganda was carried on by the Radical Socialist Party. This party, the cause of France's undoing, comprised all shades of appeasers, from open pro-Nazis like Bonnet to no less obvious defeatists like de Monzie, who from the very outset expressed his half-cynical, half-resigned conviction of the senselessness of the war. In a controlled Radical Socialist newspaper like *Oeuvre* the internal strife was clearly reflected, to the confusion of its readers, the editorials being full of peace rumors while on the third page Genevieve Tabouis wrote of the army's magnificent efforts.

The purely defensive conduct of the war served to confirm the pacifist and defeatist sentiments of the people. Practically every civilian with whom I came in contact during the war—tradesmen, mail carriers, railroad men, farmers—said the same thing: "This is no real war at all—merely a diplomatic squabble. It could have been settled without mobilizing millions and disorganizing the whole country."

The women were particularly bitter in voicing this opinion. If the war on the western front had become active in September—that is, if the French army had started a real offensive along the Moselle at that time—the prevailing pacifism would undoubtedly have vanished. But when nothing happened, the disorganization within the country grew, and along with it the general indifference and the desire to retrieve the men from this seemingly senseless war. Even army officers shared this opinion, and one of our camp commanders* used to say after reading the newspapers: "I don't understand this war. We don't attack, and Hitler doesn't, either. This is no war. We'd better go home and do something useful and let the diplomats play their own game."

The Ministry of Propaganda, that is to say the government itself, instilled in the masses the belief that there would be no real war in the west. During the whole of September newspapers and radio stations endeavored to prove that Germany was on the verge of disintegration as a result of the Soviet pact, and that Hitler's fall was due any day because his generals were plotting against him. When this plot did not materialize, reports were circulated designed to prove that Hitler's aggressive intentions would be confined to Eastern and Southeastern Europe. When in spite of all predictions to the contrary Hitler started war in the west in earnest, the anti-war feeling turned into complete bewilderment.

During the months of April and May hundreds of thousands of French soldiers were sent back to the countryside to resume their work in the fields. The population regarded this as proof that no hostilities were expected in the near future. Some of the older classes were demobilized altogether. The guard at our camp consisted largely of men who were to be demobilized just about the time that Hitler began his offensive. I can still see my friend Dumonier with the newspaper in his trembling hand, almost in tears, saying: "Do you understand it? It isn't possible. Do you remember the editorial in yesterday's paper by that military man saying that Hitler intended to march into Yugoslavia? Are they liars or criminals? Don't we have an Intelligence Service which should have known this beforehand? We are certainly getting a rotten deal." Dumonier and the other guards were of course not sent back to their farms but instead were speedily dispatched to the front. They belonged to an age class which had fought in the World War, had been called to the colors in December, and then had served as coast guard in Le Havre. They had not handled a gun since 1918, and they were equipped with rifles of the vintage of 1866, for which no ammunition was available. These were among the troops supposed to defend northern France against the invading German tanks. I doubt whether Dumonier and his comrades were able to accomplish much once they got to the front. Apart from the fact that they were inadequately trained and poorly equipped, their morale was broken.

Hundreds of thousand of Dumoniers fell victim to their pacifist sentiments and to government propaganda encouraging these sentiments. In those May days when the offensive started they were already defeated. "Let us hope that a second Marne miracle will happen," my camp commander said to me when I bade him goodby, but his smile was skeptical and sad.

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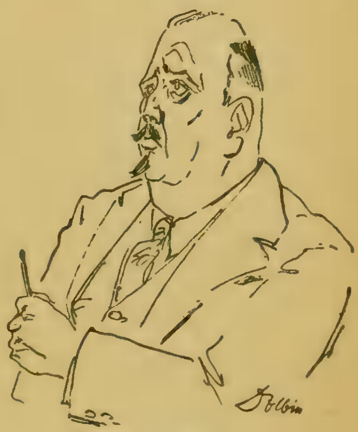
* Heinz Pol was confined in various internment camps during the war.

Expectation of another miracle like the Marne contributed materially to the state of disintegration which existed in France. In many cases, the lack of organization amounted almost to sabotage. Unwillingness to stand up to the task was matched only by the inability to get results. It is no doubt a tremendous undertaking to reorganize the economic and social life of a nation in time of war, but the blunders of the French military authorities and civilian administration are too grave to be excused. Not a single problem was handled with even a semblance of efficiency, beginning with the antiquated system of mobilization and ending with the conscription of aliens for war service.

France did not mobilize by age classes but according to previous military training. Thus men in their thirties who had been trained as gunners or pilots were called up before younger men without special training. This meant that managers and executives of industrial, commercial, and agricultural enterprises were taken while their employees often were spared. The result was economic paralysis, since many of the drafted executives closed their businesses during the first days of the war and dismissed their employees, or gave way to younger substitutes without sufficient experience. Thus the war began with an unprecedented business depression—numerous liquidations and countless layoffs. Much bad blood, moreover, was created when older men were forced to go to war while the streets were full of civilians between twenty and thirty. Later there was a flood of denunciations and complaints, particularly over the question of "specialists" furloughed by the War Ministry upon application for work behind the front. So great grew the scandal around these *affectés speciaux,* that the ministry was forced to institute a special commission of inquiry to hunt them down with the help of the military police and send a few thousand of them back to the front. There was no uniform plan for the utilization of specialized personnel. The War Ministry, the Ministry of Finance, and the Ministry of Labor, each worked out its own plans, which were constantly subject to change and extension. Thus it was often impossible to ascertain whether the individual in question was a slacker or someone capable of performing more valuable work behind the front than at the front itself.

In this matter as well as in that of organizing aliens it was above all the Minister of Labor, Pomaret, who failed miserably. He ground out decrees incessantly, only to supersede them by new ones. The law concerning the mobilization of aliens, inspired by Pomaret, was proclaimed at the beginning of January, 1940. It provided that all aliens living in France were liable for a certain kind of military or civilian auxiliary service unless they were citizens of non-belligerent countries or had a definitely recognized refugee status. Hundreds of thousands were liable for this service but were not called up. These masses of men might have filled vital gaps in the war industries or in work on the fortifications so urgently needed in northern France, the type of work assigned to the comparatively small number of aliens that were finally drafted into the so-caled *prestation* service.

However, up to the time of Hitler's invasion of the Low Countries in May all that had been accomplished was the transference of a few thousand interned German and Austrian refugees who had volunteered for this work from one camp to another, where they waited for things to happen. One of our guards at the Cepoy camp was frank enough to say with a shrug: "Evidently the only purpose of the *prestation* law is to prevent you from running loose on the streets. The best thing for you would be for you all to disappear from France as quickly as possible."


Léon Jouhaux

The same confusion prevailed in the matter of relief for soldiers' families. At the city halls the women stood waiting in vain for payment of their allowances. On one occasion it would be instructions from above that had failed to arrive; another time there was insufficient clerical help at the city hall; a third time new regulations were about to be enacted. In some parts of the country months passed before the women got the first subsidy payment, to which they were entitled by law. This did not help to maintain morale behind the front.

Most indignant of all, and with full justification, were the people—women, children, and older men—who at the beginning of the war had been evacuated from the danger zones. More than a million persons were involved, all of whom had been transported to central France. Though this evacuation had been provided for in the plans of the General Staff for years, practically no preparations had been made to house and somehow employ these masses. Women and children were simply herded into barns and stables without beds or even blankets. The prefects of the various departments were helpless and blamed Paris. When the complaints and the situation of the *évacués* got out of hand, the government appointed Chautemps, one of the most enthusiastic appeasers, Commissioner for French Refugees. Chautemps let the matter rest after a tour of inspection, a few speeches, and a shrug of his shoulders. In the course of our transfer from Camp Bengy to Camp Cepoy we encountered a few Alsatian soldiers at a junction. They had visited on furlough their evacuated families in central France and were now going back to the front. They trembled with indignation at the neglect of the central and local authorities, and their comments were of a nature to delight the heart of Herr Goebbels. They gave unrestrained vent to their anger in German and merely laughed at us when we asked them to speak French.

The conflicts between the various ministries, authorities, and bureaus were endless. Daladier's strong-man role was purely a pose. Actually he was too weak even to make his will prevail in the Council. There was incessant guerrilla warfare, particularly between the War Ministry and the Ministry of the Interior, aggravated by the fact that the police, which was subject to the authority of the Ministry of the Interior, was engaged in a violent quarrel with the Sûreté Nationale, likewise under that Ministry. All the decrees of the Sûreté Nationale, particularly those directed against "enemies of the state," were sabotaged by the police and vice-versa. The two branches were in agreement on only one subject—opposition to any degree or regulation emanating from the War Ministry. It was because of this internal strife that Fritz Thyssen, the man who helped Hitler's Germany to rearm, who has hated France all his life, was able to take his walks in Paris carefully protected by the police, despite the contrary orders of the War Ministry.

It is impossible to say whether Reynaud could finally have succeeded in undoing all the damage done to France by Daladier, Bonnet, Sarraut, Chautemps, Pomaret, La Chambre, Berthoin, Flandin, Chiappe, Laval, Déat, de la Rocque, Doriot, and hundreds of others. Undoubtedly he had the will, and he was also aware of the forces which were destroying the country. That is exactly why his way was blocked for so long, just as all the articles by Henry de Kerillis in *l'Epoque* exposing the real traitors and saboteurs were censored. It was only under Reynaud that Kerillis was able to write freely again. But then it was too late. The country had been undermined and disorganized. And at the end the great miracle for which so many had hoped failed to take place. That miracle should have come in September, and it should have consisted of a purge of the entire state machinery. In the spring of 1940 the game was lost even before Hitler struck. I am afraid that Berlin was much better informed about all this than Paris ever was.

[The first part of this article, on the role of the right in the French defeat, was published last week.]

Heil Edward Windsor!

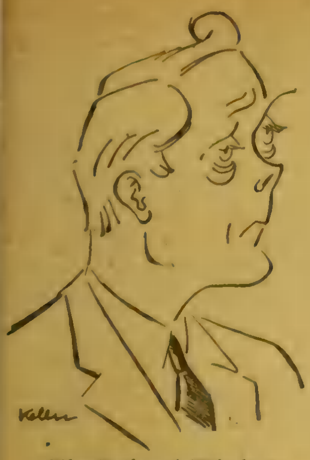
BY LADISLAS FARAGO

MORE than three years after Edward VIII stepped down from the throne of England millions of Germans know nothing about that historic affair beyond the bare fact of the abdication. The romantic role of Mrs. Simpson, Edward's spirited fight with Baldwin, Churchill's chivalrous intervention, and the circumstances of the ex-King's hurried departure during a foggy night were never told in the German press or on the Nazi air. The very climax of those hectic December days was granted only two hazy paragraphs by Dr. Goebbels, and even these were well hidden on inside pages of German newspapers. This shows how tightly the press is controlled in a totalitarian country, but, much more important, it shows that the Nazis considered the whole incident an annoying hitch in one of their carefully prepared plans for the New Europe.

Now, writing for the Chicago *Daily News*, M. W. Fodor revives the Nazis' forgotten scheme. He reveals that the "idea of an England dominated by the Nazis, with the present Duke of Windsor as its puppet king, was conceived in German minds even before Edward's abdication and is one of the things Germany will try to do if Britain is finally defeated." Fodor attributes the Duke's willingness to play the Nazis' game to the influence of his wife, who, in turn, had come under the spell of Foreign Minister Joachim von Ribbentrop while she was the attractive Mrs. Simpson.

Fodor errs in but two details. First, it was not Ribbentrop but a handsome counselor of the German embassy in London who influenced Mrs. Simpson. Second, the Duke's pro-Nazi orientation was his own doing—with Mrs. Simpson and her friends simply poking the fire. These are important details if we are to understand the rumors that now link the Duke's name with Hitler's plans for a vanquished Britain. The Germans make no secret of these plans. One of those "usually well-informed Nazi sources" whose job is to plant strange diplomatic indiscretions in the minds of gullible foreign correspondents even revealed that Hitler had already picked the city of Münster for Anglo-German peace negotiations and for the proclamation of Edward's return to the Nazi-protected throne of Britain.

Behind the floating rumors, journalistic plants, and society gossip stands the fact that Edward, Duke of



The Duke of Windsor

Windsor, is actually amenable to such suggestions. Even while he was on the throne he toyed with the idea of setting up a "dictatorship of English youth," a conception born in his restless and impulsive mind. In the summer of 1936 he suddenly discarded all precautions and openly expressed his admiration of Hitler, though it was the Führer's technique rather than program which stimulated his imagination. Fleet Street possessed evidence that during one of those hectic audiences at which Mr. Baldwin urged him to shelve Mrs. Simpson, Edward surprised his Prime Minister by saying: "I have the youth of Britain solidly behind me. With such a backing I could easily establish a dictatorship in England!" The bewildered expression in Baldwin's eyes made Edward beat a hasty retreat. He assured the Prime Minister that he thought of it only as a potentiality, with no intention of actually making use of his chances.

It is easy to trace the course of Edward's drift toward Hitlerism. It began on March 8, 1936, in the wake of Hitler's march into the demilitarized Rhineland zone. Edward had then been king for less than three months, but he was already hard at work trying to rule *de facto* as well as *de jure.* Foreign Office attachés were making the rounds in Whitehall with complaints that "the King is rapidly making a nuisance of himself by calling government departments on the phone, issuing baffling instructions, and asking silly questions." His favorite target was the Foreign Office, whose chimerical policy—a fictitious collective security based on the League Covenant—was not to his liking. In the Rhineland incident he maintained that Hitler was fully justified in righting a wrong of the Versailles treaty.

Only one country offered effective opposition to Edward's view, the Soviet Union, a newcomer to the League of Nations but already exercising considerable influence at Geneva. Litvinov was determined to sway the League to action against Germany, even to the extent of a punitive expedition of Franco-British-Russian forces to drive Hitler back from the Rhine. Litvinov's stand whipped Edward to action. He had inherited his father's dogmatic hatred of the Soviet Union, and he perceived in Nazi Germany the most opportune force to counterbalance Russia's increasing influence. He resolved to stop Litvinov at all costs.

At first he tried to enlist Anthony Eden's services for this campaign, but the Under Secretary refused to obey his king, and so Edward went about it practically alone. For a while he thought of going to Geneva and trying to boss the League on the spot. He was talked out of this unprecedented move, which would have exposed him to furious international attack and domestic criticism. Instead, he invited the Council of the League of Nations to meet in London, and placed St. James's Palace at the disposal of the extraordinary session. He believed that with the League meeting just around the corner from Buckingham Palace he would be able to destroy Litvinov's influence while strengthening his own. Pulling all the strings, cold-shouldering nervous Frenchmen who craved action, and isolating Litvinov, King Edward succeeded in putting over his plan. The idea of "compelling Germany to withdraw its troops by progressive sanctions" was dropped after Edward urged his government to "restore confidence by negotiation if it is humanly possible." Confidence was restored by leaving Hitler in the Rhineland and thus starting him on his course of expansion.

It was at this session of the League that Britain, by the grace of a prejudiced, blundering, improvising king, missed the bus. When Flandin saw the King of England acting as Hitler's agent, he too switched to the Nazi camp. The now traditional Anglo-Russian rift deepened after Litvinov's setback in London. The Soviet Commissar was frankly furious, and his anger was aggravated when, at an audience in Buckingham Palace, Edward turned to him with the blunt question: "Tell me, M. Litvinov, why was it necessary to murder so many good Russians in 1917-18?" Litvinov did not know what to answer, but after the audience he described the King as an "ill-informed young man who reads but one newspaper." Obviously, he meant the *Times* of London.

It was not naivete which induced Edward to pose this tactless question. He was anxious to tell Tovarisch Litvinov where his sympathies were. At the same audience he ostentatiously favored the German delegates with a long friendly conversation. Edward thus served notice on the world that he was working on the creation of an Anglo-German bloc against the Soviet Union.

Because the hullabaloo of his abdication obscured the issues which had actually caused it, it has long been forgotten that Edward was Britain's first and foremost appeaser. The first serious clash between the King and his Cabinet occurred over appeasement, when in July, 1936, in the midst of a modest Baldwinian attempt at rearmament, Edward began preaching peace to a military audience. Next came a trip to the eastern Mediterranean, apparently to take Mrs. Simpson for a yacht ride, but in reality to recruit new members for the Anglo-German bloc. Edward was already deep in a succession of improvised political conversations with Yugoslav, Turkish, and Greek statesmen when his Foreign Office received the first word of this latest royal excursion into foreign politics. Unable to recall the King, London resorted to the extreme measure of sabotaging its ruler's political efforts. Sir Percy Loraine, then British ambassador to Turkey, quite frankly told President Kemal Ataturk not to take Edward's overtures seriously.

After these embarrassing experiences, the Cabinet did whatever it could to keep Edward out of foreign affairs. But now he turned to social questions and caused even greater embarrassments, until Baldwin decided to remove him on the pretext of his intention to marry Mrs. Simpson.

After his abdication the Duke of Windsor began parading his pro-German leanings. He went to Germany to "study labor conditions" in a country where the foreman's whip had replaced free trade unions. He permitted himself to be photographed giving the Nazi salute. After his meeting with Hitler at Berchtesgaden he told friends that his long-distance admiration of the German Führer had obtained its final confirmation. The two men became friends—a friendship which not even the war between Germany and England could disrupt.

From the outbreak of the war the Duke played an ambiguous role highly embarrassing to the British government. He maintained all his connections with Anglo-French appeasers and began consulting members of "the Link," a pro-Nazi group of highly placed Britons. When inspired rumors about his imminent return to the throne began cropping up, the government requested him to make a statement to refute such gossip. The Duke, however, failed to oblige. En route from France he has spent weeks in fascist Spain and has allowed himself to be dined and wined by leading Falangists.

During the abdication crisis Winston Churchill was Edward's best friend; it was Churchill who wrote the famous "the woman I love" speech for him. Today the British Prime Minister leads the British people in rejecting the Duke's ambitions. It seems that Edward refuses to recognize the awkwardness of his position as a Hitler stooge. He again thinks in terms of "my people," when in reality he has no perceptible following in Britain. Compton Mackenzie, the writer, tried to start a "popular movement reclaiming our King from the politicians," but his efforts wound up in a pathetic little royalist group called the Octavians. Their functions are confined to occasional meetings, when they toast "the King Across the Water."

However, German agents aided by certain British fascist elements have tried to cause a disintegration of British unity by using the name of Edward as a bait. Attempts have been made to carry this "movement" into the barracks, to the flying fields, and to warships, but only an Italian propaganda sheet has reported any success thus far. With what is left of his popularity rapidly fading and his aims genuinely distrusted, Edward, Duke of Windsor, still refuses to deny that he has anything to do with those who are preparing the ground for Britain's "fascist counter-revolution." It is clear that he will have to lean on Hitler if he really cherishes royal ambitions.

Memo to W. W.

BY McALISTER COLEMAN

SOME of the Willkie-for-President boys was setting around on the cracker boxes that have been put out on the landing dock of the yacht club up here in Vineyard Haven for the duration of your campaign, when the question of your publicity came up.

One time or another I've been in on some pretty slick political publicity—from the outside looking in, it is true, but watching the wheels go round just the same—and I ventured a few suggestions which made such a hit that the boys asked me to send them on to you. I realize that this is in the nature of suggesting a rate raise to a holding company, but maybe here is a thought or two you can pass on to Russ Davenport or Bruce Barton.

It goes without saying that you will throw away your comb and brush before you start whirlwinding. That "tousled-hair-tycoon" stuff is tops for *Time* and the tabs. Of course you will get yourself a mess of Palm Beach suits and have the hotel valet unpress them for you. Some of the hotels you will make on your tour have a special service for knee-bulging the pants of candidates. Don't neglect the matter of shoes. The photographers like to crawl around on the floor nowadays to get those trick shots of the expansive feet of the candidate. So before you ride out on the "crusade," as you so aptly called it, have the new shoes patched up or half-soled.

I'm not so sure about the cigarettes in the picture. Of course That Man smokes them, but he hasn't been worried about the Kansas vote since '36, and you can't take chances. Don't you think a pipe would go better? One of those he-man, comfy old briars that you could light up when the camera men come in. Just the way T. R. down at Oyster Bay used to hurry out on the front lawn with an ax and chop away at a property tree when the photographers came around.

No doubt you're homeying up your vocabulary. Bear down on that Midwest talk. "It sure is a pretty day." "The President has been acting up like he was a dictator." "Between you and I, folks." But shucks, you know the line.

It's good news you sweat easy. Keep the old pores open. The people like to see their candidate out there sweating, and whenever the speech about giving us back our lost freedom begins to bog down a little, you can always save the day by taking time off to mop up, with a jocular remark about how hot you get just thinking about the way That Man has been pushing us all around.

The Elwood, Indiana, home-town, high-school background for the acceptance speech was a good hunch—almost as good as the Hoover Ioway build-up, and that reminds me, how do you rate as a fisherman? Got to do something about fishing, you know. Folks like pictures of their men tromping around in hip boots.

In view of the fact that there's a heap o' corn-huskin', milkin', an' hawg-callin' ahead, have the press gang play that hog farm of yours to the limit. But don't ever let on that it's lighted with juice from the Rural Electrification Administration.

This brings up the whole question of the Administration's "brutal" treatment of the electrical industry. How are you going to square up your hate of the TVA with Brother McNary's enthusiasm for Bonneville and the other big dams in the Northwest? Let's hope you boys get together early in the game on this. As it is, Brother Charles doesn't sound any too happy about being drafted as your running-mate. Somehow billion-dollar holding companies are not what you might call popular in Oregon, or a lot of other states for that matter; but no doubt if you explain to the Senator how your Commonwealth and Southern is just a great-hearted, altruistic outfit, altogether different from the others, it will put some pep into the old gentleman.

This holding-company hurdle is going to take some fast foot work, but judging from the way you handled yourself at Philadelphia, you have the stuff for it. There's certainly no call for anyone on your side to sound off about the relations between J. P. Morgan's United super-holding company and the C. and S., and the fact that you recently were elected a director of Brother Morgan's pet bank can always be laughed off as just one of those things. You can always talk quick about how you were all set to reduce rates in the South when along came that persecuting TVA and stole your thunder. Although the *Saturday Evening Post* has been running your ruination story for the past three years, there must be a lot of the folks who haven't heard yet how the government destroyed your initiative and whittled down your company's profits to a pitiful $13,711,071 for the twelve months up to last May 31. What if last year's gross revenues were $146,109,345 as compared with $134,105,583 in 1938? Think of what they could have been if it hadn't been for the Gestapo of the SEC and the other bureaucratic bumpers-around.

It was smart of you to send word to the Fat Boys to hole in during the Philadelphia convention, even though it distressed Anne O'Hare McCormick of the New York *Times* to see trusted Old Guard contributors listening to broadcasts from the convention hall in the smoke-hung hotel boiler-rooms. Don't let them out until after Election Day. Then, if everything goes well, they can kick around the Wagner Act, the SEC, and the rest to their hearts' content.

In the Wind

THERE WON'T BE any major opposition to the defense program from labor. C. I. O. as well as A. F. of L. leaders have accepted posts on Sidney Hillman's defense committee. While John L. Lewis will continue his war against the White House, he will not oppose the President's armament plans.

RIGHT-WING CATHOLIC groups led by Edward Lodge Curran, one of Coughlin's supporters, started a drive against *PM* almost the day it was born. The Brooklyn *Tablet* has denounced it, and newsdealers are being urged not to handle it.

RADICALS AND MANY non-political refugees are finding it impossible to get visas for admission to the United States. But, apparently without difficulty, John Makkai, Nazi supporter of the Hungarian government and author of the anti-Jewish law in Hungary, arrived here by the last Italian boat.

NOTE ON OUR TIMES: The Associated Press wire recently carried this Houston, Texas, dispatch: "The Harris County grand jury today no-billed Jack Roach, Houston automobile dealer, charged with murder without malice in the target-practice slaying of Oliver Paynes, Negro ranch hand. Paynes was wounded fatally while balancing a cup atop his head, as a target for his employer's pistol fire. Roach, who shot from a sitting position on a bed, said someone on the bed moved, throwing off his aim."

THE BOSTON Committee for Music Appreciation recently began a drive to distribute low-cost symphony records. No Boston paper would publish any news about the drive or accept any of its advertising.

A MAJOR UNSOLVED mystery in labor circles is what will happen to J. Warren Madden, chairman of the NLRB, whose term expires in August. Most observers think that the chairman's post is more important than the Smith amendments, but nobody, not even Mr. Madden, knows whether he will be reappointed.

ALTHOUGH IT doesn't get much publicity, the campaign against Harold Rugg's textbooks is still going on. The next place in which Rugg's books will probably be banned is Southampton, Long Island; the movement is already quietly under way.

THE OLEAN (New York) *Times-Herald* recently ran a story reporting a gift of $5,000 from American Communists to German Communists to help them to "fight the Nazi regime." The headline ran: "Communists in U. S. Aid Nazis."

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind—either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. A prize of $5 will be awarded each month for the best item.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

Goliath in Business

TOO BIG. By Morris L. Ernst. Little, Brown and Company. $2.75.

LIVING in a land where nature and man have both wrought on so huge a scale, Americans are apt to be overimpressed by mere size. We boast the biggest trees, the greatest waterfalls, the highest buildings, the largest cities, and the wealthiest corporations and tend to confuse size with excellence. Yet we also share in the almost universal delight when David knocks out Goliath. There should therefore be a wide audience for this book, which dissects some of our overgrown institutions and shows that, like Goliath, they are not only anti-social but inefficient.

Morris Ernst has not written just another denunciation of the evils of big business. Nor has he wasted breath on the immorality of big business men, whom he sees as the victims often of their own delusions of grandeur, struggling with a task too big for any one man. Moreover, he is equally concerned about the perils of big government, although he regards the concentration of political power as the inevitable outcome of the concentration of economic power. Both developments, he thinks, must be thwarted if democracy is to survive, for both impose too great responsibility upon the few, too little upon the many. In this connection he makes an acute observation:

> When institutions or organizations exceed in size the capacity of men to manage them effectively, dictatorship of varying degrees or types comes into existence. Man's capacity is limited, and when he assumes too much power over markets, workers, or citizens he is ever in danger of being unable to cope with the vast domain which he is called upon to rule. When that happens, the boss or ruler becomes ultra-sensitive to criticism, and eventually demands the suppression of his critics.

The anemia resulting from too rapid and too great growth is well illustrated in the chapter which Mr. Ernst devotes to the story of the National Cordage Company, one of the earliest and shortest-lived of the great trusts. This combine was launched in 1887 by the merger of four of the largest firms in the trade, all of them financially sound and flourishing. At first it sought to prosper by cutting costs, but soon its directors began to feel the urge toward monopoly and set out to corner the market in raw hemp, to control the manufacture of cordage machinery, and to buy up competitors. This quickly involved them in Wall Street financing, the watering of their stock, the purchase of rival mills at inflated prices, and within six years, in a stupendous crash.

In the history of the last fifty years there are plenty of other examples of industrial mammoths which have bogged down through their own weight. Other giants have survived but have proved relatively inefficient, even in terms of profits, compared with smaller and nimbler competitors. Mr. Ernst throws an interesting light on the sterility which afflicted United States Steel during the long years of Gary's management—an example of industrial bureaucracy at its worst. Red tape is supposed to be the badge of the government official, but it is equally symbolic of the Gargantuan business. Nowhere can this be better observed than in the operations of the handful of savings banks and insurance companies which handle so large a proportion of the nation's investment funds. By way of contrast this book includes an interesting analysis of Lloyds of London, an organization of individuals with every member accepting unlimited liability and contributing a specialized knowledge of some class of risks, for the underwriting of which he provides leadership.

In advocating curbs for bigness Mr. Ernst does not suggest that we reduce all our Brobdingnagians to Lilliputians. He wishes rather to discover what is the social and economic optimum for different economic and political institutions, recognizing that the most efficient automobile manufacturer will require a vastly greater capital than the most efficient pin-maker. There is no space here to review his practical proposals, but I should like to draw attention to his plan for using taxation as a regulator of corporate growth. Taxation for social ends is very unpopular among American business men. They will be reminded by this book that it originated with Alexander Hamilton, who thought that agriculture was flourishing at the expense of industry and deliberately used the tariff to promote the growth of manufactures.

KEITH HUTCHISON

Who Was the More Surprised?

THE ART OF MODERN WARFARE. By Hermann Foertsch, Colonel of the German General Staff. With an Introduction by Major George Fielding Eliot. Veritas Press. $2.75.

THIS book was written shortly before the outbreak of the present war, and its translation was not completed until after the hostilities had begun. Both the publisher and Major Eliot imply that it voices official German military doctrine, with which Colonel Foertsch was of course extremely familiar by reason of his military position, and there is no valid reason to deny it. With this in mind, the conclusion at which one inevitably arrives from reading the book is that, far from having foreseen the course of events long in advance, the Germans must have been almost as much surprised as their opponents at the rapidity and ease of their conquest of France.

The whole book is permeated with the belief that future conflicts would largely pattern themselves after the western-front campaigns of 1914-18—that is, they would be position, or trench, wars in which attrition, or gradual exhaustion, would be decisive. In substantiation, it will be sufficient to quote from the section entitled The Features of a Modern Battle, which Major Eliot for some reason considers "a handy guide to the following of current operations." "The fighting, therefore, will not result in such quick and dramatic successes as we remember in the Wars of Liberation and Unification. The battles of the World War already showed the beginnings of this new development, which in the future will be characterized even more by the long continuation and intensity of the fighting. The belief that the motorization and mechanization of weapons will again make quick decisions possible seems a fallacy. . . ." "Battles that result in a clean-cut, complete decision will also be scarce. The fighting will not end suddenly." "Victory and defeat have largely lost their meaning as concepts associated with battle."

These quotations might be continued at considerable length, and they all lead to one conclusion: in September, 1939, Colonel Foertsch and, by implication, the German High Command did not have any real confidence in the *Blitzkrieg,* or short decisive war. One may assume that the Germans were as surprised by their own victories as, under different circumstances, they were unprepared for their unexpectedly rapid advance in the spring offensive of 1918. The difference, however, is plain, for this time the Germans were ready to exploit any possible break-through to its fullest extent, and did so with crushing thoroughness.

For the rest, the book is based firmly upon Clausewitz. Ever since the first cholera epidemic carried off the author of "On War" more than a century ago, his volumes have been the fount of revealed truth for military men of all nations. Today, however, it is becoming increasingly plain that a drastic revaluation of Clausewitz is in order, and "The Art of Modern Warfare" adds strength to this view. To give but one example, when Clausewitz expounded on the nation in arms, training and a musket sufficed to produce a soldier. Procurement of man-power was the real problem. In our time the state has so increased its authority and organization that the mere signing of a draft law will produce unlimited reserves of man-power. The problem now is how to arm them with the new complex and expensive weapons, and to give them sufficient training to use these weapons efficiently, without completely destroying the nation's economic and social existence. Colonel Foertsch does not appear to comprehend this difficulty, and while he admits that General von Seeckt's small-army theories—the only real solution—are "difficult to refute," he continues to maintain with Clausewitz that the massing of men will decide the issue.

Nevertheless, this book should be read as a historical document by everyone interested in war, for it gives an accurate picture of the state of military thought as it existed in all nations in September, 1939. Indeed, such is the reluctance of the military mind to abandon preconceived notions that "The Art of Modern Warfare" in all probability continues to represent General Staff opinion in nations, like the United States, which did not actually experience the revelation in Flanders and France. The book is especially designed for the uninitiated in military matters. It is remarkably undogmatic, its theme is logically developed, and preliminary definitions are clearly and plainly set out. Finally, those who tremble for America's military future may find some comfort in Colonel Foertsch's repeated statement that "there are few states—perhaps only Russia and the United States—which have at their disposal all the elements of modern warfare. No other states are economically independent for purposes of war."

HARVEY S. FORD

Inside Mexico

MEXICO REBORN. By Verna Carleton Millan. Houghton Mifflin Company. $3.

VERNA MILLAN'S portrait of a nation in travail is not, as she believes it to be, Mexico from the inside, for a phenomenon as complex and ramified as the Cárdenas revolution cannot be reduced to any single series of arithmetical equations. It is the work of a novelist, rather than a reporter, and it will serve to give Mexico life and body for a reading public which has become impatient with polemics and suspicious of moral denunciation.

Mrs. Millan has lived for six years in her adopted country as the wife of a young Mexican cancer specialist. She has been a music critic, a newspaperwoman, and an active participant in the turbulent left-wing movements of the Cárdenas era. Her book fuses autobiography with the broader, tectonic forces of revolution and national reconstruction, and it does so successfully. When Verna Millan writes of the many things which she has seen and experienced, she writes excellently, with rich metaphor, passion, and impersonal malice. She analyzes the pervasive sycophancy, the meretricious sexual *mores,* and the deep-seated inferiority complex of the Mexican middle class with a candor that is excusable in view of her obvious love for the country and its people. Six years of Mexico have not inured her to the awful poverty of the people or blunted her faith in the chaotic Mexican Revolution, which is at last achieving constructive form.

The most valuable sections of "Mexico Reborn" deal with the Indian village of Santa Maria Tepeji in the eroded Otomí Indian region, the pathos of the Mexico City food markets and the squalor of workers' housing, the marriage customs of Huicholes, Tarahumaras, and creole Catholics, and the dawning feminist movement of Mexico. The concluding chapter, which treats of bureaucracy in medicine, will seem unbelievable to the hordes of star-gazers that view Mexico as the New Jerusalem and ineptly confuse promise with fulfilment. The record of reckless incompetence and corruption in the Mexican medical profession is, as Verna Millan points out, alleviated by the work of a small band of idealistic doctors.

Verna Millan went to La Laguna, the vast collectivized cotton region, with President Cárdenas to write sardonically of the festering bureaucracy which surrounds the Chief Executive and enthusiastically of an emerging free rural society. The Millans have had the heart-breaking experience of combating a stultifying and corrupt bureaucracy which professes allegiance to "the revolution" as a means of political survival, but their Mexican perspective is too broad for them to fall into the nihilist attitude of the upper class that no progress is possible in the country.

If Verna Millan can write excellently about what she has seen, she deals in naive fashion with those things that have come to her second hand. The chapters on the Obregón and Calles periods, on petroleum expropriation, on Marxists versus Fascists, and on the 1940 presidential elections are marred by regurgitations of historical analysis shaped by the Communist Party in the pre-Ribbentrop epoch. Verna Millan has the obnoxious habit of calling those things she dislikes fascist (the Red Shirt movement, Argentina, Costa Rica, and

Chile in 1937); she accuses General Obregón of "political deviations" during a military campaign which occurred four years before the overthrow of Russian czarism. Her political world is peopled by the archangels of the Popular Front, the Lucifer of German Nazism, and the cohorts of the "confused," the "deviators," and the "demagogues." She indorses the extraordinary view that the decision to introduce "socialist education" in Mexico in 1934 was an instance of demagogy more harmful "than all the sabotage of its enemies" on the ground that "Mexican education . . . never can be socialistic unless the entire social system is changed radically." (Logically, the view that the socialist economy is necessarily prior to socialist education would imply the obvious falsehood that the achievement of socialism is an unconscious historical process.)

Verna Millan achieves the difficult feat of being unfair to the oil companies. She suggests that they should have heeded the warning of imminent expropriation contained in Lombardo Toledano's February 22 speech, forgetting that at the time their case was still pending before the Mexican Supreme Court. On page 241 she says: "Cedillo rose at last . . . with German aid and helped by the oil companies." But on page 253: "The Mexican government *claimed* to have proofs that the oil companies had backed Cedillo, but it was an ineffective aid *at best.*" From the fact that the Mexican fascist movement has supported the candidacy of General Almazán, Mrs. Millan infers that if the oil companies "aid him [Almazán] to win, Mexico's oil will go to Germany."

Mrs. Millan is right in her fundamental knowledge of the psychology and living conditions of the people; she is wrong in a few of her facts, and—I believe—in several of her political conclusions. These political issues are sometimes of passing interest, and one can go elsewhere for more thorough and objective treatment. Despite its defects, "Mexico Reborn" is the work of a writer who should make an important contribution to American letters. NATHANIEL WEYL

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Someone to Talk to

THE HEART IS A LONELY HUNTER. By Carson McCullers. Houghton Mifflin Company. $2.50.

AROUND the pivotal character of John Singer, a deaf-mute, and around the theme of man's vital craving for a sympathetic, understanding confidant, Miss McCullers drapes the rather loosely woven texture of her novel, a book flavored with compassion and a gentle melancholy but never with despair. Living in a small Southern town—which, however, has no marked sectional characteristics except its Negro quarter—Singer enjoys for a while the companionship of the town's only other deaf-mute, a burly, stupid, sensual Greek; but after the latter has been committed to a mental hospital, Singer, through no effort of his own, is adopted, as it were, by four widely different people who have in common only their sense of their own incompleteness and the world's wrongs, and their need for someone to whom they can pour out their hearts. Each of the four receives some spiritual solace from this release, and the kindly, mild-tempered mute is too much apart from ordinary men to be contaminated by contact with the poison of their discontent as long as he can occasionally visit the asylum and "talk" to his friend Antonapolous. Only when Antonapolous dies does Singer feel utterly, irrevocably alone, and the impact of the calamity overwhelms him.

While Miss McCullers harps perhaps a little too persistently on the one plaintive string of her theme, she leaves several of her people hauntingly engraved in the reader's memory; and she displays a most praiseworthy frankness and lack of affectation. The acuteness of character-perception revealed is quite remarkable in an author who, according to the jacket, is a girl of twenty-two. LOUIS B. SALOMON

The Collective Bargain

THE COLLECTIVE LABOR AGREEMENT. By Elias Lieberman. Harper and Brothers. $3.

THIS book was as inevitable and necessary at this stage of labor development as Noah Webster's dictionary at one point in the development of the English language. With collective bargaining now an established institution of no mean dimensions in American life, ever more lawyers, trade unionists, business executives, teachers, and students are interested in such questions as how unions and employers decide upon discharge, or administer paid vacations, or provide for health and safety, or adjust stoppages and lockouts. Just such questions, listed with almost definitive completeness, compose the core of Mr. Lieberman's book. To each question Mr. Lieberman supplies an answer in the form of a statement of the "law" applicable to the subject, followed by multiple citation of clauses abstracted from more than 130 collective agreements, covering all the major and many minor unions.

The author brings to this little encyclopedia the knowledge derived from many years of actual practice in negotiating and drafting collective agreements as counsel for the garment workers, milliners, jewelers, furniture workers, pocketbook workers, and other unions. That Mr. Lieberman is writing from the "inside" becomes abundantly clear in his novel chapter on how to negotiate.

In the introductory chapters of the book, which form a sort of preface, the author contributes a fresh approach to the development of labor law—from "suppression" to "tolerance" to "respect." In this last stage the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, in the case of Schlesinger *vs.* Quinto, set the precedent which made collective employer-employee settlements no longer just "gentlemen's agreements" but legally binding contracts, enforceable in the courts. When this is true—as it began to be in the 1920's—the exact formulation of the clauses in a labor agreement becomes important. Mr. Lieberman's book summarizes admirably the status attained by labor in the United States through the collective agreement. AUGUST TYLER

Critique of Santayana

THE MORAL PHILOSOPHY OF GEORGE SANTAYANA. By Milton Karl Munitz. Columbia University Press. $1.75.

MR. MUNITZ'S book is the first critical study of Santayana in book form that is worthy of consideration from a philosophical point of view, for the book published last year is useful only for the biographical and literary information it contains. It is a pity therefore that Mr. Munitz confined himself solely to the study of Santayana's moral philosophy. It is true that he chose the most important aspect of Santayana's thought, and that the task of analyzing "The Realms of Being" would be as unrewarding as it would be unpleasant. And yet it would be important to know in precisely what way the rhetorical effusions and the hyperborean posturings of the later period are prefigured in the earlier.

Mr. Munitz is in deep sympathy with the naturalistic, Aristotelian element in Santayana, from which spring what he takes to be Santayana's penetrating vision and sanity. This strain he finds in conflict with the other-worldly, Platonic element. The thesis thus baldly formulated is not new. But what constitutes a contribution is the thorough analysis by means of which it is conclusively demonstrated. The reviewer rejects much more of Santayana's moral philosophy than Mr. Munitz does and regrets that the latter did not feel the need to analyze terms which for Santayana are basic, such as "harmony," "happiness," or "reason." Examination of these terms would have revealed to him, I am convinced, that the foundation of Santayana's moral philosophy, with which Mr. Munitz is essentially in sympathy, is far less adequate than he at present realizes. But it is one thing to have a hunch and another to demonstrate it. Mr. Munitz has established his thesis beyond refutation. And he has made a significant contribution to the proper assessment of one of the best-known thinkers of our day. ELISEO VIVAS

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IN BRIEF

A LION IN THE GARDEN. By G. B. Stern. The Macmillan Company. $2.50.

A sunny, whimsical novel about an everyday little Englishman whose underfed soul was awakened by the sudden and fateful appearance of an escaped circus lion; he calmly "inviggled" the creature into his kitchen, locked it in, and was never quite the same afterward. Unless you insist on brooding without interruption these days, pack this pleasant bit of gossamer in your week-end bag.

THE LIFE OF A PAINTER. By Sir John Lavery, R. A. Little, Brown, and Company. $4.50.

After the manner of famous Irishmen, this fashionable academician is quite frank about the surface details of his rise to fame from almost sordid beginnings. He writes interestingly about all sorts of people from Queen Victoria to Shirley Temple, especially so about Whistler and his friends G. B. S. and Cunninghame Graham. The volume contains seventy illustrations.

"MR. SECRETARY." By Ben Ames Williams, Jr. The Macmillan Company. $2.50.

This is an imaginary but well-documented autobiography of Stanton, Secretary of War under Lincoln and Johnson. It pretends to be a confession of Stanton's deliberate efforts to delay the end of the war in order to insure more complete subjugation of the South, and of his complicity in the assassination of Lincoln. The book is a *tour de force* which does not quite come off.

LESTER F. WARD: THE AMERICAN ARISTOTLE. A Summary and Interpretation of his Sociology by Samuel Chugerman. Duke University Press. $5.

Lester F. Ward was one of the pioneers of modern sociology. His evolutionary meliorism, humanistic conception of science, and strong interest in the emancipation of women and workingmen exercised some influence upon liberal thought in pre-war American culture. A critical study of the man and his ideas, their relation to the times, how they stand up in the light of contemporary science and social doctrine, has long been past due. It is still past due. With the best will in the world toward Ward and with all respect for Mr. Chugerman's piety, this book must be regarded as pitifully inadequate to its subject. Its summaries of Ward's ideas are dreary restatements of passages from Ward's own writings which, despite their lumbering prose, are easier reading than Mr. Chugerman's digests of them. The ideas themselves are fulsomely praised, inadequately presented, and not discussed. Lester Ward may deserve the title of the American Aristotle, not so much for his subtlety as for his breadth of knowledge, but the strongest impression the reader will carry away from this book is that Ward was America's greatest bore. That Mr. Chugerman's amorphous work should be sponsored by an imposing list of names and published as a scholarly contribution by the press of an American university is an intellectual scandal and a disservice to Ward's memory.

RECORDS

BEETHOVEN'S less frequently heard Fourth and Eighth Symphonies are among his most treasurable achievements, and Toscanini accomplishes nothing finer than his performances of them. Victor's set of the Fourth (M-676, $8), which Toscanini made with the B. B. C. Symphony, is therefore one of the outstanding releases of the year; and the wonderful qualities of music and performance are not obscured by slight blemishes in recording: a little reverberation, a comparative weakness of treble that sometimes keeps woodwinds from being heard clearly, an occasional slight stridency in the sound of the violins, a grittiness in the sound of the last inch of the Scherzo side.

What I dislike in Brahms's symphonic writing—the straining for large-scale utterance by a man with nothing large-scale to say—is worst in his earliest attempts, and worst of all, possibly, in the first movement of the Piano Concerto No. 1, which has been newly recorded by Schnabel with the London Philharmonic under Szell (M-677, $12). Some of the music Schnabel phrases superbly; but at times he strains, too; and sometimes the straining is that of a not all-encompassing technique. And this is a work in which I am grateful for the matter-of-factness, the smoothness and ease that I recall in Bachaus's earlier performance. Szell provides an excellent orchestral framework; but the recording gives the effect of piano too near the microphone and orchestra too far away; there is considerable rattle from overcutting; and in my set there are a couple of sides with off-center wavering in pitch.

The Primrose Quartet's performance of Smetana's "From My Life" at its Town Hall concert was as overexcited as the one it has recorded for Victor M-675, $7); and this resulted in rough, scratchy tone, but not in the particular loud, coarse sounds that are produced by the records, and that must be attributed to a recording job as bad as any of the Columbia quartet jobs I complained of recently. Certainly the Columbia set of "From My Life" is the one to acquire.

Tschaikovsky wrote superb ballet music; and Constant Lambert has recorded a performance of "The Sleeping Beauty" (M-673, $5) that makes one wish he conducted for the Ballet Russe. Where the fine opening slow movement of Handel's Sonata No. 6 (16450, $2) calls for sustained, large-span phrasing, Menuhin chops it up with an accent on every beat; and in the rest of the work he offers mere fiddling without a suspicion of phrasing or style. On a moderately enjoyable single disc (12831, $1.50) Jussi Bjoerling again reveals a fine voice and good musical taste in Schubert's "An die Leier," Alfven's "The Forest Is Sleeping," and Cklof's patriotic "Morning." The ubiquitous Intermezzo and Alla Marcia from Sibelius's "Karelia" Suite are well recorded by the London Philharmonic under Goehr (12830, $1.50); the Drinking Song from Act I of "La Traviata" and the Finale of Act II are poorly sung by Anna Rosza and Alessandro Ziliani with the La Scala Orchestra and Chorus under Sabajno (12832, $1.50).

The Beecham recording of Haydn's Symphony No. 104, which I referred to recently in connection with the Edwin Fischer set, has been issued by Columbia, but has not yet reached me. What I have received is Columbia's recording of Prokofiev's "Classical" Symphony (X-166, $4.50), in which Mitropoulos again has the Minneapolis Symphony exploding in all directions for no reason that I can hear in the music. The present-day recording allows one to hear details clearly that are dim or obscured on the old Victor records of Koussevitzky's performance with the Boston Symphony; but even on these records one can hear the qualities—the lightness, elasticity, radiance—of the Koussevitzky performance that is another wonder of the age. **B. H. HAGGIN**

Letters to the Editors

Youth and Liberty

Dear Sirs: It is appalling to find Raymond Gram Swing, in his recent article Youth, War, and Freedom, assuming that young people may turn to fascism because they do not sufficiently value personal liberty, the heritage of our fathers.

I can understand how our fathers fought for personal liberty in an economy where the fruits of liberty were material. I can also understand how to the young economic security seems more important, for youth must eat and youth would marry. But I cannot understand how a planned economy must carry with it the idea of a ban on personal liberty. Granting that a planned economy without personal liberty is in store for Europe—and I don't think that it is—what is to prevent us Americans from entering into socialism, with the expectancy of both security and personal liberty? Why should we wait for fascism to take over at the breakdown of capitalism? Peace and the sense of personal validity, the loss of which Mr. Swing gives as the cause of the failure of young people to treasure their immediate heritage, would return in due course under an intelligently planned economy. There would be no conflicts of security with personal liberty.

Oldsters, who have a death grip on the credit of this country and are promoting an economy of scarcity from a profit motive, might do well to look within for the causes of the so-called shortcomings of youth. C. F. ELLIS

Houston, Tex., July 2

Hoard Food, Not Gold

Dear Sirs: In a capable and provocative article on South American trade in your issue of June 15, Charles E. Noyes proposed several methods of increasing our trade with South America, confessed their difficulty, and suggested that possibly "a more painless plan can be devised." This challenge proved a good bait. I should like to suggest a supporting method and policy.

The present European food situation is very grave. Not only are food reserves low, but many states, including Germany itself, are on a deficiency diet. The Russian crops on which Germany counted are so greatly below expectations that conditions approaching famine are foreseen in certain Russian districts. America is Europe's only hope in its terrible struggle against famine and pestilence. The nation or nations which can secure control of the vast food surpluses of the Western Hemisphere will be the dictators of the next peace, provided, of course, they can build up a sufficiently powerful home defense. By withholding food America will be able to extinguish the Nazi and Fascist regimes like guttering candles.

The United States has a hoard of thirty billion dollars' worth of gold, 80 per cent of the world's supply. We cannot eat it or wear it. If Hitler wins we may not be able to spend it anywhere outside the United States. It would not be difficult for the conqueror of the French and British empires and the Belgian and Dutch colonial possessions, the inheritor of India's wealth, the master of three hundred million European wage serfs, to set up *another basis than gold* for world trade. If he did so, the United States would be left "holding the bag." Why not pass at once legislation permitting a certain portion of the *gold reserve* to be converted into much more mobile and undeflatable wealth—*food and raw-material reserves.* Let us buy up every ounce of South America's surplus grains, fats, hides, and meat. Let us sufficiently process such of these as are perishable—meat, for instance—and store them, for barter later with the totalitarians, who will have to come to us or starve.

We are the only nation in the world that can offer cash to South American countries for their exportable surpluses. This cash will greatly stimulate our trade with them and inspire their continued loyalty to a good neighbor. South Americans have no illusions about the future of their liberties if Germany controls their economic life. If we let this opportunity slip, if we permit South America, out of sheer desperation, to enter Germany's custom and barter union while we, like stupid misers, nurse our hoard of useless gold, we shall be the laughing stock of history.

LEWIS A. RILEY

New York, June 26

The Gestapo in Denmark

Dear Sirs: In a dispatch to the New York *Times* from Copenhagen, Sven Carstensen reported recently that the civil life of the country is in local hands with few signs of German military rule. At the same time he admitted that "censorship has been established." The German émigré paper *Neuer Vorwärts,* which was printed regularly in Paris before the invasion of France, gave a more detailed story of the German occupation of Denmark.

This paper said that German soldiers stand guard before the King's palace in Copenhagen, and the Danes think with suppressed bitterness of their traditional friendship with Norway. To prevent any expression of discontent is the job of the German Gestapo, which followed on the heels of the German troops of occupation. German émigrés and even Danish citizens who were arrested at the time of the invasion have not yet been released in spite of many protests from the still functioning Danish government.

The Gestapo has prohibited all public meetings. Listening to foreign broadcasting stations is forbidden. Telephone, telegraph, and mail services are all under Gestapo control. Records of all unions have been confiscated. In all newspaper offices sit German commissars. Press and radio are permitted to use only German sources of news. Movies show only German films. German commissars have been added to all branches of the Danish civil administration. These commissars supervise confiscation and rationing. One of their first measures was to introduce into Denmark the German plan of utilization of all refuse. They have confiscated the Danish oil supply of 250,000 tons and discontinued all gasoline-driven trains. They have cut rail traffic, and permit only such automobile traffic as they consider necessary.

At the head of all the German commissars in Denmark stands the one-time German ambassador to that country, Herr von Renthe-Finck, who has been elevated by Hitler to this special rank. He possesses today about the same powers as von Neurath in Prague.

E. POLLE

East Windsor Hill, Conn., June 15

What Mr. Luce Believes

Dear Sirs: Your reference to me in the column In the Wind in your June 22 issue is inaccurate.

My trip to Europe this spring did not "drastically alter" my view of things. If anything, it only confirmed views which I have held for many years.

Secondly, I have never told anyone that I wish Mr. Roosevelt to run again or that I will support him.

I am opposed to a third term on principle. I do not believe a third term is necessary. I do believe it is vitally important to achieve now the maximum degree of national unity in armament and in foreign policy.

HENRY R. LUCE

New York, June 25

[In the Wind received its information from a usually trustworthy *Time* employee. We'll check more carefully next time.—EDITORS THE NATION.]

In Re "the Irresponsibles"

Dear Sirs: Being a woman, my lot is to be practical. Mr. MacLeish's article was beautifully written and a just indictment of some writers and scholars. But there is a large and distinguished list of intellectuals who have fought valiantly in organizations designed to defend culture. There were the pro-Loyalist Spanish committees; the various anti-Hitler committees, of which I founded the first in 1933, the same month Adolf Hitler took power—five hundred writers and scholars joined it in two weeks; the League of American Writers; the Hollywood Anti-Nazi League; and the Motion Picture Artists' Committee.

And quite apart from these, a number of facts tend to show where else the blame may be laid for what MacLeish feels is the failure of American intellectuals as a whole. May I cite a few?

1. One of the greatest and most exciting plans designed to show what fascist countries do to culture, and what the rebels against Nazism can achieve by united action, was to have been expressed in the Pavilion of Freedom at the World's Fair of 1939. Your own magazine told of the disaster that befell this plan, and it was not brought about by writers or scholars.

2. Might one not call the Federal Theater Project a culture-defending institution? Its betrayal was likewise not brought about by intellectuals. Indeed, they rallied widely to its defense.

3. Many well-known scholars have lost their positions because of their liberal activities.

4. There have come to my attention recently a number of brilliant books by scholars and writers of repute for which no publisher can be found. The sum of the publishers' reasons is: We dare not. Dr. X wrote a book on how fascism comes in agriculture; and just now, as I write, I hear on the radio that the Associated Farmers of California have organized to fight "fifth-column activities and subversive trends in the fields." The American Legion has also now girded itself to "protect" us from fifth-column activities. Dr. X's book warns against these dangers. It can find no publisher.

I think we must probe deeper than did Mr. MacLeish to find why many writers and scholars have not fought more ardently for learning and culture.

ELLA WINTER

Carmel, Cal., June 1

Guard the Home Front!

Dear Sirs: As a Kansan I was interested in your indorsement of William Allen White's plan to solve the problem of our relationship to the war in Europe with unreserved material assistance to the Allies. Let me say that any criticism of your or Mr. White's action comes from one who dreads as much as either of you the consequences—for Europe—of a German victory, but who is nevertheless perplexed as to whether the means you have chosen will not aggravate rather than alleviate the harm.

War is the one thing in which you invariably land something entirely different from what you aimed at. Perhaps Hitler *can* ingorge all of Europe; does that mean that he can digest it? Perhaps a Hitler forced to digest France will be the best thing for Germany, and possibly in the long run for Europe. How, with political bosses intrenched in all of Europe's satrapies, could a Europe ever be united except through bloodshed? The bosses will not yield, and they delude their followers into fighting.

I still believe, as you do, that a Hitlerized Europe will be a bad thing; but the complex possibilities of the war make me feel that such an outcome will not be sufficiently worse than the opposite result to justify our upsetting our own economy, sacrificing the social reforms that we have won so dearly, in order to change it.

Perhaps we can serve Europe better by conserving our strength to make things right at home, so that after the war, or after the social upheaval that must follow upon the war whatever its result, the seeds of democracy that we have kept here unspoiled may be transplanted over there. What I dread most is what will happen behind our backs while our gaze is fixed on Europe.

DWIGHT L. BOLINGER

Topeka, Kan., June 20

CONTRIBUTORS

HEINZ POL, a German émigré journalist, has just arrived in the United States from France. His analysis of the causes of France's collapse is based on wide acquaintance with officials, journalists, and army officers.

LADISLAS FARAGO as foreign editor of the London *Sunday Chronicle* maintained close connections with the British government throughout the crisis that resulted in Edward VIII's abdication.

McALISTER COLEMAN, a journalist with long experience in left-wing politics, contributed an article on Wendell Willkie in *The Nation's* series on Men Who Would Be President.

HARVEY S. FORD, secretary of the American Military Institute in Washington, wrote on Generals Without Ideas in last week's *Nation.* For many years he has been a student of the art of war.

NATHANIEL WEYL, economist and journalist, is the author of "The Reconquest of Mexico."

AUGUST TYLER, formerly editor-in-chief of the *Socialist Call,* has for the last six years been working in the Educational Department of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

ELISEO VIVAS is assistant professor of philosophy at the University of Wisconsin.

CORRECTION.—In Talbot Hamlin's letter published on June 29 the transposition of two lines strangely distorted the author's meaning. The sentence should have read, "Detachment gives the power of criticism; criticism checks the rabble-rousers, the would-be Führers, the insensate exploitation of human life, etc."

INFORMATION FOR SUBSCRIBERS

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THE *Nation*

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

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The Shape of Things

THE BATTLE OF BRITAIN IS STILL IN ITS preliminary stages. Both sides are carrying out almost continual air raids, but with what effect it is hard to tell from the meager reports passed by the censorship. Britain's air defenses appear to be strong, and there are few signs that the German hope of softening the island's morale in preparation for a grand assault is yet being realized. Certainly if Winston Churchill's latest speech reflects the spirit of the British there can be no fear of surrender while any means of resistance remain. Casualties from air raids have been comparatively light so far, but the question of how much actual damage has been done to military and industrial objectives is unanswerable. Under any circumstances, constant raids are bound to prove a hindrance to production, when work must be frequently interrupted by alarms and loss of sleep leads to decreased efficiency. But these factors are equally operative in Germany. Perhaps Britain's greatest danger at the present time comes from the heightened intensity of the submarine campaign. Even if Nazi claims are heavily discounted, it is clear that shipping losses are much higher than in the early months of the war. It is in this field that Italy is providing the greatest aid to its ally by keeping a strong British fleet occupied in the Mediterranean. This explains the anxiety of the British naval authorities to lure the Italian navy from the cover of its shore defenses in the hope of dealing it a decisive blow. The Italians, on the other hand, seem bent on avoiding a sea battle but are attempting to harass enemy squadrons from the air. They claim important successes from these tactics, but in this matter they appear to be rivaling Goebbels, whose communiqués have sunk nearly twice the number of battleships possessed by Britain.

*

OBEDIENT TO AXIS ORDERS, HUNGARY HAS put its claims for the return of Transylvania into cold storage until the war against Britain is settled. Partial demobilization has taken place both in Hungary and in Rumania, and every effort is now being made to get in the harvest. With poor crops everywhere in Europe this year that is a matter of paramount importance to the fascist powers, which are determined to keep their Balkan granary undisturbed. But while they can maintain discipline among the small fry they still have to worry lest Russia decide to advance farther east as soon as the Battle of Britain really engrosses Hitler's attention. Rumors are being spread that Moscow's next move will be to demand control of the Dardanelles from Turkey. A safe exit from the Black Sea is certainly a matter of paramount concern to Russia, but it is more likely to secure its interests in that direction by agreement with Turkey than by resort to threats of force. Under certain circumstances Turkey, which is in bad odor with both Axis powers, might prove a very useful ally to the Soviets. The chances are, indeed, that the two countries will draw closer together again. This Germany is trying to prevent, and it is making great play with alleged documentary evidence of Turkish complicity in an Allied plot to destroy the Soviet Caucasian oil fields, a propaganda effort which has drawn a vigorous retort from the Turkish Premier. Meanwhile, Rumania's abject descent into the Axis camp has cooled the long-standing friendship between it and Turkey. Hence new alignments among the small Balkan countries may be expected, and there are even indications of Turkish support for Bulgarian revisionism. A Turkish-Bulgarian understanding might well be blessed, if not inspired, by Russia.

*

PRESIDENT CARDENAS DESERVES CREDIT FOR his courage in giving Mexico its first free election. His action is especially noteworthy in that it was taken under no irrepressible compulsion. All Mexican Presidents are dictators, the good along with the bad, and all of them have resorted to "imposition" as the normal means of continuing their group in power. There was no reason why Cárdenas should not have repeated the customary travesty of the democratic process by which he himself, as a matter of fact, came into office. More than a year ago, however, he promised that in the choice of his successor the Mexican people would be permitted freely to express their preference at the polls. On July 7 he did everything within his power to keep that promise.

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The experiment was marred by disorders to which the partisans of both candidates contributed. Nevertheless, the voters went to the polls in numbers never before seen in Mexico and voted without interference from government authorities. But the very primitiveness of the electoral machinery, even if no other factors were involved, would in itself have been sufficient to vitiate the results; in addition Mexico's peculiar social structure is still hardly conducive to a chemically pure election. Too much credence must therefore not be placed in the numerical returns. General Avila Camacho, candidate of the P. R. M. (Party of the Mexican Revolution), is officially reported to have carried the country by nearly twenty to one; his opponent, General Juan Andreu Almazán, is claiming that 90 per cent of the vote was cast for him. The truth is that no one can tell what the actual count was.

*

ALMAZAN CAMPAIGNED ON A PLATFORM OF "liberty and order," promising to destroy an "iniquitous dictatorship and a boss rule a thousand times worse than that of Porfirio Díaz." Only in the capital and in some of the provincial cities did he make an impressive show of strength. Camacho's victory throughout the country, although his claim of Mexico City seems dubious, can scarcely be denied; it is conceded even by conservatives, who, without sympathizing with Almazán, have been among the most outspoken critics and bitterest enemies of the Cárdenas regime. As was fully anticipated, Almazán has raised the cry of electoral fraud and is threatening to set up a rump congress of his own deputies to instal him as "legal" President. The situation is charged with dynamite, since the government would obviously be obliged to meet with force the challenge of a dual congress. It remains to be seen how Cárdenas will deal with the fresh crisis born of his own faith in the maturity of Mexican democracy.

*

THE FIRST MAJOR ENGAGEMENT OF THE battle for Latin America has begun in Havana. The principal enemy, Nazi Germany, is not represented, but he is absent only in the flesh. His propaganda is operating in the minds of the delegates; and he has powerful if inanimate allies in the warehouses of Central and South America, filled with surplus products which he has promised to take once England has been defeated and a new, and hungry, Europe is organized from Berlin. Since the Conference of American Foreign Ministers was called, the Nazis have broadcast warnings to the South American nations against making anti-German moves at Havana, and increasing amounts of Nazi money are being poured into the work of propaganda, espionage, and intimidation in every one of them. The propaganda works a double, contradictory theme—that the United States cannot solve South America's economic problem and that it is seeking to gain economic hegemony over Latin America under the guise of protecting the Western Hemisphere from foreign domination. The concern of the Nazis for the sovereignty of nations is a laughing matter; the appeal of such propaganda to peoples conditioned to distrust the United States is not. The South American countries must be convinced that cooperation with the United States will solve their economic difficulties, that this cooperation does not imply any loss of sovereignty, and that unless they hang together they will all hang separately, both as economic and political units, on the belt of Hitler. General Hull and his aides have their work cut out for them at the Battle of Havana.

*

THAT "SOCIALISTIC EXPERIMENT," TVA, IS receiving vindication from strange quarters these days. At the urging of the National Defense Advisory Committee the House appropriations subcommittee on deficiencies last week hurriedly approved a bill to give the TVA $25,000,000 for the expansion of power production. It seems that the Aluminum Company of America must have more power for its plant at Alcoa, Tennessee, if it is to speed up the production of aluminum sheeting for the government's defense program. The Alcoa plant has drawn part of its power from TVA. Five years ago, when Hitler was taking over the Rhineland, TVA asked for amendments to permit expansion, because of the threat of a deficit of power in the valley that might become serious in time of emergency. Wendell Willkie led the fight against the amendments, ridiculing the "war-scare" arguments of the TVA. Two of his most vigorous assistants in the campaign were Charles W. Kellogg, president of the Edison Electric Institute, and Gano Dunn, president of the J. G. White Engineering Corporation, which has built some of Willkie's generating plants. The Aluminum Company told the National Defense Committee of its predicament; TVA brought forward its program for expansion; Edward R. Stettinius, Jr., head of the Defense Committee, called in his power advisers, and the program was forthwith approved. The advisers included Charles W. Kellogg and Gano Dunn.

*

WHEN THE ALUMINUM WORKERS OF AMERICA (C. I. O.) asked the Aluminum Company of America for a general hourly wage increase of ten cents an hour last year, the company's argument for refusal was that pending amendments to the neutrality law made the future of their production uncertain. The negotiations were recently renewed, and the union put forward strong arguments: the company made more than $36,000,000 last year in spite of "uncertainty"; it has a $51,000,000 surplus; today its plants are running at capacity and 40 per cent of its production is going to national defense. The union claims that the increased wage bill would amount to $3,000,000; the company says $6,000,000. Even the higher figure would hardly send Alcoa into bankruptcy. But the negotiations struck snags. It was persistently reported that the company was using the dispute to force abandonment or postponement of the government's pending anti-trust suit against it. Meanwhile, the union had voted to strike. Under pressure from the government, exerted through the union's leadership, the strike was deferred. At this writing we do not know whether or not Alcoa has succeeded in having the anti-trust suit called off; we do know that the union has settled for two cents an hour instead of ten. The workers are resentful but feel helpless. The pattern of this episode is not pretty. Is it to be the pattern of defense?

* * *

OUR COMMUTING EDITOR TELLS US THAT A little old gentleman who gets on at Rye and who shows the obvious effects of having read the *Herald Tribune* every morning for years on end came aboard with a copy of the *Times* one day last week. He greeted two friends and was heard to murmur apologetically, "I buy it once in a while just to see what they're up to."

CONTENTS

THE SHAPE OF THINGS 41

EDITORIALS:

REALISM IN THE FAR EAST 43
HITLER'S FRANCE 44
LET THE CAMPAIGN START by Freda Kirchwey 45
NO DEAL WITH JAPAN! by M. Thomas Tchou 46
SHOWDOWN AT MEMPHIS by Hodding Carter 48
BALKAN PUZZLE by Rustem Vambery 49
WITHIN THE GATES 51
EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS by Keith Hutchison 52
IN THE WIND 53

BOOKS AND THE ARTS:

HISTORY AS FICTION by John Chamberlain 54
STUDY OF A CULTURE by Constance Rourke 54
THE CASE FOR ENGLAND by Conyers Read 55
SPIRIT AND SENSE by John Peale Bishop 55
RECORDS by B. H. Haggin 57

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Realism in the Far East

IN A speech broadcast on June 29 Foreign Minister Arita expressed "Japan's determination to exterminate by any or every means" third-power assistance to the Chinese government. Immediately afterward came renewed demands on Britain to close the Burma Road, accompanied by threats to Hongkong. At the same time there was a recrudescence of anti-American propaganda.

The collapse of France and the absorption of Britain in its life-and-death struggle with Germany provide immense new opportunities to Japanese imperialism, but before they can be seized, the liquidation of the Chinese war is essential, as M. Thomas Tchou points out in an article on page 46. A decisive victory still seems remote, and the war continues to place a severe strain on resources of man-power and materials, leaving too small a margin available for adventures in new directions. That is why it is necessary for Japan, not only to cut off Chungking from the limited but vital supplies reaching it from the outside world, but to deprive the Chinese of hope by proving that the Western powers can be bulldozed into leaving them to their fate. That would still leave Russia as the friend of China, but there is reason to believe that should the United States move in the direction of appeasing Tokyo, the Soviets might feel compelled to conclude a pact with Japan.

Britain's first reply to the Japanese demand for the closing of the Burma Road was negative, but a "request" for reconsideration has since led to an agreement said to provide for the barring of certain categories of imports into China for a period of two or three months. In British quarters the importance of this concession is being minimized on the ground that the rainy season blocks the route for some time anyhow. Further compliance with Japan's demands is conditioned by a proposal that an effort be made to negotiate a settlement of the Sino-Japanese war, toward which end Britain volunteers its good offices. This attempt to "save face" has only increased Chinese indignation.

We may well consider Britain's actions censurable in view of its many promises to China. Nevertheless, Britain is desperately engaged in Europe and has no option but to employ Fabian tactics in the East, hoping that if time can be gained conditions may become more favorable. In any case, before becoming too critical, we should examine our own conscience. In the matter of the Burma Road we have apparently stood aloof, for Mr. Hull has denied that there have been any conversations with Britain on the subject. Yet it is one which concerns us closely, for only by this route can we now send material aid to China. If we allow it to be closed, our policy of nonrecognition of Japanese conquests and support for China's integrity will be reduced to a pious wish. Even as it is, we are doing much to render that policy nugatory by giving far more economic support to Japan's aggressions than to China's defense. It seems high time that the threat contained in the abrogation of the trade treaty more than six months ago was unmuzzled and an embargo placed on all exports of essential war materials to Japan. Such action would be not only a warning to Japan in language its leaders understand but a great encouragement to Britain in resisting further pressure.

It would have a useful effect, too, in offsetting the unfortunate impression created by the few ill-chosen words which the President uttered recently through the mouth of Stephen Early. We know that when Mr. Roosevelt suggested that Europe and Asia each apply the principles of the Monroe Doctrine to its own territories he was not indorsing either the Nazi conception of Pan-Europe or Tokyo's version of Asia for the Asiatics. But his words were eagerly seized on in Tokyo, which was particularly delighted with the proposal that the disposition of French Indo-China should be decided among the Asiatic countries. Obviously, the President meant that these countries should meet in free conference as equal partners, but in these days of naked power politics and puppet governments such ideas lend themselves to dangerous distortions.

Realism rather than utopianism is the great need of American foreign policy at this time. If the maintenance of China's integrity is not a matter of vital concern to us but represents merely an ideal, it would be well to abandon moral gestures and retire from Asia altogether. But if, as *The Nation* believes, we have a legitimate self-interest in the maintenance of the Asiatic status quo, we shall be wise to face the risks of bolstering China's resistance. For that resistance is, at this moment, the chief barrier to Japan's far-flung expansion. If it collapses we shall be reduced to a choice of acquiescing in Japan's "New Order" or opposing it with force—and alone.

Hitler's France

"WE, Marshal Pétain," has been authorized by the demoralized French Parliament to promulgate a new constitution and to rule France by decree, but for all that he does not qualify for membership in the Dictators' Club. No matter how imposing his powers appear, he is, and will remain, a hireling of hirelings. The dilapidated façade of military glory barely conceals the sinister triumvirate—Laval, the agent of Mussolini, Weygand, monarchist and clerical, Marquet, one of France's many would be Führers. But they, again, are in no sense free agents. They are only caretakers for the conquerors, subject to instant dismissal should they fail to give satisfaction.

Laval himself gave the game away when he urged Parliament toward the double crime of murdering the Third Republic and committing suicide on its corpse. "I bring you," he said, "not the conviction but the certainty that if you want an honorable peace you must give Marshal Pétain what he wants." Clearly, orders had been received for the destruction of every vestige of democracy. The proposal of the new French government to move to Versailles is also, without doubt, inspired by the Nazis, who wish to keep it within their physical control. But probably the decision was welcomed by Laval and his colleagues, who, as the tale of their subservience to Germany unfolds, will surely need the protection of German bayonets from the wrath of true Frenchmen.

Confused and shell-shocked as the people of France are today, there is little sign of any mass movement toward fascism. National Socialism had a huge popular following in Germany before it seized power. It fed the discontents of millions of middle-class people, peasants, and unemployed with vague promises of a new economic order while enlisting the support of the wealthy by playing on their fears of bolshevism. Above all, it thrived on a national desire for revenge. In France, on the other hand, fascism has no revolutionary base but has been pushed by those on top as a clever trick for conserving their wealth and privileges. Even today Pétain, while mouthing borrowed phrases about abolishing the dictatorship of money, adopts as his chief slogan "the restoration of order." Something more inspiring than this is required to launch a genuine fascist party.

Nor can the French totalitarians look to the motive of vengeance as a means of rallying the masses, for that would immediately involve the obliterating displeasure of their German masters. They are already attempting to turn the people's anger against the British and against those leaders who struggled in vain to organize resistance to fascism. They will probably try to use the Jews and the refugees as scapegoats. For a short time such devices may even meet with some success. But surely not for long. It will not be hard for the French people to identify their oppressors, whose looting they must suffer in silence, whose harsh commands they must obey in more than half of their country. What chance is there, then, that they will rally round a regime which can only exist by cooperating with the enemy?

Hitler, we can be sure, has no interest in promoting a strong fascist movement in France. His aim, candidly declared more than once, is to crush France forever as a rival great power. But he has plans for its economic future of which some hints are to be found in Pétain's address to the French Parliament. "The common life of our nation," said the Marshal, "must now have a new orientation and must be integrated within the continental system of production and exchange. Furthermore, France must return to her agricultural and peasant character primarily, and her industry must find its traditional quality." In this passage His Master's Voice is speaking in unmistakable tones. France must turn away from the heavy industries without which no country can be strong in a military sense. Its role is to grow foodstuffs and make luxury products for the use of its conquerors. For steel, machinery, chemicals it must depend on Germany.

Hitler's success in forcing on France an economic program of this kind would very likely be unwelcome to his Italian ally, but that may be one of the chief reasons for attempting it. Mussolini is believed to have a plan for a powerful federation of fascist Latin states embracing Italy, France, Spain, and Portugal, which would act as a counterweight to the Nordic colossus. But none of these countries, other than France, has a really highly developed industry, and without that, Latin superiority in man-power will not count for much. We may take it that Hitler means to keep things that way and will insist that Pétain, Laval and company take their economic orders from Berlin and not Rome.

Let the Campaign Start

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

MANY people are saying, in these hot convention weeks, that politics ought to be adjourned. National unity, they believe, is to be conjured out of the political air by some sort of stand-still agreement on major issues. The more radical among them would have adjourned the elections altogether through a coalition and a single Presidential ticket. With that hope demolished they urge a joint defense and foreign-policy platform, in the belief that in time of peril the country should speak with one voice on the issues that touch its security.

I don't share this view, or the fears on which it rests. Foreign dictators and aggressors may lick their chops over American political differences, but if they do they will fool themselves disastrously. The fever of a Presidential campaign does not endanger our national health; it only multiplies the anti-bodies that overcome political infections. Naturally, it is to be hoped that the campaign will be free from the filthier sorts of political attack; rowdyism in a year of solemn decision is demoralizing and a little disgusting. I hope, too, that New Dealers will stop pretending Willkie was nominated solely as the result of a Wall Street putsch when it is obvious he came in on the wave of a most unprecedented public demand. After all, Robert Taft would have done just as well by J. P. Morgan and Company. Maybe better. Willkie is a wilful sort of big-business man, an individualist cut more along the heroic lines of the robber barons of an earlier day—don't sue, Mr. Willkie; it's a compliment—than of a sleek Wall Street executive. As for the Republicans, I hope they will refrain from charging that Mr. Roosevelt intends to become a dictator. If they want to debate the third-term issue, let them do it on honest and not imaginary grounds. I hope they will not pretend that the President is pursuing a lone and headstrong pro-war policy. The votes in Congress offer clear evidence of the bipartisan nature of our foreign policy, and it is going to be hard for the Republican politicians to make the "war-party" label stick to their Democratic opponents. In short, I hope—though I have lived through enough campaigns to keep these hopes burning low—that lies and nonsense and mud will be largely eliminated from the coming struggle. But aside from this, the campaign should be vigorously contested.

For profound and undecided issues confront the American people, and a Presidential campaign fought on those issues is the most democratic way we have of settling them. The campaign should be a national debate and plebiscite on the most serious problem of our time—whether a great defense program can be built on a foundation of social and economic reform and carried out by democratic methods, or whether in creating the essential instruments of defense we must sacrifice the flesh and spirit of democracy.

That is the only important issue. Even the issue of war and peace is less important, because it is less real. Neither candidate wants war; both support policies designed to defend our security by peaceful means as long as possible. Neither one can honestly promise more than that. When Mr. Roosevelt announces his determination to keep American troops out of foreign wars, he means what he says. But if it should seem necessary to defend the French or Dutch West Indies against Germany or prevent a Nazi putsch in Central America, the President would send men and ships immediately. In such an event the foreign war would become an American war. So it doesn't matter much what the platforms choose to say on the subject. It matters far more what Hitler intends and accomplishes in the next months. Our war policy will be settled on the shores of Britain and on the high seas and in the Antilles—not in Philadelphia or Chicago.

But the issues that bear on national defense merit serious debate. A large defense program will dominate our whole national life. No longer will politicians debate the issue of government versus private initiative. In a war economy, government wins. And the debate will center around the question, Who controls the government? No talk about national unity can wipe this question off the slate. If the steel and utility and airplane and shipbuilding companies control the government, the result will be revealed in profit figures, tax rates, regulations regarding hours, and wage scales. So far, in the early stages of the present defense effort, the balance of power has tipped toward the side of capital. That is the inevitable tendency, especially after a period of prolonged depression. Capital wants assured profits; labor wants jobs. The President has said that labor's gains would not be liquidated, that the defense program would not create millionaires. But the airplane orders were stalled until the companies won an increased guaranteed profit.

These items are only illustrative. They suggest the questions that should be put to the candidates this summer and debated by the citizens. We must force the real issue to the front no matter how studiously it may be avoided by candidates and platforms. We must ask the men who want to be President exactly how they propose to save democracy in America. We must ask specific questions about the Wagner and Walsh-Healey acts, about wages and hours, about labor's participation in the construction of our new defenses and in the staffing of our new army. We must decide on the basis of their answers and their records which man and which party offers the best hope of a democratic defense, and of a democracy worth defending. This is not the year to adjourn politics.

No Deal with Japan!

BY M. THOMAS TCHOU

WITH the United States facing a growing threat to its liberties and security from the spectacular advance of totalitarian aggression in Europe, there is apparently a nascent movement here for the appeasement of Japan. Senator Vanderberg, who last summer openly urged the abrogation of the American-Japanese commercial treaty, in a radio address on June 9 last called for a resumption of trade-treaty relations. He declared that a "pacified Pacific could be almost equivalent to half a navy in our scheme of defense." The New York *Daily News,* which has for years advocated the curbing of Japan and has urged the United States to build two warships to Japan's one, on June 4 advised the United States to make friends with Japan. With more consistency Walter Lippmann, who had disapproved the abrogation of the commercial treaty, wrote on June 5:

> It is still true that our interests in the Far East are secondary to our interests in this hemisphere; but because this is true it follows that there is no conflict between Japan and the United States which is not reconcilable by diplomacy. We should, therefore, recognize this truth and should, I submit, enter immediately into friendly and conciliatory and candid negotiations with the Japanese for the avowed purpose of preserving the peace in the Pacific.
>
> We should aim high and aim far—at a new order of things in the Pacific, in which, having adjusted our secondary conflicts, the two navies will cease to confront each other as potential antagonists and will be free to maintain order and stability in their respective spheres of influence.

The great majority of the American people, however, are opposed to Japan's aggression in China and support the State Department's policy of non-recognition of Japan's conquests. Last August a Gallup survey revealed that 82 per cent of those interrogated favored ending the shipment of war supplies to Japan. It is proper, therefore, to examine carefully any proposals for changing what has become an established American policy.

The first question is to ask is, How can the United States make friends with Japan? To find an answer, let us look at the history of American foreign policy in the Far East. The United States for a hundred years has upheld China's political independence and territorial integrity. Forty years ago the State Department reinforced this position by advocating the maintenance of an "open door" of equal opportunity for trade in China. Eventually the United States secured the adherence of seven other countries to these principles, and as a result the Nine-Power Treaty was signed in Washington in February, 1922. In pursuing this policy the government was influenced both by altruism and by national interests. China was inoffensive, peace-loving, and militarily weak: the effort of the United States to preserve its political independence and territorial integrity and to leave it free to evolve its own future was an act of altruism. But America's own interests in the Pacific also demanded the existence of an independent China. And since the end of the Russo-Japanese War in 1905, Japan had repeatedly tried to gain control of parts of China and had thus threatened the interests of the United States. With Russia in confusion following the Bolshevik Revolution, the Nine-Power Treaty was, in effect, an Anglo-American combination to counterbalance Japan. Today the bone of contention between the United States and Japan is the validity of this treaty.

When Japan seized Mukden and the rest of Manchuria in the fall of 1931, the United States, among other countries, protested against this flagrant violation of the Nine-Power Treaty. When its protests were disregarded by Japan, Washington enunciated what has come to be known as the policy of non-recognition—that is, that the United States would refuse to recognize any acquisitions by Japan in China that were obtained by violence, in contravention of existing treaties. Subsequently Japan seized more and more of China's territory, and the United States reiterated its refusal to recognize Japan's gains. Japan then began to drive out American and European interests from its newly acquired territories and insulted, expelled, and in other ways maltreated foreign representatives, traders, and missionaries, as it still continues to do. Since it launched its undeclared war in China three years ago, more than six hundred such acts against Americans and their interests are on record at the State Department. Finally on July 6, 1939, exasperated by Japan's course, Secretary of State Cordell Hull announced that the commercial treaty of 1911 between the two nations would be abrogated in six months' time. This cleared the way for an American embargo on war supplies to Japan, which depends on the United States for 60 per cent of the raw materials it must import for the expansion of its armaments and the prosecution of the war. These include oil, high-test gasoline, iron, copper, lead, and cotton. Actually, however, there has been no stoppage or even diminution of Japanese purchases; on the contrary, shipments have tended to increase.

It is generally agreed that if the United States had shut off these supplies, and had given substantial assistance to China, the "China incident" would have ended long before the European war broke out. Unfortunately this was not done, and now the United States is alarmed not only by the possible victory of Germany and Italy over Great Britain, but by Japan's announced intention to establish hegemony over East Asia. Some Americans are saying, therefore, that the United States should make friends with Japan.

When the two parties to a dispute have opposite views they can become friends only by one party giving up his views and accepting those of the other or by working out a compromise. Japan wants the United States to recognize its "New Order in East Asia"; the United States insists that Japan respect the Nine-Power Treaty. Since Japan is staking everything on setting up its "New Order," the United States cannot realistically expect it to abandon its purpose or even to agree to a compromise. Thus the United States can only gain the friendship of Japan by surrendering to it. The United States must accept with a smile the insults to its representatives and citizens and its material losses in China and admit that it was wrong to insist upon respect for the Nine-Power Treaty. It must desist from fortifying Guam. It must recognize Manchoukuo and Wang Ching-wei's puppet regime and acquiesce in all that Japan is doing in China. It must cancel the moral embargo on war planes. And of course the United States must negotiate a new treaty with Japan restoring to it most-favored-nation treatment and must supply, without threat of stoppage, all Japan needs to complete the conquest of China. Is this what Walter Lippmann meant when he said, "We should aim high and aim far—at a new order of things in the Pacific"? If so, he should speak plainly and say that America must bow to force and violate the treaty it sponsored and has hitherto upheld.

The next question is, Can Japan be appeased by the United States? This is a practical question, the same question that Neville Chamberlain had to face with regard to Nazi Germany. Suppose the President plays the part of Mr. Chamberlain and M. Daladier in a Munich of the Far East and bows to the wishes of the military rulers of Japan, is there any ground for believing that Japan would be satisfied and desist from further aggression? What makes the advocates of appeasement think that they can trust Japan to live up to future treaties when they know that, without provocation from China, the United States, or any other power, Japan flagrantly violated the Nine Power Treaty, the Covenant of the League of Nations, and the Kellogg-Briand Pact? Any attempt at appeasement by the United States will vindicate the invasion of China and stimulate Japan to further aggression. If it should next strike at the Dutch East Indies, French Indo-China, British Malaya, and other British possessions in Polynesia, Australia, and New Zealand, would not the United States have to acquiesce? If it should then take the Philippines under its "protection," must not the United States again consent for the sake of peace? After establishing its New Order in East Asia with American help, Japan might next choose to extend the "New Order" to Hawaii or some South or Central American state, thus encroaching upon the Monroe Doctrine. In short, what is going to be the limit of a policy of appeasement? Europe is today reaping the dreadful harvest of a similar policy.

It is amazing that those who advocate appeasing the aggressors of the Far East have overlooked the fact that China's resistance is the principal factor keeping Japan from embarking on new ventures. This vast, peace-loving nation has kept the aggressors at bay for three years. Nation after nation in Europe has disappeared in a few days or weeks, but China has consolidated from within, has developed its communications, industries, education, and sanitation, has doubled its army and its equipment—all with limited help from the outside world. If the United States now gave China substantial assistance and withheld supplies from Japan, Japan would soon be driven out of China, and Japanese aggression would be doomed. China is, in effect, fighting not only for its own independence but also for the security of the United States and other countries in the Pacific.

The following paragraphs from an editorial in the Chicago *Daily News* of June 10 summarize the situation:

> In order to make a deal with Japan today, we would have to condone, openly or covertly, its treaty-breaking invasions of China. We would have to betray not only our Chinese friends, but also more than a hundred years of American policy in the Far East. We would be imi-

> tating, in effect, the worst and most dangerous aspects of Britain's "appeasement" efforts.
>
> And once we had made the deal, of what use would it be? Japan has deliberately broken one solemn treaty with us. Why should it keep another any longer than its own interest required? What guaranty would we have that, at the first opportunity, Japan would not gang up against us with the rest of our enemies?

The latest developments in the Far East fully bear out this view. Almost immediately after the British gave in to the Japanese at Tientsin, new Japanese pressure was put on Hongkong in an effort to force Britain to close the Burma Road, over which supplies were going to free China. Within two weeks of France's surrender, Japan extended its tentacles to Indo-China, and on June 29 Foreign Minister Arita announced the expansion of the "New Order in East Asia" into a "Monroe Doctrine"—with Japan as the "stabilizing force"—for East Asia and the South Seas, a vast area now ruled by Britain, France, the Netherlands, and the United States. The military leaders of Japan considered the announcement lacking in concreteness, but Secretary of State Cordell Hull lost no time in pointing out that certain "Monroe doctrines" are instruments for the conquest of free peoples.

President Roosevelt's suggestion of July 6 that Europe and Asia each apply the principles of the Monroe Doctrine to its own territories as the American nations apply them to theirs met a ready welcome in Tokyo. The Japanese seem to interpret the suggestion as supporting their contention that the United States and European nations should withdraw from East Asia. While the President recommended that all the European or Asiatic nations should confer and "make the decision—not just one conquering power," the Japanese have confidence in their ability to control and manipulate their puppet governments. Undoubtedly the Japanese are using the "marine incident" in Shanghai as a test case of American policy. Should the United States weaken, the Japanese will be convinced that the Western nations are on the run in the Far East.

Showdown at Memphis

BY HODDING CARTER

THE red firecracker didn't explode at the Memphis convention of the American Newspaper Guild, but it sputtered enough to burn Guildsmen's fingers, give Westbrook Pegler material for another column or two, and divert public attention from the real meaning of the meeting.

The sultry week wasn't pleasant for delegates wishing for the unity so necessary to continued Guild development. Pre-convention dissension over administration policies and personalities divided the members into opposing camps and drew more notice to political caucuses and deals than to the less heady trade-union problems. The political maneuvers, name-calling sessions, and balloting which resulted in a clean sweep for the administration made the headlines.

The charges of communism made by Pegler and a small minority within the Guild had official Memphis so alert for the worst that the chief of police forbade a Negro high school's drum-and-bugle corps to parade on melody-famous Beale Street because "these niggers are communistic enough without parading for the Guild." Advance reports of impending sensations brought together the largest and most strangely assorted group of reporters ever to cover a Guild convention. At the press table were staff members of the New York *Times*, the *New Masses, Editor and Publisher*, the *Daily Worker*, the A. F. of L. *Labor Review* of Memphis, *PM*, the Memphis newspapers, and the Associated Press and United Press.

The big moment came when a minority of the Resolutions Committee sought to have a denunciation of communism, Nazism, and fascism inserted in a resolution on national defense. The motion was tabled by the most one-sided vote of the convention. That put glue on the label. But actually the original defense resolution, which was adopted unanimously, was all that the D. A. R. could ask. It pledged the Guild to uphold the Constitution and the Bill of Rights, and to support a national-defense program which protected labor. It put the Guild on record as opposed to all subversive forces. What the Guild did in rejecting the specific Communist-Fascist-Nazi clause was to thumb its nose at Pegler and a few publishers. No other fair interpretation can be made. The refusal to denounce communism may not have been smart, but it was a sincere reaction to frequently outrageous attacks. The new Guild president, twenty-nine-year-old Donal Sullivan, a Boston *Globe* courts reporter with a law degree, is no fellow-traveler. Neither is Harold Breard, a Catholic and a socially correct Louisianan, who was a convention hero by virtue of having been the leader of the first Guild strike in the deep South. Both Sullivan and Breard opposed the minority report. So did Max Ways of Philadelphia, a leader in the unsuccessful fight to oust Executive President Milton Kaufman and

Executive Secretary Victor Pasche of New York, the paid officers around whom the convention struggle raged.

Yet the battle over this resolution and the week-long fight against Kaufman and Pasche, directed by Kenneth Crawford of Washington, the outgoing president, obscured for the public almost everything else the convention did. It was news that Crawford was defeated in a fight for reelection which he didn't want to make. It was news that the large New York delegation held in line thirty of the fifty-five locals represented and emerged still the dominant force of the Guild. It was news that the Guild seethed with personal animosities, that the administration was accused of laxity, possessiveness, incompetence, and communism. And wounds were not healed by pledges of unity at the end of the convention. In internal politics the Guild is divided still.

But other results will have more permanent significance. The Guild held up against a hard pounding from within and without. Despite the factional strife, it showed no sign of being in serious danger of disintegration. After seven years, in which it has grown from a dream of the late Heywood Broun to a C. I. O. union with 17,000 members, the main current of Guild activity still runs toward its original objectives, the improvement of the hours and pay of newspaper employees. Meeting in the heart of the comparatively unorganized South, the Guild formed for a week a unique oasis. Its open sessions were attended and addressed by representatives of both the C. I. O. and the A. F. of L., including Allan Haywood, director of C. I. O. organization, and Claude Baker, president of the A. F. of L.'s International Typographers' Union. In the convention hall and in convivial spots, before the eyes of glowering Memphis, inland boatmen of the Maritime Union, A. F. of L. typographers, marine engineers, and S. W. O. C. members turned up to demonstrate labor's solidarity.

Unsung and almost unnoticed was the work of the politically non-controversial committees, whose reports really reflected the Guild's purposeful, trade-union objectives. The report of the Employer-Relations Committee on a collective-bargaining program proposed extended vacations, compensation for holiday work, death-benefit provisions, transfer expenses and consent for newspapermen ordered to other cities, a national-emergency clause to protect men joining the military services, more emphasis on severance pay, and gradual efforts for a five-day, thirty-five-hour week. On the subject of policy the report said: "Good contracts are obtainable only through organizational strength. . . . We should studiously avoid creating among the membership the attitude that social legislation, such as the National Labor Relations Act and the Fair Labor Standards Act, become substitutes for labor-union action. . . . Social legislation will not of itself perpetuate union organization."

The Labor-Relations Committee warned against "indiscriminate organization of workers in established jurisdictions of other unions." The Committee on Organization asked for another international organizer, resident organizers where it was financially possible, and unionization on a full industrial basis rather than primarily among editorial employees. These recommendations are signposts. The delegates' preoccupation—outside of campaigning—with the organization of Scripps-Howard in line with the new Hearst contract pointed in the same direction. Opposition was also voted to modification of the Wagner Act, to the effort to deport Harry Bridges, to curtailment of WPA appropriations, and to narrowing the wages-and-hours provisions. All national and state political candidates were asked to support the general social and economic program of the New Deal.

With agreement on such objectives and policies, the Guild is not likely to be torn apart by the factional battle. What effect this much-advertised row will have upon unorganized newspaper employees, the public, and the employers is another matter. The convention did much to clear the atmosphere for Guild members. But the fight and the gestures of defiance may still be liabilities for the immediate future.

Balkan Puzzle

BY RUSTEM VAMBERY

THE "mystery" of the Balkans ceases to be a mystery once it is understood that Western standards cannot be applied to them. "The Balkans" means not merely a range of mountains and a peninsula between the Adriatic and the Aegean Sea, or a number of small states with conflicting interests; the name stands for a particular twist of mind. To describe it as bellicose, pugnacious, or quarrelsome is not enough. The Russian saying has it that a Russian is taken ill if he is not allowed to tell one lie a year, but that a Persian will die if he is bound to tell the truth once a year. It would appear that the ancestors of most Balkan politicians came from territory somewhere between Russia and Persia. In addition the Balkan people are imbued with an overheated chauvinism of which the ardor is in reverse proportion to the size of their native country.

The people of the peninsula, and for that matter the statesmen, were originally no worse than their Western brothers, but centuries of Turkish domination followed by Hapsburg imperialism developed both the necessity to play a double game and the unsavory qualities with which to play it successfully. At present, however, the traditional crafty intrigues and double-crossings with which the pre-war aspirations of the Balkan states were pursued are obliged to give way to dire realities. Between the German drive to the East and Russia's efforts to

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execute the will of Peter the Great, the Balkan countries are facing the annihilation that threatens all minor states in the path of the dictators.

In this crisis the Balkan crazy-quilt disintegrates into its rather diverse units. Bulgaria, with 6,300,000 people of Ural-Altaic origin but speaking a Slav language, and Yugoslavia, with 15,000,000 Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes who have succeeded in settling their internal religious and cultural differences, are, in spite of their dictatorial regimes, basically democratic. Neither ever had an aristocracy, and their rulers, who are now yielding to German economic pressure, are certainly neither Fascist nor Nazi in their sympathies. Though Yugoslavia is literally being squeezed between the devil and the deep sea and Bulgaria expects support from Germany for its revisionist demand on Rumania, neither has adopted the Nazi ideology. Hungary and Rumania are in a more awkward position. They have no kinsfolk in Europe as their two neighbors have in the Russians. Both are ruled by a post-war bureaucracy combined in Rumania with what was left of the *boyars* after the agrarian reform and in Hungary with the impoverished gentry. Their aristocratic, feudal spirit is not popular with the Nazis, who are out to kill the "gentleman." To balance this factor the Hungarian government has proved most studious in imitating Nazi legislation and never misses a chance to declare its ardent love for the Axis.

King Carol of Rumania

Within the past month Rumania in its deadly peril attempted to outdo the Hungarian bid for Nazi favor. It turned explicitly "totalitarian" and promised to defend "Christian civilization," meaning Nazism, by means of Jew-baiting against the menacing Russian attack. As a token of his good-will Carol chose his Cabinet from those leaders of the Iron Guard who happened to survive last year's slaughter of their comrades. Nevertheless, it is uncertain against which of their partners the Nazis are going to protect their newest ally—a Russia aware of Germany's urgent need for the Ukraine granary or a Hungary eager to recover Transylvania with its 55 per cent Rumanian population. Since Germany is not so fatuous as to wage war in its own larder or gasoline station, it will probably cool the Hungarian fervor once again—perhaps by a promise to revise frontiers later on. There is every evidence that this is precisely what took place last week at the "little Munich" conference of German, Italian, and Hungarian leaders, although no official communiqué was issued.

On the other hand, it may be that the Russo-German showdown is really approaching. Stalin may decide that he cannot afford to wait until Hitler's legions, having crushed Great Britain, hurl themselves on the coveted Ukrainian paradise. When Hitler believes that the showdown with Russia is near, the Magyars will be permitted to act as a battering ram against the gate of the Russian granary. Why shouldn't Jonah have a treat before the German whale swallows him? Bulgaria, on the other hand, may have its share of the Dobrudja loot before being swallowed by the Russian whale.

It is impossible to say with any assurance at this point whether or not Germany and the Soviet Union have come to terms over the Balkans, but the question of an agreement is hardly important. It would do grave injustice to their respective ethical codes to presume that they would not violate any agreement at will. Thus far Turkey has been the connecting link between Russia and the Allies, but with Russia controlling the Danube estuary and making overtures in the direction of the Dardanelles, the Turkish position has become precarious. Italian naval bases in the Dodecanese Islands, which have been a factor in Turkish dependence on Moscow, add no little to the discomfort in Ankara.

Russia certainly does not need more territory. What it needs is safety. From whom? According to the Nazi press the Baltic and Bessarabian grabs were directed against the Allies. There are, however, so far as we know, no British armed forces in Scandinavia or Slovakia. And there is no indication that the Allies have an eye on the Ukraine. Meanwhile, Germany does everything to create the impression that if Russia lays claim to the Turkish city of Kars, formerly Russian, it will be less in order to protect the Baku-Batum pipeline than to launch an attack on British oil interests in Mosul and the Persian Gulf.

The Turks, who are still pro-Ally, are by no means taken in by this Nazi propaganda, but the continuing relations between Russia and Germany leave them in an awkward predicament. To yield to Russian pressure would appear to be siding with Germany; to refuse Russia's demands would not only entail serious risks at present but would make Turkey's position worse in the event of an ultimate German-Russian clash.

Bismarck's aim was to undermine Russian influence in the Balkans; Hitler's aims are more far-reaching. What looks to many people like the dusk of Western civilization will probably end the system of small Balkan sovereignties. Either they will be swallowed by their powerful neighbors or they will become members of a federation. Pessimists dread the first alternative; optimists still hope for the second.

Within the Gates

THAT the enemy within the gates may be as formidable as the enemy that storms them has been proved in the bloody history of Norway, the Low Countries, and France. But the people of the United States have not the slightest conception, yet, of the extent to which German agents and sympathizers have already paved the road for their Trojan horse in this country. Unlike most of the daily press, *The Nation* believes that the people can be trusted with the facts about fascism in America. We plan to publish a selection of material on Nazi and native fascist activities as frequently as events warrant. It will appear under the heading Within the Gates and will be based on the inquiries of various private agencies which have been investigating fascist groups in the United States.

No better introduction to this department can be given than the words of Adolf Hitler, whose malevolent genius created and sustains these enemies within. The excerpts printed below and taken from "The Voice of Destruction,"* by Hermann Rauschning, bring a sharp realization of the plans and methods with which we have to deal. They were spoken by Hitler himself in conversations with Dr. Rauschning.

> We shall have friends who will help us in all the enemy countries. We shall know how to obtain such friends. Mental confusion, contradiction of feeling, indecisiveness, panic; these are our weapons. . . .
>
> I am building up a great organization of my own. It costs a lot of money, but it gets things moving for me. I have drawn up a questionnaire covering details of the persons I am interested in. I am having a comprehensive card index compiled of every influential person in the world. The cards contain every detail of importance. Will he take money? Can he be bought in any other way? Is he vain? Is he sexual? In what way? Is he homosexual? That is of the utmost value, because it provides close associations that can never be escaped from. Has he anything in his past to conceal? Can he be subjected to pressure? What is his business? His hobby, his favorite sport, his likes and dislikes? Does he like travel? And so on. It is on the strength of these reports that I choose my men. That really is politics. I get hold of men who will work for me. I create a force of my own in every country. . . .
>
> There's no sense in attempting propaganda without adequate resources—on the contrary, it merely arouses opposition and achieves nothing. People have an entirely mistaken notion of what propaganda is. Open influencing of the masses is only one side of it, and a perfectly innocent side. The masses have got to be worked on, in order to prepare the ground. But the real problem is to get hold of prominent people, and whole sets. . . .
>
> The results at which I have to aim are only to be attained by systematic corruption of the possessing and governing classes. Business advantages, erotic satisfactions, and ambition, that is to say, the will to power, are the three main stops in our propaganda organ. . . .
>
> I am concerned with power politics—that is to say, I make use of all means that seem to me to be of service, without the slightest concern for the proprieties or for codes of honor. . . .
>
> I can no longer carry on politics in the style of the bourgeois democracies and monarchies of the nineteenth century, with their totally obsolete rules. . . .
>
> I am carrying on power politics, with the aid, if I choose, of naked, ruthless force, and what earthly difference can there be between using every means of trickery and misrepresentation and ordering my armies to march? One method is regarded as respectable, and, now and then, unhappily unavoidable between well-bred people; at the other, people throw up their hands in horror. Why? Such distinctions are moral fancies for old women. I certainly have an advantage over these bourgeois democrats in my freedom from pedantic and sentimental inhibitions. Am I to be so generous as to throw away this advantage, simply because my opponents have not progressed so far? . . .
>
> It is a good idea to have at least two German societies in every country. One of them can then always call attention to its loyalty to the country in question, and will have the function of fostering social and economic connections. The other one may be radical and revolutionary. It will have to be prepared to be frequently repudiated by myself and other German authorities. I want to make it quite clear, too, that *I make no distinction between German nationals and Germans by birth who are citizens of a foreign country.* Superficially we shall have to make allowances for such citizenship. *But it will be your special task to train all Germans, without distinction, unconditionally to place their loyalty to Germandom before their loyalty to the foreign state.*
>
> For me, success is the only criterion. The means are of no interest to me. But whoever opposes you should know that he has nothing more to expect from the German Reich. He will be outlawed for all time. And in due course he will reap the fruits of his treacherous attitude. . . .

It is useless to discuss the ruthless annihilation of all the moral standards of civilization implicit in these words. What is called for now is action, not analysis or debate. As a prelude to action, these quotations raise certain presumptions which the American people must get clearly in mind:

First, every German diplomatic or consular agent in the United States must be assumed to be actively engaged in efforts to undermine the government and institutions of the United States.

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* **Published by G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1940.**

Second, every German alien in this country—except refugees and those whose record proves the contrary—must be presumed to be doing everything within his power to undermine the United States.

Finally, all organizations which accept the Nazi "party line" must be looked upon as agencies of Hitler's fifth column, no matter how "American" may be their camouflage.

In future issues this department will tell its readers who these groups and individuals are, how many of them there seem to be, where they are located, and what they are doing. We shall also suggest measures to deal with dangers created by their activities.—EDITORS THE NATION.

Everybody's Business

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

The Price of Money

INTEREST is the price of money, and according to the classical economists it is subject like other prices to the law of supply and demand. "As the quantity of stock to be lent at interest increases," wrote Adam Smith, "the interest, or the price which may be paid for the use of that stock, necessarily diminishes. . . ." Extending this theory, his followers assumed that the rate of interest acted as a regulator of savings, so that when it declined as a result of a decreased demand for capital, the inducement to postpone consumption was weakened and the volume of funds available for loans contracted until a balance was reestablished.

For the past twenty years the trend of interest rates, both long and short term, has been downward. This was as true in the booming twenties, when there certainly was no lack of demand for private loans, as it was in the thirties, when the capital market was sustained, if not fortified, by an expansion in government borrowing. Yet the progressively smaller rewards offered appear not to have discouraged savers to any considerable degree, and in relation to current demand the supply of capital remains as large as ever.

This subject has recently been thoroughly explored in a book entitled "Whither Interest Rates?" by Harland H. Allen, the well-known investment counsel (Harper and Brothers, $2). The author does not attempt to give any definitive answer to his question, but he does offer a warning against too easy acceptance of the theory that interest-rate trends move in broadly consistent cycles and that, since the last peak in 1920 followed a twenty-year upswing, a reverse of the descending curve is now due.

Writers for the financial press are apt to dodge the problem presented by the unbalance between supply of and demand for capital by the easy method of blaming the government. But this explanation receives little support from Mr. Allen's detailed analysis of the many forces which shape the capital market. He points out, for instance, that the ratio of bank loans to deposits has been declining ever since 1921. In that year the figure was 74.4 per cent; by 1927 it had fallen to 65.7 per cent, by 1933 to 53.9 per cent, and by 1939 to 33.5 per cent. Up to 1929 the absolute volume of bank loans continued to expand, but it is significant that of the total increase of 10.5 billion dollars between 1920 and 1929 three-quarters was accounted for by loans on real estate and the rest by advances against securities, mainly for speculative purposes. That is to say, in a period of unprecedented industrial expansion there was no call by industry as a whole for additional bank credit.

Industry was able to dispense with the banks as a source of working capital because the general public, educated by the Liberty Loan campaigns, had become receptive to the idea of security buying. And as the boom rose to a crescendo and the notion spread that the stock exchanges provided a royal road to wealth, almost any nicely engraved piece of paper purporting to be a bond or share of stock could be sold. The profound disillusion which followed the 1929 collapse has been a major factor in the capital market ever since and one on which Mr. Allen might have laid more stress than he does. For the repercussions of this shock are at least as responsible as the actions of the Administration for the lack of confidence that promotes a constant search for risk-free investment and exercises so strong a pressure on interest rates.

The shortage of safe investments, other than government bonds, has been accentuated by the growing tendency of strong corporations to finance expansion from internal resources. In the booming capital market of the twenties industrial executives were able to build up their capital positions and free themselves from dependence on the banks. Now they seek to buttress their position further by regularly setting aside part of their profits to provide a fund for the expansion of plant or operations. That is to say, they take it upon themselves to "save" some of the income belonging to their stockholders, who are thus deprived of the right of deciding what portion of such income they wished to invest and where it should be invested. But there has been little protest, and, indeed, the practice has been encouraged by wealthy stockholders because it helps them to escape surtax payments.. For the national economy as a whole, however, the benefits of widespread self-financing of this type are questionable. Quite aside from the tax-dodging aspect is the fact that it permits an important volume of funds to be invested without undergoing the test of the market. Yet the whole rationale of a free capitalist economy depends on the regulatory functions of supply and demand exercised in open markets. From the circumvention of this test by small self-perpetuating groups of men controlling huge aggregations of capital to the totalitarian method of direction of investment by government fiat is but a short step.

There is little reason to believe that corporate methods of internal saving have been offset to any important extent by a decline in personal savings. As Mr. Allen points out, investable life-insurance assets, representing one of the principal forms of individual saving, increased just as much between 1929 and 1939 as they did between 1919 and 1929. They form the largest supply factor in the capital market, and their investment is confined to channels which are growing narrower. This is one of the pressures forcing up interest rates on high-grade securities, but although the consequent reduction in return has compelled insurance companies to offer less attractive terms than formerly, the demand for insurance protection shows few signs of slackening. Indeed, low interest rates act as an incentive to buyers of insurance who are attempting to build up a fund able to maintain their dependents at a given standard of living, for if only a 3 per cent return on capital is to be expected as compared to 5 or 6 per cent in the recent past, obviously a much larger principal sum is required. Eventually, of course, low interest rates may restrict income from capital to such an extent that the ability of its receivers to save may be impaired. This, as Mr. Allen suggests, is how interest acts as "nature's remedy." Unfortunately, its effect is being delayed by the attraction of government tax-exempts for our larger income owners.

In the Wind

A NEW SHIFT in the Communist position is definitely in the offing. Observers at the recent American Youth Congress saw signs of an anti-Hitler drift, and Communist leaders there confided that there would be a new, anti-Hitler twist but it would be "broken slowly."

ECHO OF CAPORETTO: An Italian Fascist newspaper recently carried this item: "In less than ten minutes Mussolini inspected the front and in a running step covered more than a mile."

ONE WEEK before the Democratic convention President Roosevelt said to a guest: "I'm an old and tired man."

PHIL MURRAY'S star is visibly rising in C. I. O. circles. The Automobile Workers' resolution urging a third term was a blow to Lewis, a victory for Murray. The vote was unanimous though the U. A. W. board includes a group heretofore staunchly pro-Lewis.

NEWSPAPER OFFICES have been flooded with circulars giving a list of alleged Communists on the staff of *PM*. *PM* attributes it to a rival circulation manager.

PRO-CAMACHO MEXICANS are resentful of the attention paid to Almazán in the United States press. Some twenty American correspondents spent Election Day with Almazán, going from booth to booth in Mexico City. This, it is claimed, largely accounts for the general impression in the States that Almazán was the popular hero of the day.

THE POLICE haven't caught the perpetrators of the bomb outrage in the British Pavilion at the World's Fair. But they are busy tracking down and questioning "radicals." Among those so far investigated is Jay Allen, well-known foreign correspondent. Mr. Allen was questioned by Officers Shea and Egan, who told him he was under suspicion because he had been a speaker at a dinner on April 25 to raise money for Spanish refugees. Apparently the police don't know it, but that dinner was to celebrate the "purification" of the Refugee Committee after the withdrawal of Communists and Communist sympathizers.

[We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind. A prize of $5 will be awarded each month for the best item.]

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More than a War

From the very start the present world conflict has been more than a war. What is happening today is something close to a world revolution. Not the struggle from below which the Marxists have for a century envisaged. That revolution missed fire. Right now the radicals have become conservative, the reactionaries of the world have become its revolutionaries.

MAX LERNER

in a series of three articles takes stock of America's democratic convictions at a time when the people are disillusioned and bewildered. Here is a sober evaluation of the things America stands for and of our ability to organize society for humanist ends.

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BOOKS *and the* ARTS

History as Fiction

WORLD'S END. By Upton Sinclair. Viking Press. $3.

LANNY BUDD, the young hero of Upton Sinclair's story of a world that was busy digging its grave long before Munich, reached his maturity in the decade of the First World War. In other words, he grew up in a period when young men—in literature, at least—were generally in the throes of agonizing, and always intense. Lanny Budd learned about life in the era of Compton MacKenzie's feverish dalliance in Sinister Street, when Joyce's Stephen Dedalus was preoccupied with remorse over masturbation, when Rupert Brooke was busy celebrating his love of white plates and cups clean-gleaming, when Scott Fitzgerald's Amory Blaines were becoming achingly disillusioned with their Rosalinds and Isabels, when Jack London's Martin Eden was voraciously preparing himself for suicide by attempting the exhausting feat of gobbling a college education in two months' time. But with all this evidence of spiritual embroilment and turmoil going on around him, Lanny Budd remained cool as a fish on ice. He practiced Dalcroze eurythmics, and he saw Isadora Duncan plain, yet he wasted no passion on aesthetics. He was an accomplished tennis player and swimmer, yet athletics failed to engross him. He met Anatole France, yet never attained enough conviction about the tears of things to become a youthful ironist. He studied the great French playwrights, but refused to become really immersed in the theater. He admired his business-man father, yet was never convinced of the glories of competition—or monopoly. Finally, he talked with syndicalists and Marxists without ever becoming—even for a secret moment—either a revolutionist or a Fabian approximation thereof.

With such a low-keyed protagonist to follow through the mazes of history, one might well expect a dull eight or ten hours of reading. The surprising thing about Lanny Budd, however, is that he makes an interesting book. For the proper elaboration of his thesis—which is the collapse of a whole society—Upton Sinclair needs an all-seeing eye, not a dramatic hero, and Lanny Budd is the seeing eye *par excellence.* The illegitimate son of an arms merchant and a loving artist's model who knows how to get on in Great Company, Lanny is strategically placed to witness all sorts of skulduggery, to see how the wheels turn and how the skids are greased. Although he was born in France, Lanny is too much an American to become part of French life. But when he goes to live in New England, in the Connecticut manufacturing town that is practically the private property of Budd, Gunmakers, Lanny is too "foreign" to fall in with the "normal" routine of American adolescence. Lanny is an old-young man, fated by circumstances to look on while others do the participating. The freak of chance that makes him secretary to one of the American "experts" at the Peace Conference leading up to the Treaty of Versailles is quite in keeping with everything that has gone before.

If you want an easy, fairly encyclopedic history of the World War period, with side glances at London slums, New England picket lines, the New York theater, a castle in Silesia, and the foreshore of the Côte d'Azur, "World's End" serves its purpose. But it is not fiction in the finest sense of the word; there is practically no interaction of character, no intense plumbing of the *personal,* even as it is affected by the sociological. The "real" people that walk in and out of the narrative—George Herron, Lincoln Steffens, Sir Basil Zaharoff, Adolf Berle, Woodrow Wilson, Clemenceau—are precisely on a footing with Lanny Budd—which is pretty good indication that Sinclair is more interested in the story of what caused the war and wrecked the peace than he is in Lanny Budd's adolescent ventures and gropings. We are told that Lanny suffered because of two love affairs, one with an English girl, one with a young actress in New England, but the suffering is never very vivid. Clemenceau's growling over Wilson's Presbyterian conscience is twice as impassioned as Lanny's first seduction. It is that kind of novel—and if you want to hear Clemenceau growl you will like "World's End."

So far as interpretation goes, "World's End" is convincing up to a point. In the absence of scientific controls, one can "prove" that capitalist imperialism and the competition of munitions kings "caused" the fury of 1914-18. I once believed that Upton Sinclair's socialist diagnosis of our troubles was sufficiently documented to stand until a better one came along. But having watched Communists, Social Democrats, Anarchists, Fascists, and old-fashioned capitalists all compete for power in recent years, I can no longer comfort myself with the theory that Marxism explains anything very fundamental. With or without "capitalism," with or without "merchants of death," the human animal seems disposed to fight when he covets something his neighbor keeps him from attaining. I am aware that such an observation is hardly profound, but neither is Mr. Sinclair's analysis; and perhaps both of us had better begin all over again by going to anthropology, psychology, and geography for some new and better evidence.

JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

Study of a Culture

MODERN FRENCH PAINTERS. By R. H. Wilenski. Reynal and Hitchcock. $6.

IN Mr. Wilenski's earlier writings the groundwork of his aesthetic has sometimes loomed larger than the works under consideration. "Modern French Painters" is built on a different plan. It is true that what may be called the allusive content of the book is great; every page shows the general context of ideas. But this monumental and engrossing volume is packed with concrete portrayals: it is these, so broadly spread, which make its character. Its arrangement is schematic, with divisions into prefaces—special and generalized, for the student and the lay reader—into prologues, "acts" as in a play, biographies which appear in sequence, and interludes. This framework keeps the immense amount of detail in tether. The inclusion of a summary of a play by Rousseau le Douanier in an appendix is indicative of the many foliations; and the complexly ordered pattern contains not only a minutely interpretative discussion of individual paintings and of the periods of work of individual artists but, above all, intellectual and social settings that are almost scenic.

Perhaps in no other work do artists assume so completely a living place in the society to which they belonged. It is not that Mr. Wilenski has stressed the so-called "social content" of art or has made a theme of the relationship of the artist to society. Indeed, many of these painters—Cézanne, Lautrec, Seurat, and the rest—were conspicuously detached from society both in their way of painting and in their way of living. But here—and the achievement is immense—they are not observed in a vacuum, as too often happens in this field, or only in their specialized environment, but as individuals moving in and out of great scenes. At times the inclusion of the panoramic becomes mechanical, appearing with the regularity of a Greek chorus, yet for the most part this is strongly interwoven into the substance of the book, with the result that a whole culture is presented—French culture from 1863 to the present day.

This volume demands the reader's immersion in it. Curiously enough the artists become somewhat diminished as individuals within their broad period. The small personal idiosyncrasies, of which so much has often been made, are no less sharp but they appear in perspective, and the works come forward as we read of them or see them generously interleaved within the book, which is as it should be.

CONSTANCE ROURKE

The Case for England

EMPIRE ON THE SEVEN SEAS: THE BRITISH EMPIRE, 1784-1939. By James Truslow Adams. Charles Scribner's Sons. $3.50.

THIS second and concluding volume of Mr. Adams's story of the British Empire covers the period between the American Revolution and the outbreak of the present war. It deals with the subject textbook fashion, and really manages to pack into some 350 pages an incredible number of facts about England at home and Britain abroad. The book bears evidence of a lack of careful planning. There is too much at the start and too little at the finish. The last forty years of British history is crowded into the last fifty pages. We should like to have heard more about the era of railroad building which played a part in early Victorian England comparable with the part played by the automobile industry in twentieth-century America. We should certainly like to have heard more about the Lloyd George budget of 1909, which was probably the shrewdest blow ever dealt in England to the landed interests. And we ought to have had something about the widely extended control of business and agriculture in England during the last two decades, much of which supplied the pattern for our own New Deal. The fact of the matter is that Mr. Adams, intent to say a little about everything, manages to say very little about anything, and virtually nothing at all about some very weighty matters. He did not intend to write a textbook, and yet we fear that there is too much of the textbook in his manner of presentation to arouse much interest in the general reader.

His purpose is clearly enough set forth in his Preface. It has direct reference to the present crisis. He sees Hitler and Stalin as the great enemies of that "type of Western civilization which Europe and America have slowly achieved during centuries." And he sees England as its great defender. Certainly from this point of view the book is a timely one. Just now, when democracy is fighting for its very life, we need to consider once again the development of a people who, whatever their faults, have been the stoutest champions of human freedom in the European world. The pity of it is that with the best of intentions Mr. Adams has done his subject something less than justice. The basic trends which the history of Britain reveals are steady progress toward a government based upon the consent of the governed, toward a culture based upon the maximum amount of freedom of speech and thought and action, toward an economic and social order based upon the greatest good to the greatest number. Taken as a whole it is a stirring and an inspiring story, but it is not an easy story to tell because there are so few dramatic figures in it, so few dramatic episodes. There is no English Napoleon, no English Cavour, no English Bismarck. England itself moves forward, and the direction of its progress is determined rather by the outcome of a whole series of trials and errors than by the careful planning of any one man or group of men.

We wish that Mr. Adams had given us some appraisal of modern Britain in these terms. It would have been inevitably partisan, but no more partisan than his Preface, and hardly more partisan than all contemporary history is bound to be. We wish he had stated frankly the case for England in terms of its evolution without bothering so much about textbook matters. For it is a strong case and it needs to be stated, particularly just now when there is a disposition abroad to extenuate the bloody tyranny of the dictators on the ground that the English are no better.

CONYERS READ

Spirit and Sense

THIS IS OUR OWN. By Marie De L. Welch. The Macmillan Company. $1.25.

A TURNING WIND. By Muriel Rukeyser. The Viking Press. $2.

SONG IN THE MEADOW. By Elizabeth Madox Roberts. The Viking Press. $2.

THE impression conveyed by "This Is Our Own" is not unlike that of trying to carry on a conversation with someone who is taking care of a child. Miss Welch comments on the animals and their ways and points out in nature what a child might not see unless it were brought to its notice. She shows how grass burns brown in summer, grows green in autumn. She tells the story of how Adam, naming the beasts, came with surprise on Eve. She is cheery and harassed. There are little counsels to courage and a constant demonstration of the obvious. What she has to say to an adult listener seems under the circumstances almost an interruption, though when there is a chance she displays both charm and sagacity. That something of the child should remain in a poet is, we have been told, good; but that poetry should be addressed with such blithe confidence to what is most childish in the reader is not so recommendable.

Where Miss Welch's poetry is confined by its own simplicity, the sophistication of Miss Rukeyser's allows her no restraint. She has gone over America, a crude country "whose form is unquietness"; west she has gone, then south:

> seeing the distance of false capes ahead
> feeling the tide-following and turning wind traveling farther
>
> under abrasive weather, to the bronzy river,
> the rust, the brown, the terrible dead swamps,
> the hanging moss the color of all the hanged.

And having covered the continent, she is stayed by neither coast. She knows of China and in "A Turning Wind" crosses the Atlantic and sweeps, insatiably curious, through a decayed Europe, past England, toward Spain, noting as she goes both the living and the dead. But though she follows the prevailing currents of the air, there is little in Miss Rukeyser to suggest a natural force. Her poetry is put together and expertly welded, after the latest models, a product indeed of skill, but even more of an ambitious will. It is primarily a means of getting about; it might be the propeller of a plane that makes this sound of the wind. This is, perhaps, as it must be. For Miss Rukeyser, in more ways than one, reminds us of what Gide said of Aldous Huxley: she is intelligent, but all her problems lie outside her. She must go to meet them, for otherwise she would miss all emotion.

Her life is in her eyes, the light in them disillusioned. Her powers of observation are remarkable. In line after line she has shown with what alertness and acuteness she can survey the contemporary scene. The lines accumulate, like a tourist's postcards, but what they add up to we never know. The moment of proof—to use her own phrase—never comes. The meaning is missing. Miss Rukeyser's poetry proceeds from the intelligence and is itself unintelligible. And this, in a poet, almost always means one thing: that the emotion has not been adequate to the experience.

In the first of her elegies, Rotten Lake, there is but comment on a situation that is never created by the poem. It is not impossible to make out what the situation is, for the poem certainly comes out of an experience in love which has proved unhappy and brought, as is so often the case with the young, more disappointment than unhappiness. This is the Rotten Lake, as the river which recurs through the elegy stands for the life of the family which must be left behind when one approaches love "hoping for wonders." But neither river nor lake is a symbol. They are simply words substituted for other words. For though Miss Rukeyser is aware that symbols may become "sources of power," she believes in them only as a student might, that is to say, with the mind. She does not believe in them sensuously. The consequence is that they have in her writing no imaginative reality. If we contrast her practice with that of Yeats, who was, as we know from his prose, often skeptical of his symbols intellectually and yet, when he came to write his poems, always believed in them as we believe in the body of a person we love, we can understand why, with all her gifts, Miss Rukeyser succeeds in writing, not poetry, but only a sort of ambitious and cryptic rhetoric.

Today the whole world impinges on the mind, and Miss Rukeyser's poems, being products of mind and will, can in an abstract way encompass the world. Miss Roberts has, apparently, never left her grandmother's chair. She is more limited in her material and in her own right much richer than either of the other two poets I have discussed. She is countrified and conscious, her countryside real and her consciousness rarefied. She has rendered as no one before her has done the sights and sounds and smells of the particular portion of the border South which she inhabits. It is a land richly endowed and constantly "renewed in the giving." Her poetry is like it, proudly provincial, composed of local recollections, its battles old and local, while through it runs as through that region the sound of old hymns and older ballads. Miss Roberts delights in her sensuous knowledge and no more trusts what is known through the senses than Bishop Berkeley did.

> I draw my sight in when I sleep
> I gather back my word and call.
> I take my senses from the air
> And wind them in a little ball.
>
> I curl them in a lonely ball
> And wind them in a lonely mesh.
> I fold it over with my dream
> And wind it round and round with flesh.

If there is something here of the oddity of a distinguished mind in a remote setting, there is also the touch of a hand which, itself slight, exquisite, and skilled, can take up nothing without knowing that it has long been worn and warmed by common hands. Miss Roberts writes as though she had never been out of Kentucky, nor needed to look beyond its borders, having found within them life enough for endless meditation. Kentucky is a state where living had, certainly down to Miss Roberts's childhood, an uncommon continuity. And it is scarcely to be doubted that much of what she writes is made up of childish memories and even of things that happened before her day. "Song in the Meadow" has the feel of an older America than any now extant, I am afraid, even in her own Kentucky. Even there the world penetrates, not merely to the mind but to the senses. Corbin the cobbler has many smells on him, leather, tanbark, rosin, turpentine, but one of them comes from the way he was gassed in the Argonne. But that penetration, threatening as it is, has only strengthened her conviction that politics, like poetry, is all the better for beginning with something small—like people.

> One man cannot make a song.
> One man cannot make a state.
>
> A theory, a Plan, a technique, is not a state.
> A technique established by a tyrant is not a state.
> Thus: it will never be a state.
>
> States are made as songs are made.

Miss Roberts is certain that if you want to know what man is, you can start anywhere. She has started at home. "You can never escape God's great flood. Death is only a part of it. You can never escape God's great flood." Miss Roberts has not escaped it. But neither has she been submerged by it. She has simply made her choice for high ground, where she is in no danger of being drowned.

JOHN PEALE BISHOP

RECORDS

THE Columbia University Bookstore has issued two notable ten-inch records. One is a coupling of a Kyrie by Francesco Durante and a Crucifixus by Antonio Lotti, both very beautiful (104, $1); the other offers Giovanni Maria Nanino's "Diffusa est gratia," also very beautiful, the brief "To My Humble Supplication" from the Genevan Psalter (1543), and Palestrina's "Exaltabo Te, Domine," which I find less interesting (103, $1). These are excellently sung by the Columbia University Choir under Lowell P. Beveridge; and the recording is remarkable in its fidelity, spaciousness, and balance. The records sound best with treble on the phonograph reduced; and this will also reduce the occasional distortion from overloading that is the one fault in recording, and that is worst in the Crucifixus.

Another of the series of superb jazz performances recorded by the small Muggsy Spanier group, "At Sundown" (Bluebird 10719), is at hand, with ensembles and solos—particularly the piano solo of Joe Bushkin—that make it easily the finest of recent jazz records. Other good ones include the Coleman Hawkins "Bouncing with Bean" (Bluebird 10693), with an exciting piano solo by Gene Rodgers, and good playing by Benny Carter, Danny Polo, and J. C. Higginbotham; the Joe Sullivan "Solitude" (Vocalion 5531), with excellent ensemble spirit and good solos by Ed Anderson and Benny Morton; the Buster Bailey "Chained to a Dream" (Vocalion 5510), also with fine ensemble quality and good solo bits that include an outstanding half-chorus on muted trumpet—by Charlie Shavers, I would guess; the Lionel Hampton "Save It Pretty Mama" (Victor 26595), with good work by Toots Mondello, Ziggy Elman, Bud Johnson, and Spencer Odon. Moderately good are the Dicky Wells "Hangin' Around the Boudon" (Victor 26617), with Wells, Bill Coleman, and Django Reinhardt; the Joe Marsala coupling of "Wandering Man Blues," with Coleman and the singer Dell St. John, and "Salty Mama Blues," with Marsala and Pete Brown (General Records 1717). Marsala, Brown, and St. John are good in "Three O'Clock Jump" (General 3001); and Brown does well in "Reunion in Harlem" on the reverse side of this twelve-incher, but Marsala manages only to blow a lot of notes. Characteristic and enjoyable are the Count Basie "Somebody Stole My Gal" (Columbia 35500) and the Johnny Hodges "Skunk Hollow Blues" (Vocalion 5533); the Benny Goodman Sextet "Boy Meets Goy" (Columbia 35482) is a sort of boogie-woogie "Pick-a-Rib" which works up considerable excitement; and the Joe Sullivan "I Can't Give You Anything but Love" (Vocalion 5496) I mention because Joe Turner is some people's idea of something wonderful in singing, and his vocal is my idea of something monstrous.

To turn now to books—Arthur Tillman Merritt's "Sixteenth-Century Polyphony" (Harvard University Press, $3) is an excellent exposition of the materials and practices of the music of Palestrina, Victoria, Byrd, and others of that period. Like R. O. Morris's "Contrapuntal Technique in the Sixteenth Century" (Oxford) it has the basic excellence that its statements are derived from, and illustrated by, the music of these composers; and if you ask in astonishment what else the statements should be derived from, that will mean you haven't studied counterpoint and other theoretical subjects as I and countless unfortunates did—from textbooks of whose rules Morris writes: "Who invented them, goodness only knows; why they have been perpetuated, it passes the wit of man to explain. Music written to meet their requirements is something altogether *sui generis*. . . . 'Music that never was on sea or land.'" Morris's "Structure of Music" (Oxford), incidentally, is a little book about musical forms which I recommend to the reader with an interest in the subjest, and with the equipment he needs for it. For this book, too, is a summary of composers' practice that is illustrated by constant reference to their works; and Morris himself warns that unless the reader is able to turn from the statements in the book to the music they refer to—things like the fugues of Bach, the sonatas and symphonies of Mozart and Beethoven—the book will have little interest or value for him.

As for the book that has been on everyone's tongue, "Information, Please" demands of Mr. Levant what he is equipped to give—a quick, sharp-witted response to the situation of a moment; but a book—or even a chapter in a book—demands powers of sustained and integrated thinking which he doesn't possess. In "A Smattering of Ignorance," then, called on to tell us about the ways of orchestras and conductors, or about music in the movies, or about American composers, he tells us every funny story he can remember and every wisecrack he can think up. And of the result one may say that a few spontaneous and clever cracks in the course of a half-hour are more successful than a couple of hours of uninterrupted and often labored humor; and that while he manages in his own way to tell us a few things about orchestras and conductors, about movie music, about American composers, he is far from telling us all that needs to be told. Thus, he does an expert job of conveying the personal viciousness of some of the composers, but fails to understand even himself how phony the arguments are with which they have browbeaten the public into taking them seriously.

B. H. HAGGIN

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Letters to the Editors

[*Since Mr. Villard's resignation many* Nation *readers have written us letters either expressing agreement with his views or upholding our stand on the necessity of military preparedness and a stout resistance to the spread of fascism. In answer to several inquiries we wish to emphasize the fact that Mr. Villard resigned entirely of his own volition. We print below excerpts from a number of the letters, representing the opinion of both camps.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

Congratulations! For some time I have been conducting a desultory controversy with Mr. Villard over his inconsistent semi-non-resistance. The phrase "measures short of war and that will not lead to war" sounds well, but is nebulous thinking. Any "measure," however legal, will lead to war if you are not well armed. But for our navy and our war potential Hitler would have ordered us to suppress Oswald Garrison Villard.

I still call myself a pacifist, as I have done for over forty years, in the liberal sense of the term—an advocate of the peace spirit and of organized peace. But the time may come when gangsters' rule in city, nation, or world has to be put down; and if gangsters will not surrender to reason, our sole resort is force.

We are still—partly—sane; it is for liberals like you to keep us sane, even though we should have to go through the madness of war. No capitulation to the dictators; but no capitulation either to the dictatorial spirit at home. If we, too, have to use planes, tanks, and guns, let it be with a difference. The line can and must be drawn; and it must be drawn *now.* ALBERT GUERARD

Stanford University, Cal.

I want to record my support for the position taken by Oswald Garrison Villard in protesting against *The Nation's* belief that war offers a solution of any of the fundamental problems of the world. The editors should recall the slogans and patter of 1917 vividly enough to see that we are merely repeating that performance. I am certain that the vast majority of Americans of all political faiths, except perhaps those few who are attached to a foreign ideology, are vigorously opposed to our involvement in the war. And I am convinced that they are opposed to our involvement by indirect means, such as the "protection" of the islands off our shores.

It is a simple business to be a liberal and a pacifist in time of peace; the real test comes when mass hysteria is aroused and when it is far from popular to go against the herd instinct. But that is just the time—and I fear it is here now—when men of intelligence should remain steadfast to their fundamental principles. PAUL COMLY FRENCH

Germantown, Pa.

Ever since 1920 I have been a great admirer of *The Nation* and particularly of Oswald Garrison Villard. But something has happened to him in recent times. His last few Issues and Men have nearly caused me to despair of human reason, and so it is best that his valedictory appears now.

May I voice my great respect and deep appreciation for such articles as Escape and Appeasement by Freda Kirchwey and An End to Illusions by Reinhold Niebuhr.

New York SAMUEL FISCHER

I never write fan mail, but I want to congratulate Freda Kirchwey for her comment on Oswald Garrison Villard's valedictory. It had power, vigor, and meaning, and pointed sharply to the contrast between the old and the new era. Unlike Mr. Villard I am not fearful of *The Nation's* future. I am encouraged and hopeful.

REBECCA HOURWICH REYHER

New York

Will you allow me, as a former contributor to *The Nation,* to express my regret that Mr. Villard is severing his connections with the journal so long enriched by his thought and animated by his spirit. No living journalist has championed so many noble causes with such distinction and effectiveness. Long may he continue to set forth those great ideals, including that of peace for America, to which he has dedicated his life. PRESERVED SMITH

Ithaca, N. Y.

Everyone who knows *The Nation* knows that it is the enduring outcome of Mr. Villard's far-reaching humane genius. But it seems to me that you realize what perhaps he cannot—that the policy of complete tolerance is now as obsolete for *The Nation* as for states and individuals. Juggernaut brutality, to which no force derived from honor or decency can appeal, can no longer be disregarded. Were we to continue to ignore this fact, we should add the seal of our approval to the ignominy and suffering of every nation on earth. The duties from which we thought ourselves exempt have fallen upon us. If they entail an earlier death, it will not be death with a bound heart. This is better, too, for our children, and their children, who might become so immunized by selfishness to the contemplation of any sacrifice that they would let the last light go out.

GENEVIEVE W. MASON

Fairfield, Conn.

I have just read Mr. Villard's valedictory with a real sense of loss and sorrow. I have been moved by its quiet dignity and by what to me, at least, seemed its unanswerable arguments.

After reading it I turned to Freda Kirchwey's Escape and Appeasement. I found it difficult to believe that she had read Mr. Villard's article. Certainly nothing he said denies the facts presented by Miss Kirchwey. Apparently people who do not agree with her in regard to the method to be used for dealing with these facts "inhabit a dream world"—"choose not to be concerned." The method which Miss Kirchwey urges is recognized by most pacifists as a valid one. It is a method which those who are supposed to be living in a "dream world" are able to appreciate, even if they do not agree with it.

It is nothing less than a tragedy that Mr. Villard's valedictory should come at the beginning of this new World War, and that his thousands of friends and admirers among the readers of *The Nation* cannot have the benefit of his interpretation of the facts.

DOROTHY DETZER

Washington, D. C.

Although I do not agree with Mr. Villard's views about the lack of need for defense and preparedness, I share his deep sense of indignation and betrayal at the present war-like attitude of *The Nation.*

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going to war. The first is the wish to carry on a moral crusade against fascism. Anyone who feels that this war is such a crusade has a perfect right to fight in it himself or to give his fortune to those whom he believes are fighting it. However, he has not the right to urge this country to enter the war. The second is to defend this country. We ought to defend ourselves and prepare to do so against any threatened invasion of our country or the Panama Canal. But we are not entitled to go to war or to run a serious risk of so doing in order to prevent a future threat as yet unmade.

I appreciate the strong emotions which must influence the editors. However, I regret that those emotions have led them to take a position directly contrary to all that *The Nation* has stood for since I began to read it twenty years ago. JOSIAH WILLARD
New York

I should like to express my complete agreement with Freda Kirchwey's editorial entitled Escape and Appeasement. The spirit of Mr. Villard's valedictory, as well as of his other articles since returning from Europe, is completely incomprehensible to me. Mr. Villard is evidently either living in a world that never existed or else he is consciously or unconsciously sympathetic to the totalitarian powers. When he writes that "war was never anything else than the sum of all villainies," he seems to forget that there come times when war is the only alternative to slavery and degradation. J. LOUIS WARM
Cincinnati, Ohio

Miss Kirchwey performed a highly necessary operation with skill and great kindness.
HENDRIK WILLEM VAN LOON
Old Greenwich, Conn.

The Nation has climbed on the bandwagon and, by the law of cause and effect, has lost Mr. Villard. Mr. Villard has never used the bandwagon as a means of transportation. In that fact lay his unique value to his readers. The minority has lost its most eloquent champion. Where are we to turn?

No one can say that Mr. Villard is unaware of the grievous danger confronting us in this hour. His was one of the first voices to be raised against the policies of Chamberlain, and for a long time he has been warning us that we are not getting value received for the billions spent for national defense. Universal military training is not the first requisite but the last in our program of national defense. And when it comes, no amount of rationalizing can make it a democratic program.

It may be that this country is in such peril that we must sacrifice individual freedom. Or it may be that democracy is not worth saving, since it cannot find means for its salvation that are not totalitarian. In either case, there are still some in this land who had hoped that *The Nation* would be among the last to fall before the common hysteria and who are filled with sadness to find it throwing overboard its distinguished heritage. SHEILA HOLDEN
Akron, Ohio

Mr. Villard's valedictory was a great disappointment to many readers of *The Nation*. It is astonishing that a great liberal journalist can so shut his mind to what is going on in the world today, and obstinately adhere to his old philosophy. Miss Kirchwey was being very generous when she said that he lives in a dream world. Rather than admit that there is a limit even to pacifism, Mr. Villard argues that we are in no danger from Hitler. It is true that his views represent "a danger more present than fascism." Those are wise words, and I feel certain that the great majority of *The Nation's* readers will agree with you. ABRAHAM WOLFSON
Miami Beach, Fla.

It was with extreme regret that I read Oswald Garrison Villard's valedictory. Surely the attitude of the editors of *The Nation* toward the present European struggle would not prevent them from publishing the column of a writer of differing opinions, especially when that writer is of Mr. Villard's caliber. We almost feel that we have a right to expect America's most prominent liberal weekly to practice liberalism in its own editorial offices. I can only hope that Mr. Villard's Valedictory may be converted into a Recommencement.
CONWELL M. RICHARDSON
Waitsfield, Vt.

To my regret *The Nation* has become simply the editorials of the New York *Times* reprinted on pink paper. It is the voice of yesterday, not of tomorrow. I hope you will soon realize what is stirring in the minds of our ablest college men of today and speak of the future. Mr. Villard has leaped a generation and is right up to the minute. Please put on a better speed and try to catch up with him. You shouldn't train with the reactionaries.
FLETCHER D. PARKER
Hartford, Conn.

Such articles as Oswald Garrison Villard's valedictory frighten me, too. It seems incredible that fine intellects can be so lost in their emotions and wishful thinking. The one great encouraging thing for democracy is that oozy, compromising, mealy-mouthed politicians had to give way to We Want Willkie.
ANNIE NATHAN MEYER
Woods Hole, Mass.

I want to express my thanks to Freda Kirchwey for her reply to Oswald Garrison Villard. I doubt that the case could be better put. Such a statement was sorely needed, and coming from *The Nation* it should be influential.
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The Shape of Things

HOW FAR THE LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRIES will go toward meeting the proposals for common action outlined by Secretary Hull in his opening address at the Havana conference remains to be seen. Representatives of the Pétain government of France have joined Nazi agents in whispered assurances that Germany has no intention of forcing a change in the status of French, Dutch, or Danish possessions in this hemisphere. There is danger that some of the South American countries, influenced in part by the prospect of substantial Nazi orders at the close of the war, may prefer to believe these assurances. But the mere fact that the Pétain regime has associated itself with the Nazis in this propaganda effort should give pause. For German penetration on this continent can come without the cession of any American territory to the Reich. Puppet governments that are wholly subservient to Germany in these European-held American territories would provide a base for Nazi economic, political, and even military encroachment. This threat must be met realistically and fearlessly. But if the United States is to avoid the charge of imperialism, any action that is taken must represent the joint will of the twenty-one American republics. And this can be achieved only if the United States overcomes the very understandable hesitation of those South American countries whose ties are closest with Europe by offering economic terms that are attractive enough to offset Nazi proposals. The half-billion dollars requested by the President may not be enough for this purpose, but it is a hopeful beginning. So also is the emphasis placed by Mr. Hull and other delegates on the importance of raising the standard of living. Even a modest rise in average Latin American income would help to solve the problem of surpluses.

*

FRANCO'S SPAIN IS DRAWING NEARER THAN ever to the Axis powers. It claims the status of a "non-belligerent" ally of Germany and Italy, but there are reasons to suspect that the frequent air raids on Gibraltar are being facilitated by the use of Spanish bases. If these attacks develop into an attempt to lay siege to "the Rock," Spain will have to cast off its threadbare neutrality, and Franco's propagandists are already preparing public opinion for that day. Meanwhile, Franco is playing the role for which he was cast long ago by his fascist backers—that of Axis agent in Latin America. In many countries south of our border Falangist groups closely linked with the Spanish government party are increasingly active. Of great significance also was last week's breaking off of diplomatic relations with Chile, one of the few Latin American countries with a liberal, democratic administration. This move was undoubtedly made in consultation with Berlin and Rome and was probably designed to encourage Chilean reactionaries in their hostility to the government of President Aguirre Cerda. Recent arrests have shown a close connection between local fascist groups and the Nazi Party, which is strongly intrenched in southern Chile, where there is a very large population of German origin. According to Russell B. Porter, whose dispatches to the New York *Times* have given a revealing picture of German activities in Chile, there are good reasons to fear an attempted coup whenever Berlin gives the signal. It would hardly be surprising if this followed the Spanish model of an ostensibly "spontaneous" revolt against the Popular Front government. Let us hope that our government has thoroughly digested the lessons of Spain and is prepared to move swiftly against any attempt by the Axis powers to repeat their tactics in this hemisphere.

*

A WORKING AGREEMENT ON MONETARY policies has been reached between the treasuries of the United States and Great Britain. For the duration of the war London sterling is to be maintained at its controlled rate of $4.03 with the cooperation of the American authorities. This is a protection to American trade, since sterling in a free market would be likely to depreciate heavily, making it easier for British exporters to compete in Latin America. On the other hand, it would have increased the cost of necessary imports to the British government. Another aspect of the understanding concerns bank balances and securities in this country belong-

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ing to governments and citizens of countries conquered or dominated by Germany. These funds, estimated at roughly $2,270,000,000, are to remain frozen for the time being. Withdrawals will only be permitted under license from the Treasury, which will not be granted in cases where the dollar proceeds might fall into German hands. This would occur when the owner is a resident of a country occupied by the Nazis, since they have ordered that all transfers from abroad be made through the Reichsbank, which not only charges a fat fee but retains the foreign-exchange proceeds and pays out in local currency. There remains the delicate question of transfers to unoccupied France; this will become acute if and when the Pétain government demands the right to draw on its very large balances in this country. It would then be up to the State Department to decide whether the new French regime should be recognized as fully independent or whether it should be treated as dominated by Germany. Owing to the British blockade France is not able to use its dollars to finance purchases in America. It may therefore be taken for granted that any French funds released would get into German hands and be used for financing propaganda here and in Latin America.

*

BRITAIN'S SURRENDER ON THE BURMA ROAD now appears to have been even more indefensible than was first indicated. Chungking denies that any effort has been made, as was alleged in London, to link the closing of the road with mediation of the Chinese-Japanese conflict. This is just as well in present circumstances, for any such effort would play into Japan's hands by freeing its war machine for the long-anticipated adventure in the South Seas. However, Secretary Hull's plea that the road be kept open for trade between the United States and China, reiterated on a second occasion, made it clear that the agreement was not reached in collaboration with the United States. It is true, as Mr. Churchill stressed before the Commons, that the agreement is a temporary one which will have little immediate effect, since the road is virtually impassable during the rainy season. But there is little reason to suppose that what Mr. Churchill admits to be a play for time will work to the advantage of either China or England. Already the new Japanese government has served notice that it intends to press for even more rigorous restrictions on trade with China when the present agreement expires. The Churchill government's decision to appease Japan may weaken somewhat its good-will in this country. But criticism should, perhaps, be directed in the first place to our own State Department. Mr. Hull's condemnation would have had greater force if it had come before the British made their decision and if he had given them real diplomatic support in resisting Japan's demands.

PRINCE KONOYE HAS ANNOUNCED THE completion of Japan's first outright totalitarian Cabinet. The Cabinet itself, apart from the Premier, Foreign Minister, and representatives of the two services, is composed of men practically unknown in political life. But it rests undisguisedly upon the ultra-patriotic army extremists who have been seeking power for nearly ten years. Although these groups have had strong representation in previous governments, they have been carefully counterbalanced by representatives of the old-line political parties. The party system is now to be superseded by a single, fascist party headed by Prince Konoye. With the elimination of all moderate elements Japan may be expected to pursue a foreign policy that is aggressive to the point of recklessness. This will involve a revival of Japan's former close collaboration with the Axis but not necessarily formal entrance into Europe's war.

*

FOR THE MOMENT, TEMPORARY AGREEMENTS having been reached with France and England, the new government's drive appears to be directed primarily against the United States. Wang Ching-wei's puppet government has issued an order for the expulsion from Shanghai of six prominent Americans known to be actively anti-Japanese and anti-fascist. A brawl between a group of American sailors and Japanese policemen at Tsingtao has been magnified for the purpose of bringing pressure on the United States. To meet this new challenge the State Department is reliably reported to be considering an embargo on scrap iron and some other raw materials to Japan under the May Defense Expediting Act. *The Nation*, in accord with an overwhelming majority of Americans, has long advocated such a step, but it must be recognized that a partial embargo will not suffice to check the new extremist regime. This can only be achieved by a broad embargo which includes petroleum products, particularly aviation gasoline, and copper, lead, and other non-ferrous metals, together with machinery and parts useful in war. If the embargo is made sufficiently comprehensive, Japan, depending as it does on this country for about 75 per cent of its essential imported war supplies, would be rendered physically unable to continue its planned depredations in the Far East.

*

RUSSIA'S MOVES TO RECAPTURE ITS LOST Baltic provinces, which began with a series of ultimatums last fall, are now reaching a successful conclusion. By resolution of their parliaments Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania have declared themselves Soviet republics and requested admission to the U. S. S. R. Within the next few days the Kremlin is expected solemnly to accede to their petitions. Squeezed as they are between two totalitarian powers, these small states could hardly hope to maintain any kind of independence, and union with Russia may be their best bet in a choice of evils. However, it is by no means a free choice, for the recent elections were merely an imitation of a hackneyed Nazi farce. The Red Army was occupying all three countries; the campaign was dominated by Soviet slogans; only one ticket, that of the Working People's Bloc, controlled by Communists, was permitted. The authorities insured a large poll by stamping the identity card of each voter and letting it be known that non-voters would be regarded as undependable. Under these circumstances, majorities of over 90 per cent of the electorates are as unsurprising as they are unreliable. On grounds of self-defense Russia has a case for absorbing the Baltic states. It would be more convincing without resort to hokum which deceives no one.

* * *

WE HAVE LONG REGARDED A THIRD-TERM nomination for Franklin D. Roosevelt as inevitable. Not without misgiving we have come to the conclusion that the vital need of an experienced man, an established prestige, and a proved anti-fascist spirit outweighs the undesirability of violating a good and reasonable tradition. We do not question the sincerity of men like Dr. Hamilton Holt, president of Rollins College, who have repudiated the choice of the Chicago convention solely on the third-term issue. But we do question their sense of values, their conception of the alternatives. We agree with Dr. Holt that there must be more than 5,000 men in the United States fit to be President, but our correspondent's analysis elsewhere in this issue shows how little chance any of them had to be nominated. If Roosevelt had been eliminated, the choice would much more probably have fallen on a Farley or a McNutt—with consequences to a beleaguered democracy which Dr. Holt could not contemplate with pleasure. And we believe further that in the hue and cry against the third term the voices of the Hamilton Holts will be drowned out by those of men who find in this issue a long-sought weapon to kill the New Deal in the name of democracy.

* * *

THE ROLL CALL OF DEMOCRATS WHO HAVE bolted the party because of the Roosevelt nomination is, so far, not a roster that need fill Mr. Farley's successor with concern. Most vocal of the "walkers" is Senator Edward R. Burke, who maintains that the third-term nomination is "fraught with peril to our free institutions." This is the same Senator Burke who two years ago made a first-hand study of European labor problems and, in the words of the New York *Herald Tribune*, "praised without stint the accomplishments of the Nazi regime in Germany." Similarly disaffected is Senator Rush D. Holt, like Burke a lame duck with an almost uninterrupted record of opposition to the Administration, and two former members of Roosevelt's "little cabinet," both long since soured on the New Deal. In addition to the loss of this quartet the Roosevelt campaign will have to get along without the services of what is called the "Democratic Executive Committee." Headed by former Senator James A. Reed, this organism is a kind of "Against Roosevelt Before 1940 Club" which failed to put a crimp in the Roosevelt campaign four years ago and has been hiding ever since. Lesser lights have also left the party to crusade with Willkie, and there are probably more to come. They are assured of having their name writ large in the columns of a national press which has plainly decided that even a hint of such defection is front-page news.

* * *

A HUMANITARIAN PROJECT TO EVACUATE thousands of children from Britain to the United States and Canada has become a political and military issue in the House of Commons. A mass removal of such magnitude—200,000 British families have registered their children with the official agency for that purpose—would involve the use of ships and convoys which can be ill spared with the Nazis about to attack, and even then the danger of a tragedy at sea would remain; if the plan

CONTENTS

THE SHAPE OF THINGS 61
EDITORIALS:
LABOR MUST UNITE 64
ROBERT DELL 65
PEACE MANEUVERS by Freda Kirchwey 65
IT HAD TO BE ROOSEVELT by Robert Bendiner 66
WAR AS REVOLUTION.
1. THE BREAKING OF NATIONS by Max Lerner 68
MEXICO'S NEW CHANCE by Harry Block 71
WITHIN THE GATES 73
IN THE WIND 74
BOOKS AND THE ARTS:
NOTES BY THE WAY by Margaret Marshall 75
MISS STEIN AND FRANCE by Justin O'Brien 76
WENDELL WILLKIE'S ECONOMICS? by Lewis Corey 76
PORTRAIT IN PAPER by John Peale Bishop 78
THE NEW ORDER IN ASIA by Maxwell S. Stewart 78
RECORDS by B. H. Haggin 79

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were not operated in such a way as to give equal consideration to rich and poor alike, it would be a source of powerful and justified criticism—the exodus of rich and titled children has already set off fireworks in the Commons. It has been suggested here that the United States send ships, under the provisions which apply to Red Cross vessels, to bring the children across the Atlantic, but that is easier said than done. The Departments of State and Justice have acted to facilitate the granting of visas to children, but it would be necessary for Congress to legalize the plan for sending ships. We hope Congress will make it possible to dispatch American rescue ships to Europe, but we cannot help feeling that the first one should be used to take out of the unoccupied parts of France those anti-fascists of all nations who are on the Nazi death list, to be liquidated when and if caught.

Labor Must Unite

THE party conventions and more spectacular phases of the defense program have combined to divert attention from the Labor Policy Advisory Committee, called together three weeks ago by Sidney Hillman in his capacity as head of the Division of Labor Supply of the National Defense Advisory Board. Yet the formation of this committee, with the cooperation of all branches of the trade-union movement, is the most promising step toward labor unity since the fatal split between the A. F. of L. and the C. I. O. developed.

After its first meeting the board issued a statement saying that its members had assured Mr. Hillman of their readiness "to meet the responsibilities placed upon them by defense requirements and to join in the common effort to prepare the nation for any emergency which may arise." By itself such a pious statement means little, but it is clear that both Hillman and his coadjutors intend to give labor a full voice in the planning of defense. Not the least important of their tasks is to resist pressures designed to force the worker to contribute to defense through the lowering of standards.

On the other hand, the functions of the board are not to be regarded as purely negative. It has a large part to play in assuring that production shall not be delayed by lack of skilled labor. This has been the outstanding subject on the agenda of its first meetings, and it is working on plans, not only for the training of youth, but also for the salvaging and retraining of older men from the ranks of the jobless. As Mr. Hillman's first report to the President put it: "The unemployed, in the opinion of this division, constitute the greatest labor resource which can be used expeditiously in this connection."

The board has also been consulted on the problem of averting strikes. This is a crucial issue for labor. It is bound to be the policy of a government concentrated on defense to press for solution of labor disputes without suspension of work. Mr. Hillman's division, cooperating with the conciliation service of the Department of Labor, has already intervened in three cases of threatened strike action. Its ability to exert a strong influence in the direction of protecting labor's rights will be much enhanced if the trade unions stand firmly together.

From this point of view the functions of the Labor Advisory Board are perhaps less important than its composition. It has sixteen members; six each from the A. F. of L. and the C. I. O. and four from the independent brotherhoods. The A. F. of L. representatives are outstanding officials of important unions, but they do not include any of the old-guard bureaucrats who have been to the fore in the bitter battle with the C. I. O. Similarly the C. I. O. members are moderates, most of whom are unsympathetic to the recent political gyrations of John L. Lewis. As a whole the board represents the most responsible and stable elements in both factions; and they are men who can feel, understand, and reflect the strong and growing urge of the rank and file toward unity.

When the names of the board were first announced, many fears were expressed that it would be blasted before it had had a chance to settle down by attacks from the diehards who had been left out. We are keeping our fingers crossed, but so far nothing untoward has occurred. As regards the reigning clique of the A. F. of L., their acquiescence may be inspired by a growing sense of insecurity. They have been weakened by revelations of their unwillingness or inability to check racketeering in a few unions; worse still are intrigues uncovered by recent investigations which show that union policies have on occasion been secretly formulated by big employers and industrial associations. There are no such sins to be laid at M. Lewis's door, but he has lost some of his hold on the rank and file of the C. I. O. by his intemperate attacks on the New Deal.

There can be no doubt that American trade unionists are heartily sick of the quarrels that have split the movement. In the difficult days ahead unity is needed as never before, and there will be no energy to spare for internecine strife if labor's gains of the past few years are to be held. The battle between the A. F. of L. and the C. I. O. has always been at its hottest among the top leaders, who have often trampled on their reluctant followers the better to exchange blows. In the ranks on both sides there appears to be little genuine animosity. In particular situations and in particular places members of A. F. of L. and C. I. O. unions have often worked together in harmony and with success. The institution of the Labor Advisory Board is an attempt to seek similar cooperation at the top so that labor may play its rightful part in the solution of a great problem.

Robert Dell

ROBERT DELL'S death has brought loss to *The Nation* and sorrow to its editors. His friendship has been a constant satisfaction and stimulus, and his contributions, dating from soon after the World War, have brought to the pages of this journal a wealth of experience and knowledge unmatched by any other regular contributor. For Robert Dell was the dean of the Continental correspondents both by reason of his years of service and, even more, because of his understanding of the dark intricacies of international politics. His articles for the Manchester *Guardian* constitute a running history of the past generation.

Robert Dell was wise with a wisdom that never grew soft or stale. His recent contributions to *The Nation*, especially those preceding the start of the war, were as crisp and unillusioned as those of twenty years back. His mind was a most precise instrument; as a consequence his writing was never blurred by evasion or by the hopes of his generous heart. He believed what the facts forced him to believe and wrote with little regard for the effect of his words. He was a political journalist, not a politician. And the effect of his words was often explosive. The story of his expulsion from France in 1918 has been told many times, but it is worth recalling for the light it throws on his character as a journalist. He had learned from sources in the Chamber of Deputies of the secret peace negotiations with Austria carried on the previous year by Prince Sixte de Bourbon. He told the facts in the Manchester *Guardian*, and his dispatch created a sensation in the press of every country. As a result of this major scoop Dell was expelled from France by Clemenceau. The decree of expulsion was lifted in 1924, and Dell returned to the country he both loved and criticized.

It is a matter for sorrow that Robert Dell died without completing his autobiography, begun this winter in New York. His life was inextricably entangled with the happenings of his time. For many of his early years in England he served on the executive committee of the Fabian Society. He had been an art critic and dealer and was the founder and joint editor of England's best art journal, the *Burlington Magazine*. He knew the leading personalities of Europe and many in America. From his vantage-point at Geneva he watched through recent years the fatal procession of events, forecasting with unhappy accuracy the consequences of each misstep of Europe's leaders. He hated fascism with a bitterness that only a "good European" of the old school could feel; it was the enemy not only of political freedom but of all the habits and relationships that made life rich. Dell's Europe is *in extremis*, and one can perhaps be thankful that he died before its death became a certainty.

Peace Maneuvers

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

IT WOULD be foolish to look upon Hitler's "peace appeal" as a sign of weakness. Germany is not weak. The British know it and are not deluding themselves with false hopes. None the less the speech was something more than an opportunity for Nazi self-congratulations. War may be a virile nation's highest form of self-expression, but it costs a lot in men and steel and oil and food. What Hitler wants is what he has always wanted—victory without war. He has always been hurt when this reasonable demand has been rejected. His success in war makes the refusal of his enemies to yield in advance all the more irrational. Since they must accept defeat in the end, why not in the beginning?

Lord Halifax's reply was clear-cut and uncompromising. He correctly characterized Hitler's proposal as a demand for surrender, and rejected it. If his confidence in the support of the Almighty sounded somewhat excessive, it is comforting to realize that it is backed by growing battalions and an increased sense of power. The ordinary people of the country have apparently been stiffened rather than shaken by the threats and bombast that fill the Nazi press and flood the air waves. They know now what peace with Hitler means, not through the words of their leaders but through the fate of their neighbors. Before their eyes lie the ruins of states—not countries "far away of which the people know nothing," but countries just across the Channel which have existed as independent states because Britain desired and defended their independence, and which served in turn as a bulwark of British independence. Their collapse and subjection have not taught the British people the lesson Hitler may have expected. On the contrary they know now that their only hope of living as free men lies in their power of resistance. This is the lesson they have learned from Holland and Belgium and France—a lesson they failed to heed when Spain and Czechoslovakia went down to defeat. I believe Halifax was only speaking the mind of the people of his country when he said: "We realize that the struggle may cost us everything, but just because the things we are defending are worth any sacrifice it is a noble privilege to be the defenders of things so precious."

Many people couple glib talk of Hitler's "invincibility" with reports of the defeatism and military inadequacies of his victims. No one knows the relative importance of these factors. But it is wise to remember that in the degree to which Germany's enemies were betrayed from within, Hitler was aided to victory. Only a fool would minimize Nazi strength; but it is no less reckless to assume that Hitler cannot be resisted. If Britain has profited by the French defeat and wiped out its internal enemies, the Nazi machine may betray unsuspected weaknesses. Perhaps Hitler fears this; perhaps the conquest of Britain looks less quick and certain than those that went before; perhaps he realizes that even if he wins he must pay a high price for victory. Perhaps that is why he asked Britain to ask for peace.

Ambassador Bullitt is known to have sympathized with the fascist rebellion in Spain; his influence in Washington undoubtedly contributed to the Administration's cruel and fatal policy of withholding aid from the legitimate government of Spain under the technical pretense of neutrality. Now Bullitt has come back to Washington to report on the political situation in France. Pétain, he says, is doing a good job. Laval, frankly an advocate of close relations with the fascist states, is not running the new government; Pétain is the "boss" and enjoys the universal respect and confidence of the people. He said he saw no reason why he should not resume his post as ambassador. He pointed out that no question had arisen of recognizing the Pétain government because "we had never broken off relations."

All this has disturbing implications. We have consistently refused to recognize the puppet governments of conquered nations. We have continued to deal with the representatives of free Czechoslovakia and Poland and Norway. France is, of course, in a somewhat different category. The unoccupied region pretends to an independent regime. But the realities deny it no matter what Ambassador Bullitt thinks or reports to the President. If we continue to recognize and do business with the Pétain government, we shall have scant excuse for continuing to freeze French assets and still less to withhold goods. France is no longer a belligerent; in the eyes of Mr. Bullitt it is presumably a harmless neutral. Before Mussolini declared war, Italy served as a syphon to draw goods into Germany. France can now perform the same function more successfully, since it is far less independent and able to consult its own interests than the minor member of the Axis partnership. The Administration took steps to freeze French assets in the United States the moment the government surrendered; in Havana it is perfecting plans to keep French possessions out of German hands. It is to be hoped that the President, who understands better than any other public man the full unvarnished implications of Nazi control, will repudiate the position taken by Mr. Bullitt. To treat conquered France as a sovereign neutral power would be of incalculable aid to Hitler. The President's own eloquent statement of policy in his speech to the Chicago convention should provide an answer to the arguments of his persuasive ambassador.

It Had to Be Roosevelt

BY ROBERT BENDINER

Chicago, July 19

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT'S third nomination was dictated—even as the Peglers, the Hugh Johnsons, and the greater part of the American press said it was—but it was not dictated by Franklin D. Roosevelt. It was forced upon this convention by the sheer weight of circumstances. No Harry Hopkins sitting in the Blackstone Hotel was needed to bring about the Roosevelt nomination, and no Farley could have prevented it. The local machines of the Kellys, the Hagues, the Crumps, and the Sullivans were not slavishly carrying out New Deal orders; they were doing the only thing they could do to win an election. A nervous respect for the fabulous Willkie's chances was plainly in the air, and the dullest mind at Chicago understood clearly that to beat him the party could not afford to lead with a Farley, a Garner, or even a glamorous McNutt. There were other and more respectable factors in the Roosevelt victory, but this was the prime consideration, and it was enough to underscore the silliness of those who insisted that Roosevelt was not drafted but "drafted."

On a higher plane was the consideration that the successes of Adolf Hitler called for a continuation of the Roosevelt regime. I heard a great deal of this kind of talk. Much of it, moreover, came from Southern delegates, who had the least stake in a Roosevelt nomination since, with a national ticket headed by Beelzebub or even Josef Stalin himself, they could be sure of their local successes in November. "Roosevelt knows what that Hitler's up to," one of them said to me. "He's called the shots so far, and we don't want someone in there at a time like this who doesn't know the ropes." An Alabaman went so far as to say that if the Republicans had been in power these past eight years he'd vote Republican just to keep an even keel in a rough sea—which for a Dixie delegate is tall talk indeed.

Genuine as the draft was, I would not say that the convention was a happy affair. Politicians are not a philosophical lot, and the compulsion to choose Roosevelt did not make his selection more palatable. Dissatisfaction took two courses: an attempt to hedge the nominee about with a restricting platform and a conservative running-mate, and a smothered rebelliousness that came to the surface in the bitter fight against Wallace at the

Franklin D. Roosevelt

close of the convention. The rout of the anti-New Deal forces, both in the platform and in the choice of a vice-presidential candidate, must be put down as the most significant development of the week.

Why did Roosevelt insist on Wallace? Here was a chance to placate the disgruntled tories of the party at the lowest possible price; an opportunity to head off talk of dictation by allowing the convention the greatest possible leeway in a normally harmless pastime. Actually Speaker of the House Bankhead, around whom the rebels rallied, is not a reactionary of the Garner stamp. He has had a good voting record on New Deal legislation and time after time has gone down the line for the President. Yet Roosevelt gave out the word that he wanted Wallace and stuck to him through hell and some pretty high water. The fact that Wallace was a dictated candidate was made painfully—even suspiciously—obvious by some of the Administration lieutenants. In repudiating his own candidacy and throwing his weight to Wallace did McNutt have to say: "My commander-in-chief speaks and I follow"? Did Senator Lucas of Illinois, in a similar demonstration of loyalty, have to add, "Had this been a free and open convention I would not have hesitated to make the race"?

Roosevelt's insistence on Wallace was, at least in part, a refutation of the argument that the draft was a fraud. No man trying to force himself on an unwilling convention could have taken the tack that Roosevelt did. He was so clearly in demand that he was able to dictate terms, and the choice of Wallace was a sign that victory next November was to mean not just a triumph for the Democratic Party; it was to mean an extension of the New Deal. In effect he said to the bosses of the city machines: "You need me in order to stay in power yourselves. My price is a free hand. I want no Garners this time." But Wallace's choice has more than this symbolic importance. The Secretary of Agriculture has been quietly building up his prestige in Latin America, learning Spanish on the side and devoting himself to the problems of economic cooperation in the Western Hemisphere. He may well leave points of order in the Senate chamber to a lesser mind and become the Administration's Number One man in the coming struggle south of the Rio Grande. It was fitting that the Puerto Rican who cast his delegation's vote concluded his short speech with a hearty "Viva Meestair Wallace!" Finally it is not far-fetched to conclude that in picking Wallace Roosevelt was designating his heir. A period in the vice-presidency would give Wallace the spotlight he needs by way of preparation. For a potential candidate for the Presidency, Wallace was roughly received in Chicago, but that is hardly a serious matter. In part he was opposed for the sin of having once been a Republican, in part because a convention whose Presidential choice had been so confined by historical need and political expediency was ready to kick over the traces. It is also worth noting that the greatest part of the booing that greeted every mention of Wallace's name came from the galleries, where hundreds of Legion men and Two-Per-Centers had found seats on special passes marked "good Thursday night only" and carefully inspected by picked ushers wearing McNutt buttons. The gallery's vigorous attentions to Wallace stemmed less from any special hostility to him than from a fierce if calculated loyalty to McNutt, whose last-minute withdrawal they refused to swallow.

In the framing of the platform the President was clearly more of a mind to give ground. In the first place, platforms have a life expectancy of about one week, and, secondly, opposition to the Roosevelt foreign policy, the only important source of controversy, came from men like Senators Wheeler, McCarran, and the two Clarks, who had little or no stake in a Roosevelt victory and could afford to go to embarrassing lengths in their attack. The internal squabbles of the Resolutions Committee were kept strictly private, but a leader of the group hinted confidentially and darkly that the President's original proposals, contained in what was to be a preamble to the platform, were so drastic as to have made our involvement in the war inevitable. They also were said to have included a plea for the kind of regimented society needed to cope with a totalitarian power. I do not question the honesty of my informant, but I believe his interpretations, particularly in this field, are likely to be on the hysterical side and are open to serious question. However, it seems clear that, as a good horse-trader, the President asked for more than he hoped to get. Nor did he come off badly in the inevitable compromise. At first blush the foreign plank drafted at Chicago is less interventionist in character than its Philadelphia counterpart. The Republican statement on the war says merely that the party "is firmly opposed to involving this nation in foreign war." The Democrats state specifically, "We will not participate in foreign wars, and we will not send our army, navy, or air force to fight in foreign lands outside of the Americas, except in case of attack." The rub comes in the exception, which was jammed through at the last moment by direct wire from the White House to Jimmie Byrnes, the President's faithful lieutenant.

The isolationists say they are satisfied with the final form of the plank, but I know for a fact that they are anything but satisfied. Senator Wheeler admitted that he was not present when the crucial phrase was inserted. When it was suggested that a Nazi coup in Uruguay, for example, might be regarded as an "attack," he replied, with scant conviction, that such a development was not an instance of attack but of infiltration. He was obviously unhappy about the whole course of events at Chicago, and I am convinced that such campaign support as Roosevelt will get from the isolationist wing of his party would be better dispensed with.

The convention left a sour taste in many mouths, but mostly they were the mouths of anti-New Dealers or of those Quixotes who would rather see democracy die in theoretical purity than make the least compromise for the sake of its preservation. Jimmie Byrnes, buzzing up the aisles with the message "No Wallace, no Roosevelt," seemed scarcely the torch-bearer of democracy, nor was it a pretty sight to see the Kelly-Nash machine and other similarly unsavory units deliver the necessary vote to a man of Wallace's caliber. But choices in politics are rarely pleasant. If such compromises with the facts of life are necessary in order to make any headway short of violent change—and it is clear that they are—then it is better to make them in a party convention than in the conduct of the government. Roosevelt forced Wallace at Chicago and by his victory freed himself from the kind of miserable program of concession and horse-trading that he might otherwise have faced for another term. Had he run on a ticket with Jesse Jones or McNutt he would have compromised himself and his cause far more seriously and exposed his program to the deadly effects of four more years of sabotage from within.

In his choice of alternatives at Chicago, in his speech with its sweeping perception of the meaning of events abroad, and in his selection of Henry Wallace, Roosevelt seemed to tower above his party and above the Republican opposition. It may be that two week-long sessions of unbelievably hammy oratory have left me an easy mark for the first sign of political intelligence combined with good-will, but if Roosevelt is not indispensable at this moment in American history, I have at least not seen his equal either at Chicago or at Philadelphia.

The War as Revolution

I. THE BREAKING OF NATIONS

BY MAX LERNER

IT WILL be hard for America to prepare its armed forces to face the contingencies of the war, but it will be even harder for us to prepare our thinking for the new world we shall have to live in. Harder because, while the might of the German military machine has now become the prime tangible in the world, the framework within which it has come to operate with such success is a framework of intangibles, elusive to our urgency and unpleasant to our prejudices. Harder, too, because we think, as we live, by the last moments of the clock, and our outlook today has a panic quality that is the enemy of thought.

The thrust of the Nazi columns has left its trauma not only on the European consciousness but on the American as well. Look at the way in which two new phrases have established themselves in our speech—*Blitzkrieg* and fifth column. We are like someone who wakes out of an anaesthetic sleep in a strange room, inclosed by unfamiliar walls, and wonders whether the spectral shapes around him are nightmare imaginings or terrible realities. Clinging to the radio, hoping against hope as we listen to the sickening bulletins, we attempt to exorcise the horror. But it will not away. These are not ghosts—this brutal power of the Nazi war machine, this pervasiveness of a new system of ideas, this dynamic will of the German governing group, these new barbarians come to sweep away the empires of our minds. We shall not for a long time restore ourselves to the tranquillity we once owned.

One of the results of the almost fantastic disintegration of country after country before Hitler's drive to power has been the bewilderment and disillusionment of the American people. Nor is it hard to see the basis of our mood. Those whom we have always thought of as the border guards of our civilization have been routed like so many wooden soldiers. The old landmarks are gone: the radicals have become conservative, the reactionaries of the world have become its revolutionists. Yet here lies our greatest danger. If we yield to bewilderment and hysteria we have three-quarters lost the battle. Now as never before we must know what we believe in, what America stands for, what the imperatives are which will determine our actions. The world in which we live is facing an era of wars, civil wars, and revolutions. Only a new tough-mindedness in the service of a set of fervent convictions can possibly rescue us from what seems the common doom. Only thus shall we master the dimensions of the battlefield which has become our world, and act in it with the economy that makes survival possible, so that we may live in it with the grace that gives life meaning.

And first we must understand that the war, which seemed during its first eight months a good deal less than a war (remember the quips about the *Sitzkrieg?*), is in reality, and has been from the beginning, a good deal more than a war. It is the military phase of a complex of changes and tensions in Western life so vast as to amount to a revolution. One difficulty in estimating American opinion on the war lies in the fact that the Great Debate has been couched wholly in terms of intervention or non-intervention. "Are you warmongers?" the non-interventionists hurl at the interventionists when they plead for armaments for Great Britain. "Would you rather send your guns or your sons?" the interventionists hurl back. In such a debate everything depends of course on the reality and immediacy of the Hitler threat to America, and on whether Hitler can be ultimately appeased and will stay appeased. What each side tends to forget, however, is that neither intervention nor non-intervention in itself ends the problem; and that the effect of helping Britain or not helping Britain, of going to war or not going to war, depends upon the nature of the forces active in the world today, the forces which have conditioned Hitler's rise and shaped his victory thus far. The Great Debate has been carried on wholly in terms of immediate program. But at the risk of being called academic, I want to say that analysis is even more important than program. If your basic analysis is right, you can shift your immediate program with the shift of events. But if you shape a program blindly, without reference to the major currents in the world, you drift helplessly with every change.

We must recognize that what is happening today is something very close to a world revolution. It is not the sort of revolution that Marxists have for a century envisaged. Theirs was a revolution from below, led by a disciplined and class-conscious group. But that revolution missed fire. It had its chance on a world scale, and it may have its chance again in another generation. Right now, however, the revolutionary wedge has been driven in by a new élite working from above—a praetorian guard in every country operating in what Lenin would have called "a revolutionary situation"—using the leftist methods of propaganda, violence, and class war, taking advantage of the contradictions of capitalist economics but for ends far removed from the ends of the left.

We speak of Hitler's triumph, and we should err monstrously to underestimate the greatness of Hitler's role. Hitler will take his place in the succession of praetorian leaders who shaped world history, from Alexander and Attila and Genghis Khan through Napoleon. He may well rank as the outstanding instance of a man who, knowing no ruth, willed not only his ends but his means as well, and who took not one country or even one continent but the whole world as his stamping-ground. Rauschning has written convincingly of Hitler's megalomaniac outlook. He represents the triumph of an insidious intelligence, an unbridled imagination, a steel will, in a world that did not know its purposes and did not organize its forces. Yet knowing all this we must not too easily succumb either to the great-man theory or the devil theory of history. Hitler has been able to do what he has done because he has been active in a situation ripe for him.

We have been told time and again that Nazism is a revolution. Rauschning has said it, Dorothy Thompson has said it, Peter Drucker has said it, Thomas Mann has said it, Archibald MacLeish has said it. Rauschning calls it "the revolution of nihilism" and MacLeish "the revolution against." They are of course right. Nazism is revolutionary. But it is not the revolution I have in mind when I speak of the war as the expression of a world revolution. Nazism is a bastard revolution. It is a revolution enforced from above by the will of a man and a group of adventurers around him, enforced by terror and accepted through fear. But—and this is the important thing—it is a revolution that has been accepted for want of a better one. It is a premature and destructive organization of revolutionary forces that might have had, and may still have, an alternative organization.

What are those forces? The first is the result of our incapacity to organize world peace after the last war. We made a political settlement, but it was frustrate because it did not provide an economic settlement as well. We left a Europe of fragmented nations, incapable of joining together economically because of their national rivalries, yet incapable of surviving without thus joining together. The Europe of the past quarter-century has been a Europe of international disorganization, capitalist collapse, liberal helplessness, tory sabotage. Thus the way was left open for someone to organize Europe by sheer unqualified force. Whether he will succeed in keeping Europe organized after his conquests is another matter, which I want to come back to later. For the present it is enough to point out that European disorganization has been an element in the revolutionary complex.

Closely related to this has been the failure of the nation-state as a viable economic unit. We live in a time which may be described generally as a time of the breaking of nations. But there is a specific sense as well in which this term applies. Even if Hitler can be stopped, the day of the nation-state is over. Hitler has often been compared to Napoleon, and the present period to that of Europe under the French imperium. The analogy is not without force. Nevertheless, though particular nations fell under the hoofs of Napoleon's cavalry, the nation-state as such was not one of the victims. In fact, the Napoleonic period represented one of the high points of national development—the completion of the feudal break-up which opened the path for the fully developed nation-state. Nor do I believe that the historical analogy between the present period and that of the barbarian invasions is from this angle a wholly apt one. The barbarian tribes broke up the top-heavy structure of the Roman Empire but for centuries could not replace it with anything—not until the emergence of the nation-state. For me the most interesting comparison is that between the present period and the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, which saw the break-up in Europe of the small feudal unit and the rise of the nation-state. The small nations that remain after the present war, whoever wins it, will become economic satellites of large and powerful empires or will have to combine with other small nations, not into a diplomatic bloc, but into a working economic and administrative community. It is significant that even before the start of the Hitler *Blitzkrieg* there was talk of a real Anglo-French Union, and that the proposal was being seriously considered when Reynaud was forced out by the Pétain clique.

And what was true of these two great nations is even truer of the small ones. Our generation and the next will witness the transition from the present nation-state to a new form of economic empire-state. We are entering on an epoch of imperialism in which the surviving economies will not be national but continental or even hemispheric economies. Germany and its satellite states are likely to constitute one such economy, Russia and its satellites another, Japan will probably be the center of a Far Eastern economic constellation, and the Americas may, if they have the luck and courage, constitute a Western one. That at any rate is the possible picture unless Hitler is able to push on and absorb Russia, sweep the Japanese Empire within the Nazi orbit, and drive a wedge between the United States and Latin America, thus smashing the Monroe Doctrine. In such an event we should have something much closer to Dorothy Thompson's picture, in her recent remarkable *Herald Tribune* article, of a Hitler world economy. But what I have sought to indicate is that even if Hitler is unsuccessful in plunging the sword of his hopes up to its hilt into the world, the day of the nation-state is over. The reader will note that I have omitted the British Commonwealth from my list of emerging imperial economies. Whether it deserves a place there or not is being decided now in the skies over England.

What has brought about this lack of viability in the nation-state? The economists say it is the rise of economic nationalism, and there can be no doubt that there is an element of truth as well as of irony in the fact that the extension of nationalism from the political and cultural into the economic realm has meant the death-knell of nations. Yet it is truer to say that it is not the reaching for national economic self-sufficiency but the failure to achieve it which has resulted in international chaos. It has become impossible in the world today to cling to an anarchic and unplanned economy and still survive. And this leads me to the third revolutionary element—the thrust within each national economic unit toward centralized economic power, state intervention in all the major decisions of the industrial structure, in short, toward planning as an economic imperative. Germany's war preparation began crucially with Hitler's first steps in reorganizing the German economy on a basis of planning. The really dangerous German propaganda is Hitler's propaganda by deed, his demonstration that planning can raise the national income and maximize economic effectiveness, even though by inhuman methods and for inhuman ends. And not the least potent factor in the German military campaign has been such a coordination of German war units as could be achieved only by a planned military machine that was part of a planned economy, and only by the discipline of a group habituated to the technique of planning. The English under Baldwin and Chamberlain were under the illusion that they could win the war and carry on "business as usual" under the anarchic conditions of an unplanned capitalism. They are now hastening to correct their error; yet it must be remembered that planning is not only a matter of intention but of practice and habituation as well. Unless the English war machine can work smoothly as part of an English economy brought to its maximum productive capacity through planning, aided by American economic reserves, there is no hope for England.

The fourth revolutionary force is the great development in war technology and war administration. Both Germans and Russians have had the daring to liberate themselves from the conception of war as combat, and have adopted the logical implications of war as a machine process. What a delight Veblen would have taken in pointing out the way in which the machine process has now rounded out its dominance over modern life. But there are other revolutionary elements in warfare which the machine has made possible: the old technique of surprise given a new meaning—*Blitzkrieg;* the old technique of complete concentration of fighting power given a meaning that extends it to all the national resources—total war; and the old technique of propaganda given a new insidiousness in the form of the fifth column. I have pointed out above the extent to which it would be dangerous to separate war techniques from the economic planning of which they are an organic part. It is notable that in both realms Germany and Russia have been explorers, but that in both also Hitler has carried farther what Russia began. And it is also worth noting that the revolution in warfare applies not only to the conquest of power but to its consolidation as well. The whole problem of keeping conquered peoples in subjection is changed when rebel forces find that they must confront the airplane and tank concentration that was hurled at Belgium and France.

Fifth and finally, there has been a psychic revolution in the outlook of men and women throughout the world. This has proceeded from two sources: the failure of unplanned capitalism to make use of productive capacity or to distribute its proceeds so as to provide employment and decent living standards; and the bearing of our new insight into the irrational in people upon the problem of democratic effectiveness. To the unemployed, to WPA workers, to those living on or just below the margin of elementary decency, political democracy and civil liberties may well be made to seem empty forms. And those who understand the irrational depths in men will recognize that the tensions and dissatisfactions produced by collapsing economies may well be exploited for the benefit of political adventurers and the creation of new empires. But a discussion of this psychic revolution leads into areas beyond the bounds of this first article. I hope to explore those areas in the article that follows.

[*The second article of Mr. Lerner's series of three will be printed in an early issue.*]

Mexico's New Chance

BY HARRY BLOCK

Mexico City, July 18

ELECTION DAY has passed, and a lot of the rash predictions made about it were proved false. The long-heralded revolution failed to materialize. The phantom fifth column neither descended from parachutes nor crawled up out of the sewers. Lombardo Toledano's "storm troops" staged no coup d'état. They must, in fact, have had urgent business elsewhere, for they were not in evidence during the election, and the promiscuous violence that marked the day was directed chiefly against *their* buildings. The only surprise in the entire proceedings was the demonstration Almazán was able to make in the Federal District.

As recently as two months ago I wrote that Almazán could not hope to buck the P. R. M. (Party of the Mexican Revolution) and that his bid for power, if it were made at all, would necessarily have to take the form of armed action. The truth of that statement has been fully confirmed by the election results. What I had underestimated was the number of followers whom Almazán would be able to bring out into the streets. He owed thanks for this, however, as I shall show presently, less to the energy and organization of his aides than to the man whom he spent the better part of his campaign reviling, President Cárdenas.

A Mexican election is ordinarily a pretty dull affair. The government party takes possession of the polls; supporters of the opposition candidate—if there is one—are not permitted to vote; and the few who insist on their civic rights are given plenty of time to consider the consequences of their temerity while nursing a broken head. On some occasions the official vote-counters have actually had to invent opposition votes so as to make the returns look less suspiciously unanimous. The process is hardly peculiar to Mexico, but the Mexicans have their own word for it. They call it "imposition."

Curiously enough, all these reprehensible doings take place under one of the most democratic election laws in the world. It would take too long to explain in detail how the law operates to encourage the very abuses it was theoretically framed to prevent, but a large part of the difficulty lies in the fact that it has not the remotest correspondence with the social and political realities of Mexico. Adopted in 1917 and modeled on a Swiss law, it presupposes a rare degree of democratic experience and discipline. By one of its quaint provisions the polls are controlled by the first five citizens to appear on election morning; these five form the local election board, with one of their number as president. This rule was apparently made to convince skeptics that the government would not interfere with the election. In practice, of course, it invites a free-for-all fight, since control of the polls is vital not only in order to get the votes of one's own side cast but also because the presidents of the local boards constitute the official counting boards set up in each district on the following Thursday.

Cárdenas announced a year ago that he would conduct a free election for the choice of his successor: the government party would not monopolize the polls, and everybody could come and vote for whom he pleased. It was assumed that adequate guards would preserve order, but in a desire, apparently, to give the opposition no ground for claiming that it had been prevented from voting by armed force, Cárdenas omitted this precaution. Thus although the city on July 7 was full of troops and police, they might almost as well have stayed in their barracks for all the protection they afforded the voters from the roving bands of *pistoleros*. Shooting began at

6:30 in the morning, when a carload of Almazanistas shot down four Camachistas in front of a polling place in the hotly disputed Seventh District.

The failure of the capital's labor movement to make a stronger showing at the polls has called forth various explanations, any or all of which may be part of the truth. One is that Camacho issued instructions to his partisans to go unarmed. Lombardo Toledano has since stated that the members of the C. T. M. (Confederation of Mexican Workers) had strict orders not to be provoked into counter-aggressions. Finally, it is said, the workers went out to vote, not to demonstrate or mass at the polls. It is, of course, perfectly true that the appearance of the C. T. M.'s "militia"—which, incidentally, in spite of reports to the contrary, is not and never has been armed—would have led to more bloodshed, and while it might have cleared the streets of the rioting Almazán throngs, it would have done so only at the price of giving color to the charge of "imposition."

After the Seventh District shooting the Almazanistas quickly took possession of a large number of polling places. In nearly every case there was fighting, and some of the booths changed hands two and three times. In only a few places did the police intervene actively, being stationed in general a hundred yards or more away, with blanket orders, as one police official told me while we watched a gun battle in the heart of the city, not to shoot. The regular army troops returned to barracks that night without having fired a bullet. In many parts of the city Almazán's followers started the day the undisputed masters of the streets.

Later in the morning the reprisals began; by noon the hospitals were filling up with dead and wounded. As the fighting grew hotter, assaults were made on the headquarters of the C. T. M., on the labor daily *El Popular,* on several union offices, on the P. R. M. building, and on Camacho's headquarters. The movement was beginning to take on the aspect of a putsch. In the afternoon, with the voting practically over, a march on the National Palace was called for. It mobilized outside the Almazán headquarters in a downtown street and quickly developed into a new riot and an attack on the neighboring P. R. M. radio station. Many more persons were killed or injured, and the police dispersed part of the mob with tear gas. The government hastily threw a cordon of troops around all the approaches to the palace. Cárdenas is reported to have sent Almazán word to bring his partisans back to their senses. It is an open question whether it was this or the rain which now began that finally broke up the march. By nightfall the fighting had died out, and all Mexico that had the price and was still able to walk was going to the movies quite as though nothing had happened.

It is possible that the Almazán riots were not premeditated. The lack of adequate policing of the polls was a break for the opposition of which it took instant advantage; from then on the movement gained momentum. Obviously a demonstration for foreign consumption had been planned. With practically all the foreign observers concentrated in the capital, this was the point where a show of strength would make the deepest impression.

Both the official returns announced by the P. R. M. and Almazán's claim of 90 per cent of the total vote must be taken with liberal pinches of salt. The electoral machinery and measures for safeguarding the sanctity of the ballot are so deficient that no reliable count is possible. From the very beginning of this campaign, however, only two questions have had any significance. The first was whether the Mexican reactionaries would succeed in reversing the whole current of the Mexican Revolution and in restoring the happy pre-Cárdenas days of the Calles dictatorship; the second was whether Almazán would accept his defeat or would seek to revise the election by an appeal to arms. For a brief moment on Election Day it looked as though the Almazanistas might really go through with their show. Four tense days followed, but when the counting boards met on July 11 and the government announced its intention of protecting them from any attempt at violence, the Almazán "revolution" faded away. Since then the P. R. U. N. (Almazán's party) has abandoned its threat of a dual congress and is submitting its "case" to the Supreme Court. Almazán himself has gone on a vacation to Cuba, Yucatan, and points south. Even the pro-Almazán press is tapering off its propaganda.

There is still, of course, a certain amount of horse-trading to be done. In five electoral districts of the capital "irregularities" in the voting were discovered. The P. R. M. is claiming these districts along with the other seven, but the way has clearly been left open for a deal with the disappointed losers. Almazán can't be President, but perhaps he can have five seats in the Chamber of Deputies—if he and his followers behave. It rests with the new Congress, which meets as an electoral college next month, to pass on the validity of its own and the presidential election. The Congress can reject the P. R. M. credentials for the doubtful seats and either give them to the Almazán candidates or invalidate the election. The P. R. U. N. says it will not thus be bribed, but it is even money in Mexico City that it will eventually take the seats—if it can get them, which is by no means certain.

Has all this anything to do with democracy? I believe it has a great deal to do with it. It is folly to judge Mexico by standards proper to other countries. The Mexican people are still largely illiterate and only just emerging from centuries of unexampled exploitation. Sooner or later Mexico will doubtless replace its present visionary election law with legislation better adapted to the country's real conditions. The crux of the matter, however, is not the law or the changes that may be made in it. What needs to be developed is the content of democracy, not its formalisms. If progressives have sympathized with the Cárdenas government it is because the President was promoting democratic controls of the nation's economic life and giving the Mexican masses renewed hope in their future and a new dignity as human beings. This is the essence of the social movement known as the Mexican Revolution, which may be briefly defined as an effort to reinforce theoretical democracy with economic reality. It was no accident that the Mexican reaction chose Almazán as standard-bearer in its latest assault on the revolutionary movement. He had already served with Huerta in the early attempt to kill the revolution almost at birth. Under him Mexico would have set the clock back a generation; under Avila Camacho the Mexican people may have an opportunity to continue their struggle to bring a genuine Mexican democracy into being.

Within the Gates

THIS instalment of Within the Gates is devoted to a brief summary of existing pro-fascist organizations in the United States. It makes no pretense to completeness; its purpose is to serve only as a frame of reference for material to appear in later issues on the activities of the groups and individuals mentioned. Hiding behind meaningless names and protesting too much their devotion to the Constitution, leaders of more than 800 organizations are actively working for the destruction of democracy in the United States. Blindly subservient to their leaders, sometimes unaware of the implications of the program they follow, a considerable army of Americans and aliens in this country are affiliated or sympathetic with these organizations. Fascism's fifth column is marching down Main Street.

It is difficult to fit fascist organizations into categories, although, at the risk of oversimplification, it can be done in a general way. They can, for example, be classified according to nationality—foreign, hyphenated, and native American. In the first of these categories, foreign fascists, are only two groups, German and Italians, but both have well-integrated, lavishly financed propaganda machines. Directly responsible to the Berlin and Rome foreign offices, they form a vast network which operates in the United States primarily through the diplomatic and consular staffs. Typical of these official agents is the Italian consul general in New York, Gaetano Vecchiotti, who, in addition to supervising the distribution of fascist propaganda, has addressed several mass-meetings of uniformed Italian-American Black Shirts. The propaganda work of the embassies and consulates has been aided during the past year by the German Library of Information, and for the past three years by the Italian Library of Information, both in New York.

Cooperating with consuls and diplomats, and under the direct supervision of their respective ambassadors in Washington, are the secret agents of the German Gestapo and the Italian Ovra, whose job is to terrorize Americans of German and Italian descent and stamp out anti-fascist activity among them. They operate in the shadow, and their identity and number are not easy to ascertain.

The hyphenated organizations working under the direct supervision of the German and Italian governments are well known but not very important, for the average American instinctively resents products with a foreign label. The best-known German groups are the German-American Bund, the German-American Business League, the German Edda Culture League, the American National Labor Party, and the German Commonwealth for Art and Literature. The last, in spite of its innocent-sounding name, has a storm-troop division and a political unit.

Perhaps the most influential of the Italian-American groups is the Lictor Federation, which swallowed most of the 129 *fascios* of the now defunct Fascist League of America. Other important Italian propaganda agencies are the Dante Alighieri Society, the American-Italian Union, the Italian Historical Society, the Sons of Italy, and the International Confederation of America.

Far more dangerous and numerous than either the foreign or the hyphenated organizations are the native American fascist groups. Their menace lies in the fact that they have endowed an alien idea with a distinctly American flavor. The American fascist leaders can be subdivided—again risking oversimplification—into three groups according to the particular activity they stress—the propagandists, the organizers of "shirted" troops, and the politicians.

One of the chief American fascist propagandists is Robert Edward Edmondson, head of Edmondson's Economic Service, who from his headquarters in the Pocono Mountains of Pennsylvania floods the nation with hundreds of thousands of "Vigilante Bulletins," which proselyte for a native version of fascism. Similar activities are being carried on by James True in Washington, D. C., W. J. Cameron (Henry Ford's radio voice) in Detroit and Chicago, Charles Phillips in Lincoln, Nebraska, Charles Hudson in Omaha, William Kullgren in Atascadero, California, Henry Gaede (alias Henry G. Curtiss) in New York, and perhaps fifty others.

The best known of the storm-troop organizers is William Dudley Pelley, of Asheville, North Carolina, whose uniformed Silver Shirts are to be found in nearly every section of the country. Emulating the methods and objectives of Hitler's Brown Shirts and Mussolini's Black Shirts, these hoodlums prefer, and practice, violence as a means of establishing the totalitarian state. Pelley, of course, also operates a large and highly efficient printing plant grinding out tons of fascist propaganda, which is distributed by numerous other groups besides his own. Lesser Führers are George Christians of the Crusader White Shirts in Tennessee, John Henry Peyton of the American Rangers in California, William Gregg Blanchard III of the White Front in Florida, and a host of smaller fry.

Only during the past year or two have certain of our legislators indicated unmistakable fascist tendencies. One of the most influential is Senator Robert Rice Reynolds of North

Carolina, who early in 1939 formed the American Vindicators, an anti-Semitic, anti-Catholic, anti-alien organization marked with all the stigmata of fascism. Closely associated with Senator Reynolds are George Deatherage of St. Albans, West Virginia, leader of the American Nationalist Confederation, and James True of Washington, D. C. Even more openly fascist than Senator Reynolds is Representative Jacob Thorkelson of Montana, whose reputation as the most prolific extender-of-remarks in Congress was the result of his regular insertion in the *Congressional Record* of such pieces of Nazi propaganda as "The Protocols of the Elders of Zion." The 1940 primaries have added some new names to the list of politically ambitious fascist leaders: Joseph E. McWilliams and James Stewart in New York, Kenneth Brown in Oregon, Father Coughlin's aide, Louis B. Ward, in Michigan, and a dozen others in various sections of the country.

American fascist groups can be further subdivided with respect to their membership appeal. A large group of ministers—notably Gerald B. Winrod of the Defender Movement in Kansas, Harry H. Hodge of the Christian Americans in Beaumont, Martin Luther Thomas of the Christian American Crusade in Los Angeles, Gerald L. K. Smith of the Committee of One Million in Detroit, W. B. Riley in Minneapolis, and George Griffith in Kansas City—appeal primarily to the religious fundamentalists, who believe that "Jewish communism" is the anti-Christ and that Hitler is its great enemy. At least 15,000,000 Americans are under the influence of this type of leader.

Then there are such organizations as Edward Hunter's Industrial Defense Association in Boston and Harry Jung's American Vigilant Intelligence Federation in Chicago, which have combined spying and strike-breaking with the peddling of "inside information" to naive industrialists.

Another large group exploited by fascist leaders is formed by Catholics, who have been influenced by such spokesmen as Father Coughlin, Father Brophy, Father Curran, and several hundred less well-known priests who would welcome a form of clerical fascism in the United States—as they did in Spain. Under this influence many Catholics join organizations like Joseph McWilliams's Christian Mobilizers or John Cassidy's Christian Front, which has units as far inland as St. Louis. In all fairness it should be said that many members of these organizations believe they are defending the faith and have no idea that they are supporting a movement to destroy democratic government.

Even those rugged individualists the farmers have not escaped the fascist web. A large percentage of landowners on the West Coast from Washington to Southern California have been drawn, either voluntarily or against their will, into the Associated Farmers, Inc., and affiliated organizations. Employing both the brute force of vigilante groups and anti-Semitic propaganda, these organizations seek to break up labor unions, particularly among rural migratory workers. Their goal is an American version of the Nazi Labor Front.

In brief, fascism in the United States is a sprawling but interrelated network, originating both within the nation and abroad, employing all the familiar devices of terror and violence and propaganda, and making a separate appeal to every stratum in our socio-politico-religious structure. Its recent progress has been impressive.

In the Wind

FEAR IS GROWING in New Deal circles that labor may take a trimming in the defense industries. In the aluminum dispute government conciliators sided with the union (quietly), but the company sat tight. Finally the conciliators yielded, then persuaded the union to do so. The same situation is developing in other industries throughout the country. Both labor and government are fearful of strikes, and industry knows it.

THE FIGHT between Martin Dies and his liberal opponents may break out again soon. It is reported that Dies supporters are preparing a new blast against Washington liberals who joined in the attack on Dies last winter. The outburst may be linked to the Dies "investigation" of the National Maritime Union.

PM POSTSCRIPT: An East Side fish peddler one day found a competitor on the same block. The competitor's fish were the same, but his prices were higher. A lot of people, nevertheless, took his wares and paid the higher price. Finally the first peddler asked his rival how he got away with it. "I wrap my fish in *PM*," he explained.

PENNSYLVANIA'S LATEST mine disaster got a good deal of publicity, and the Neely bill for additional safety measures in mines was passed in the Senate. It is now lying around waiting for House action, while mine owners are fighting vigorously for its burial.

WALTER WINCHELL was pretty stunned by the *New Yorker's* "profile" (six weeks long). He told intimates he had expected a blurb. The series started that way, got sharper as it went along, finally became an indictment of Winchell's accuracy.

CURRENT ATTACKS on liberal textbooks have now crystallized into a committee. It is called "Guardians of Education" and is officially led by Major Edward Rudd, a close associate of Merwin K. Hart.

A SHOWDOWN between the Administration and reactionary industrialists may occur in connection with the United Automobile Workers' drive to organize Ford. The drive is quietly getting under way and will gain momentum soon. Ford shows no sign of retreating.

McKEESPORT, PENNSYLVANIA, recently introduced an ordinance requiring aliens to be fingerprinted. United States officials asked that the matter be left to federal supervision, but McKeesport's mayor refused. After a certain deadline aliens who refused to comply were to be arrested. On the day set for the arrests lightning hit the City Hall. The arrests were postponed.

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind—either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. A prize of $5 will be awarded each month for the best item.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

Notes by the Way

LEO HUBERMAN'S new book, "America, Incorporated," (Viking Press, $2.75) is an economic history of America from 1865 to the present designed for the man in the street; it is well organized, simply written, and moves at a fast pace. In his first eighty-eight pages Mr. Huberman traces swiftly the meteoric rise of American capitalism on the wings of incorporation and its inevitable flight into imperialism; he records the futile attempts of labor and the farmers and William J. Bryan to curb the predatory bird—and the consistency and success with which the courts, especially the Supreme Court, defeated all such attempts. This unequal struggle reached its ironic climax when the Sherman Anti-Trust Act was turned into one of industry's principal weapons against trade unions.

But the bird, meanwhile, was getting overweight; both at home and abroad the possibility of the long flight, calculated to work off surplus, grew ever slighter as the economic universe contracted and free enterprise congealed into monopoly. The first World War and the speculative boom that ended in 1929 proved to be only illusory respites; it was a very blue eagle that sat before the White House door when Franklin D. Roosevelt took over in March, 1933.

The second and longer part of the book is story, analysis, and estimate of the New Deal. It was, says Mr. Huberman, a revolution in ideas but not in economics: the idea of government intervention to help business, the idea of legalizing labor's right to organize and bargain collectively, the idea of protecting investors and depositors, the idea of security for old age and the unemployed, the idea that no one should be permitted to starve and that the jobless should be given useful, wealth-creating work. Many of these ideas had prevailed in Europe for decades, but they were new for America and they were important.

Mr. Huberman gives a systematic, lively, and fair account of the record of the New Deal in terms of its own objectives: relief, recovery, reform. He devotes a separate chapter to the rise of industrial labor organization, one of the two great by-products of the revolution in ideas—the other was an unprecedented increase in the political awareness, if not the clarification, of the mass mind of America. In another chapter he reviews the foreign policy of the New Deal which came into power shortly after Hitler seized control of Germany. "The outstanding characteristic of New Deal foreign policy was its comparative ineffectiveness," and this ineffectiveness "arose not from the subjective motivations at work within the Administration but from the objective interests of American imperialism in the contradictory and shifting alignments of the world powers."

Mr. Huberman's conclusions, like his analysis, are Marxian. "Monopoly capitalism in decline has tried to survive, in the last decade, in one of two ways. Either it has been put on a war footing or it has been kept going by government expenditures on public works, relief, aid to agriculture, etc." Germany, Italy, and Japan adopted the first method; the New Deal, to which he consistently refers in the past tense, was an example of the second. It was bound to fail because "the disease from which America is suffering is capitalism" itself, and "there is only one cure for that disease. The bankrupt old firm of America, Incorporated, organized by and for the few monopolists, must be reorganized by the American people for the benefit of all the 130,000,000 stockholders." With this vague imperative Mr. Huberman closes his book.

Last chapters are hard to compose these days. The traditional pattern even for left-wing writers in a country committed to optimism has been to shoot specific holes in the American scene up to the final moment of play and then end on a vague note of hope. The shooting was always more convincing than the hope; that is even more true today. The American imperialists, says Mr. Huberman merely, must not succeed in either their foreign or domestic aims. "The American people must not let them."

Last paragraphs are as hard to write as last chapters. One thing is certain: whether or not the New Deal's "revolution in ideas" is a thing of the past, another deal is upon us. Its name is defense. Orthodox Marxist logic dictates the assumption that we are now headed irrevocably through defense dictatorship to fascism; therefore Mr. Huberman believes that the party of the New Deal offers nothing the Republicans are not willing to grant, with the reservation that our plunge into darkness might be slower under a Democratic Administration. But in this age of the lesser evil the chance that our rights will survive longer under a Roosevelt than under a Willkie, that a Roosevelt would be less likely to make a deal with a victorious Hitler, are straws worth clutching. It seems too clear for comfort that socialism—unless one chooses to call Russian totalitarianism by that name—lies not just around the corner of the imperialist war but at the end of a long period of preparation better carried on with civil rights than without. At this point, whatever the verdict of good Marxist logic, good politics dictates a determined fight to use the forces set in motion by the "revolution in ideas" to preserve those rights as long as possible. Good Marxist logic has been upset before. Is that a note of hope?

AS A RELIEF from all this I picked up a book about cattle brands called "Hot Irons," by Oren Arnold and John P. Hale (Macmillan, $2.50), which transported me for two hours to that astounding West of ours. The first chapter begins by assuming that "you have a cow." It goes on to assume that you can ride a horse, have just purchased a huge ranch in Arizona, and are looking it over. These are pleasant assumptions. Messrs. Arnold and Hale know their ranch life. They also know a great deal about cattle brands and the stories behind them. And they bring the ranch and the range to life so vividly—the sound of bawling steers, the smell of burning hair, and the sight of unfenced spaces—as to arouse nostalgia in one who once owned a cow. My brand is not set down in "Hot Irons," but hundreds are, and in recording them the authors have covered much of the history as well as the heraldry of the Western range.

MARGARET MARSHALL

Miss Stein and France

PARIS FRANCE. By Gertrude Stein. Charles Scribner's Sons. $2.50.

THIS book might be called "The Autobiography of Paris, France," since, like the other autobiographies by Gertrude Stein, it tells less about its subject than about its author. That smart-Aleck remark may not be altogether fair, for as we read about Miss Stein—her dogs, her friends, the village of Bilignin, and the town of Belley near her country home—we also learn much about the French and even something about Paris. In an appallingly and delightfully confused manner which simulates a one-sided conversation Gertrude Stein does discuss fashions, cooking, latinity, the French family, the peasant, and such very French concepts as civilization and equality. As if talking on the lawn at Bilignin, she illustrates her points with amusing or pathetic anecdotes—sometimes lost on the reader because he does not belong to her coterie—and peppers her speech with quaint expressions translated literally from the French. The book is full of charm, a very personal charm, and humor. Its 120 pages overflow with sententious remarks, such as "The reason why all of us naturally began to live in France is because France has scientific methods, machines, and electricity, but does not really believe that these things have anything to do with the real business of living. Life is tradition and human nature"; or "All Frenchmen know that you have to become civilized between eighteen and twenty-three and that civilization comes upon you by contact with an older woman, by revolution, by army discipline, by any escape or by any subjection, and then you are civilized and life goes on normally in a Latin way, life is then peaceful and exciting, life is then civilized, logical and fashionable in short life is life." The trouble with the post-war generation, she says, is that war prevents the process of civilization and that the young men "missed their time for becoming civilized." But this had already been said by any number of those very young men and before them by another lost generation, that of Alfred de Musset.

To Gertrude Stein, as to many of us, Paris has meant civilization. Moreover, as she says so neatly, "Paris was where the twentieth century was." Firmly rooted in tradition, the French have been able to accept and try everything without losing their balance. Their keen sense of reality is so great that they can tolerate any degree of unreality. Yet with these qualities that she recognizes in them, and their logic and supreme degree of civilization, Miss Stein does not grant them any role, except that of "inevitable background," in the creation of twentieth-century art. In other words, the French looked on as picturesque and indulgent bystanders while the Picassos, the Steins, the Sir Francis Roses, the Bromfields, and the Hemingways made modern art. This is a parochial point of view, the point of view of the Sixth Arrondissement. Yes, it is the point of view of the tourist. On considering all that Gertrude Stein's art owes to her immediate French predecessors, one cannot but find this attitude particularly ungracious.

With all its charm and flavor and superficiality, "Paris France" is a pathetic little book. It is pathetic because, obviously designed as propaganda of the nicer sort, it fails to achieve its end. The larger public having been frightened away by the author's reputation and style, it will be read and enjoyed only by the initiates, the small minority who know both Miss Stein and France. And in view of Gertrude Stein's patronizing attitude toward her subject, this will be no loss. Written before the French capitulation, "Paris France" reflects the anguish that all civilized people felt during the spring. Like all of us, Miss Stein was worried about the possible loss of one of the most precious things in the world—an irreplaceable culture. It is unfortunate that to her that culture was important chiefly as the ideal atmosphere for the creation of expatriate art.

JUSTIN O'BRIEN

Wendell Willkie's Economics?

CAPITALISM THE CREATOR. By Carl Snyder. The Macmillan Company. $3.75.

THIS book, according to the New York *Herald Tribune*, has been praised by Wendell Willkie as the "most stimulating and provocative treatment of our economic situation that I have seen." Mr. Willkie would like to see a popular edition "so that everyone could read it." I wonder if Mr. Willkie is fully aware what he is praising?

Mr. Snyder blames our tragic ten-year depression on wrong government policies and the failure to "control the expansion and contraction of bank credit"—as if that were independent of the underlying movement of production and consumption. of profits, purchasing power, and investment. The problem of unemployment, of 10,000,000 people who want and need work, he dismisses with the old argument that "technological unemployment is a phantom because technology creates more jobs than it destroys"—as if what was true in the past were necessarily true now, and as if it were not recognized that "more jobs are created than destroyed" only when the rate of economic expansion, in old and new industries, is greater than the rate of increasing technological efficiency, a condition that does not exist today. Mr. Snyder throws no light on the agricultural crisis that has afflicted the farmers since 1920; instead he pours scorn upon "sympathy for the 'hard lot' of the farmer." He insists that with "energy, business ability, and good judgment farming can be made to pay," the proof being one farmer of Mr. Snyder's acquaintance who increased yields and made money. Agricultural yields generally have steadily risen during the past thirty years; moreover, what will happen to the farmers if they all increase yields while surpluses mount, foreign markets shrink, and domestic demand remains stationary? Nor is there a word in Mr. Snyder's book about farmers displaced from the land by mechanization, or about the agricultural population surplus, now 200,000 yearly—potential workers whom the farms cannot use and for whom industry has no jobs. "Wages must be revised downward" to bring prosperity, argues Mr. Snyder; he forgets that in the 1921-22 depression there was recovery and an upsurge of prosperity with substantially higher real wages, and he says nothing about downward revision of monopoly prices, capital claims, and profits. Are these the "stimulating" ideas that Mr. Willkie praises?

Mr. Snyder is a statistician who trumpets his faith in an economic "science" based on "objective" statistical measurement. But his "science" moves within the institutions and interests of big business; it is an apology for big business. The "science" throws hardly any light on the economic problems that press upon our generation and offers no elements for a government policy except those that would make the problems worse.

Capitalism is for Mr. Snyder an absolute that always was and always will be; he ignores the meaning of changes in the capitalist system. Thus he calls upon Adam Smith for support without realizing that the monopoly capitalism of today is different from the competitive capitalism of Smith, who damned monopoly and envisioned a flexible economic world of multitudes of small independent producers; that world has changed in the United States, too, for today only 15 out of every 100 Americans own their means of making a livelihood, as compared with 80 out of 100 in the 1820's. Mr. Snyder calls the roll of capitalist economic achievements. Agreed—they have been truly great. But his "science" takes no account whatever of the economic changes that are transforming capitalism the creator into the destroyer of its own achievements. Thus, because in the past the greater the accumulation of capital the greater the production, Mr. Snyder makes an absolute of "the capital supply," regards it as the solution of all problems. The fetishism is really fantastic.

Mr. Snyder argues that there should be *more* concentration of income, not less, because the rich ("prejudice against the rich," he says, "is one of our great potential dangers") supply most new capital out of their savings; hence the income tax is a "most disastrous mistake . . . an instrument of oppression and economic terrorism." Clearly, however, "the capital supply" is not an absolute unrelated to other factors. There must be a definite ratio of new capital to production and consumption, of saving to spending, and industry must be capable of absorbing the new capital in order to create an upward-moving economic balance. That ratio is not an absolute; it changes with the growth of industry. There is proportionally more need for new capital investment in the earlier stages of capitalism than in the later. Today, because of the high level of our productive power, and because that "creation of new industries and expansion of the old" of which Mr. Snyder speaks no longer operates on the old scale, the ratio of usable new capital to production capable of yielding the profit demanded by capital is moving downward. Unusable surplus capital piles up while production and consumption stick in the swamp of depression. Smaller capital supply (and profits) and greater consumer purchasing power now would yield greater increase in usable capital, because the enlargement of consumption demand would result in *full use* of *all* our economic resources and labor, whose unemployment during the past ten years has meant a loss of $250,000,000,000 in goods and services, including capital goods, that might have been produced. Yet Mr. Snyder wants to decrease consumer purchasing power by lowering wages, to let the rich get richer and pile up profits and capital—which are not, as he insists they are, "self-limiting" except in the catastrophic sense of depression—to let big business alone. Are these the "stimulating" ideas that Mr. Willkie praises?

The danger of Mr. Snyder's "objective" rationalizations is that they give a "scientific" guise to interests and ideas that now bar the road of economic progress. That is bad enough. But there is another danger. Mr. Snyder's book is full of explosive prejudices and passions. Unemployment insurance and the WPA are bad because they "diminish competition for available jobs." Unions are bad. Collective bargaining means "coercion of industry." The unions prevent recovery by maintaining "high wages." England and Germany were the first countries to approach "industrial stagnation" because they were "the most highly unionized." Inequality among races, nations, and individuals is a natural law, "part of the scheme of creation." Our troubles are due to biological deterioration of the population, the mass of which is "essentially neolithic in character and intelligence." Civilization is endangered by "the 'vast surge of the underworld' described by Ortega, the advent to power of the masses," the people whose urge is "to destroy, to abase the talented, the capable, and the rich." Are these the "stimulating" ideas that Mr. Willkie praises?

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Not one of Mr. Snyder's statements is capable of objective scientific verification. Observe them carefully: they are the prejudices and passions that explode in fascism, the ingredients of the theory of the "élite" which animates its philosophy. I do not believe Mr. Snyder is a fascist. But his ideas may help to bring the storm that will overwhelm him —and Mr. Willkie too. LEWIS COREY

Portrait in Paper

ONE PART LOVE. By Babette Deutsch. Oxford University Press. $1.75.

BABETTE DEUTSCH'S poems bear about the same relation to poetry that book reviewing does to criticism. They are brisk, brittle, competent, and, above all, timely. The book reviewer, though he may handle more books than the critic, though he takes them up and puts them down with the same appearance of authority, though he may on occasion show great critical acuteness, can never forget that what he writes is going into print alongside the news of the day. He cannot forget the competition of the front page. Miss Deutsch, when she sits down to write a poem, presumably looks into her heart, to write of what she finds there. But she can never quite see what she has found. For everything comes to her through a blur of headlines. She is diverted. She is unable to concentrate either on the horrors of the outer world or on the domestic situation of the heart. She may achieve moving passages, but her poetry is not sustained. She is too distracted to concentrate on the exigencies of a poem.

But just as Picasso in his *papiers collés* period, out of fragments of the most disparate material—a bit of musical score, scraps of wallpaper from demolished houses, squares of workmen's sandpaper, old newspapers—could put together, adding paint where it was strictly necessary, a composition that was at the same time a portrait, so "One Part Love" does carry a certain conviction as a self-portrait. The fragments are here; we have only to put them together to see a woman of decent discernment, who in the midst of a friend's porcelain and fine furniture can come out fearlessly for revolution, whose feeling for the friendless goes out in a glance. The sympathy for the empty, the sick, and the cold, for all those whose courage is worn, and whose peace is gone, is genuine, but being without will it ends in a glance. She announces the coming of violence in a brave voice and solidarity with the suffering in a strong voice; but having more melancholy than rage, she knows that when doom comes it will be as dingy as decay in a street of brownstone houses, to which "Tomorrow will come, naturally, like death"; and when she stops speaking she knows she is as lonely as ever. Her distress is that of a seamstress, who would have more trust in her own skill if she had more confidence in her material. Miss Deutsch does not really trust poetry. Every effect is scattered, but that in the end produces a certain effect, which is that of a document on the depression. This is a portrait which, like the *papiers collés*, already dates; but it has a certain period value.

JOHN PEALE BISHOP

The New Order in Asia

JAPAN'S CASE EXAMINED. By Westel W. Willoughby. John Hopkins Press. $2.50.

FEW Americans have sympathized with Japan in its invasion of China. But there have been times when even the most confirmed Sinophile must have wondered whether Japan's case really was as bad as it seemed from the presentation of its own spokesmen. Professor Willoughby is the first scholar who has had the patience to subject the Japanese arguments to a detailed scrutiny. The result is an even more devastating case against the Japanese than is apparent from day-to-day developments. Close analysis reveals how the Japanese have repeatedly shifted their arguments as the falsity of their contentions has become evident. At first the invasion of Manchuria was defended as a necessary measure of self-protection. The Japanese promised to withdraw their troops as soon as the immediate threat to Japanese lives and property was removed. Then other defenses were offered. The Chinese were illegally boycotting Japanese goods; China was so disorganized that Japan had to restore law and order. Japan had vital interests which made it necessary for it to control Manchuria; the Japanese had to intervene in order to prevent communism from gaining a strangle-hold on the Asiatic mainland. In no case does Professor Willoughby find support in fact or in law for the Japanese contentions. He cites the findings of the Lytton Commission to refute Japan's earlier pretexts, and builds a strong case to show that the more recent Japanese invasion was motivated primarily by a desire to check the rapid unification and modernization by which China was greatly increasing its strength.

Professor Willoughby also tackles Japan's claim that its policies in East Asia rest on a doctrine similar to the American Monroe Doctrine. This so-called Japanese Monroe Doctrine clearly implies more than the resolve to prevent Western domination of China. It seems to imply complete economic and political control of the Asiatic mainland, and rejects Chinese sovereign rights in so far as they conflict with Japanese ambitions. Thus it bears little resemblance to the American Monroe Doctrine, whereby the United States undertakes to aid in preserving the independence and territorial integrity of the American republics. MAXWELL S. STEWART

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JOHN PEALE BISHOP is the author of "Now with His Love" and "Minute Particulars."

RECORDS

THE machine on which I play records nowadays gives the finest reproduction I have heard thus far. The core of it is the amplifier of a recently bought two-year-old Scott thirty-tube Philharmonic radio; in the same low cabinet, feeding into the amplifier, is an Audak D-36 phonograph pickup which is mounted with the Garrard motor on a motor-board that rises about a half-inch above the sides of the cabinet, so that both are easily accessible to a seated person; and from the amplifier a cable goes to the fifteen-inch Scott speaker, which is in a specially constructed cabinet in a far corner. This speaker cabinet is a box made of three-quarter-inch plywood, constructed and braced for complete rigidity; the interior measurements are three feet wide by four feet high by one and one-half feet deep; and the removable back fits in flush with the sides, top, and bottom. The necessary thirteen-and-three-fourths-inch hole is cut out of the front a little above center for the speaker, which is mounted with screws firmly to prevent vibration; a piece three by fifteen inches is cut out of the bottom, and the cable from the amplifier goes through this opening. The interior is lined with two pieces of Kimsul acoustical wadding, wedge embossed, one inch thick, density two and one-half pounds, made by the Kimberley Clark Company, 122 East Forty-second Street: one piece covers the entire front interior, with a hole for the back of the speaker; the other piece covers all the back except a one-inch border to permit the back to fit in flush with the sides; and the front piece overlaps the back piece. For easy handling both cabinets are on ball-bearing castors.

For the superb reproduction I get the pickup and speaker cabinet are essential; and don't let the Scott salesman tell you otherwise. If you insist on having the entire machine in one cabinet you will do best to get a Scott cabinet, which is designed for the Scott machine and excellently made; and in that case, for proper baffle area for the speaker, let it be nothing smaller than the Georgian, and the larger the better. But you ought not to insist after I tell you that one *Nation* reader who was impressed by the sound of the machine in the Georgian was overwhelmed by the superiority of the sound when the speaker was put into the separate cabinet I have described. This reader had the same experience when he tried the Audak D-36 in place of the Garrard pickup that Scott sells (that is sufficient answer to the contention that this is a Garrard especially made for Scott); and if you insist on a record-changer you should get the Garrard equipped with the Audak pickup head. With this *Nation* reader's experience and my own you need not share the Scott salesman's worry about loss of volume or of fidelity or any other inadequacy of performance through the phonograph equipment and separate speaker cabinet I recommend. The only guaranty you need—and it is one that you are entitled to—is against defective performance due to defective parts or workmanship in what Scott contributes to the setup—the radio tuner, amplifier, and speaker.

It is by no means necessarily true that if there were any phonograph equipment or setup better than its own, Scott would itself adopt them. Things don't happen that way in the world of phonographs and records: superior recording processes are being withheld from commercial exploitation right now and may not be released for decades, because of the financial investment in the present process. What Scott can say for itself—and it could be said also by the mass-production companies in defense of the defective instruments they grind out—is that there is no point in adopting equipment and setup to achieve superior reproduction when most buyers do not allow the machine to give as good reproduction as it can give even with the Garrard pickup and in one cabinet: when, for example, they turn down the treble and use non-metallic needles to eliminate needle-scratch, and in so doing eliminate the musical sounds of high vibration-frequencies that give present-day recorded sound its richness, its brilliance, its high degree of fidelity to timbre. If one wants this richness, this brilliance, this high fidelity, one must take the scratch; and after a while it becomes dissociated from the music and not even heard. But most buyers of the Scott turn down the treble and use non-metallic needles also to get "mellow" tone—that is, sound deprived of the high frequencies, the brilliance, the high fidelity. And it should be understood that the equipment and setup I have advocated are intended to produce the maximum of such brilliance and fidelity which the Scott can achieve when its treble control is turned up to the point where scratch is sharply audible, when this is balanced with sufficient bass, and when there is sufficient volume for the tone to be full and clear. The maximum is good for present-day recording of orchestra; for harsh orchestral recording, for solo instruments and voice, for some old recordings—not for all—one reduces the treble somewhat; and in operas and concertos there is the difficulty that what is good for voice or piano is not good for orchestra, and vice versa.

The Scott Philharmonic radio costs $379.50; my speaker cabinet cost $28; the price for a cabinet for the rest of the machine was $48; at Radio Wire Television the Audak D-36 costs $22.64, the Thordarson T-90A00 transformer $10, the Garrard A6C motor $10.88, the Garrard 201 motor $22.34, the Garrard record-changer (including motor) $52.90, the Audak D-36 head on the changer an additional $50, and cable and installation costs may come to $15 or $20. One can buy a piano for as little as $250; but a fine piano costs about $1,500. Just so, one can get enjoyable sounds from a Magnavox Concerto that lists at $68.50, and more impressive reproduction from the Lafayette BB-17 at $119.95; but for what my setup gives one has to pay what this setup costs. The Scott twenty-tube Phantom radio costs $259.50; and from what it sounded like with the Garrard pickup and all-in-one Scott cabinet I should expect it to give very fine results with the Audak pickup and separate speaker cabinet. The separate speaker cabinet will improve the sound of any machine; and for a twelve-inch speaker it need be only one foot deep, and the piece cut out of the bottom should be three by twelve inches.

Do not use a sapphire needle unless it is a permanent and integral part of a pickup designed for it; with a record-changer use chromium (but don't use a record-changer); with a single-record motor and pickup use chromium for the first playing of new records (one needle for four or five sides), and steel after that (a fresh needle for each side)—Victor half-tone or full-tone, whichever gives the better result in each case, and shadowgraphed if you can afford it.

B. H. HAGGIN

INFORMATION FOR SUBSCRIBERS

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Letters to the Editors

Fascism Through Fear

Dear Sirs: It is evident that the issues of this critical hour have cut across old lines and that many of us who had supposed that we shared ideals and outlook on life in common have parted company and must go our separate ways. Thus Mr. Villard's splendid valedictory to *The Nation* was sad with the sadness of these times but quite inevitable.

Those of us who dissent strongly from *The Nation's* policy do so not because we are unaware of the dynamic force of fascism but because we see fascism in all its horrid aspects at the end of the road *The Nation* has been advocating that we follow. Fascism will never be imposed upon America by a Hitler from without, but by yielding to our fears regarding Hitler we are in danger of having it grow on us from within. That process is going on daily before our eyes.

What are the essential elements of fascism? We all know them: (1) Hysterical super-patriotism. This is now being whipped up in the United States as never before. (2) Racism. We see the beginnings of this in the drive against aliens. In some quarters it already begins to assume an anti-Semitic tinge. (3) We are menaced by radicals and fifth columnists, and there must be a drive to silence dissenters. (4) The enemy is bent on destroying our culture and way of life. We must forcibly save it. (5) We must arm to the teeth, conscript our youth into military service, devote all our energies to becoming a mighty military and naval power. (6) We must expand our power and commercial influence. In the case of Germany, Hitler looked toward the East; Mussolini looked toward Africa; we are looking toward South America.

Every element of the program of fascism is already well developed in the United States. It is based on fear. There was some excuse for Germany's fears. It had been through a devastating war, had been betrayed by the leaders of democracy at Versailles, had been starved and humiliated, and was in economic disorder. That the Germans should listen to Hitler's siren call to follow the totalitarian route to national aggrandizement is understandable. That we, to protect ourselves from fascism, should adopt it, is tragic.

The Nation admits, as does every responsible person who has not completely lost his head, that we are not in any real danger of direct attack, but indicates that we must fight because German agents are working to secure advantages in South America. Why, in the name of common sense, shouldn't they, and how can it hurt us if totalitarian Europe trades with totalitarian South America? The principal South American countries are nearer to Europe culturally and geographically than they are to us, they produce agricultural products with which we are glutted and of which Europe will stand in great need, South America already owes us vast sums which cannot be repaid; to conduct a large trade with it will mean further losses to us, and one year of war would cost us more than we could make on South American trade, under most favorable conditions, in decades. The best way to defeat the spread of fascism here is to keep down our fears and exercise a little common sense.

ROYAL WILBUR FRANCE

Canada Lake, N. Y., July 18

Pacifist Youth

Dear Sirs: Recently a young woman in the Graduate School of Columbia University said to me, "I am amazed at what I hear among the students. College students from all over the country are pacifist or isolationist. Some of the faculty seem to realize that we are a part of the world, but not the students."

This is true of a number of students in the large Midwest university with which I am acquainted. Many of the younger members of the faculty are also pacifist or isolationist. The theme song of all is the same: "This fight in Europe is no concern of ours. It's a fight among imperialists, all of the same stripe. British propaganda got the United States into the last war, and we are not going to be fooled by that bunk as you were."

Though most of these young people speak the language of the pure pacifist, they can be divided into various groups. One is the pro-Nazi group, probably very small in the student body, perhaps larger in the faculty but becoming less articulate. The disillusioned group is larger, and some of them are defeatist. Nothing is worth fighting for, they say, certainly not the so-called European democracies. It isn't our business to send them material aid. America is pretty rotten too. The trouble with many of this group is that they have had the Vision, have seen the perfect state—Russia. Even if they are now disillusioned about Russia, the contrast between the Vision and the reality in the democracies is so disheartening that they shrug their shoulders and ask why they should do anything. Recently in our university there was an effort to present to the students some talks on democracy, on some of the good things that have been accomplished in the United States. One young professor said, "Well, really, what is there to talk about? Just what can you point to?" And many agreed with him.

Tragically, all this pacifism, isolationism, pessimism, defeatism, comes at a time when the Fascist and Nazi youth find it most worth while to conquer the world.

EVELYNN T. BERDAHL

Washington, D. C., July 10

For Freedom of Conscience

Dear Sirs: At this moment, when the future, not of our nation alone but of all nations, is being decided, we the undersigned English writers ask to be heard by the writers of other countries.

It is not only life that is threatened; it is freedom of conscience. And if that is lost, as it is lost wherever the Nazi power extends, life itself is not worth a breath. We ask all those who have still the liberty to speak and to think, to consider what this means.

We ask you, in the confidence that you will judge us fairly, to support us as best you can in a struggle which is not ended yet. We do not expect defeat. We expect danger, and we are able to face it. And we pledge ourselves to remember that a lasting peace must be based on justice. We will set our faces against revenge.

STORM JAMESON, president, International P. E. N. Club, London Center; HERMON OULD, general secretary; H. G. WELLS, J. B. PRIESTLEY, HENRY W. NEVINSON, former presidents; BONAMY DOBREE, WALTER DE LA MARE, E. M. FORSTER, V. SACKVILLE-WEST, GILBERT MURRAY, HUGH WALPOLE, REBECCA WEST, vice-presidents

London, June

THE *Nation*

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

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The Shape of Things

COMPULSORY MILITARY SERVICE SEEMS TO us to offer the only hope of creating a big army that is at the same time a democratic army. We don't like it, but neither do we like a world largely dominated by fascist powers whose promises are only as good as the armies of their intended victims. We prefer the universal rigors of conscription to a volunteer army raised to war-time strength through ballyhoo and pressure, including white feathers for "slackers." But the Burke-Wadsworth bill is not the conscription bill we think should be passed. It ignores entirely the proposals—vague, to be sure, but suggestive—made by the President on June 18. It provides that the men drafted shall be subjected to strict military training for one year, with brief training periods in the ten years that follow. The President suggested something quite different. He wanted a system which would train young men, and young women as well, in a wide variety of activities related to the defense of the country. It would include training in industrial processes and agriculture, in nursing and home-defense work, as well as in strict military skills. It recognized the fact that in a modern army only one person out of eight can be a fighter. It assumed, too, that all young people should somehow be fitted into the common struggle to protect our country and its deepest interests. Where is that plan today?

*

THE BURKE-WADSWORTH BILL HAS BEEN much improved in committee, but even as a straight military-draft bill it is weak at several points. We doubt, for one thing, the wisdom of registering the whole male population between the ages of eighteen and sixty-four, and calling for active service men drawn from the group between twenty-one and forty-five. It would be better to limit compulsory training to young people and make it a regular part of their preparation for citizenship. This is the age group which as a whole carries the lightest financial burdens and which can be most easily dispensed with by industry. We believe, too, that the bill should be even more specific in requiring the reemployment of drafted men after their period of service. The provision for exempting conscientious objectors is much more liberal than in the draft of 1917, but it should certainly be broadened to include political as well as religious objectors. Basically, however, we want a different sort of bill altogether, one devised with thought and imagination for the creation of a democratic army. We hope the ideas of the President will finally prevail.

*

THE GENTLEMEN OF THE RIGHT WHO HAVE been talking in firm tones of the need for "discipline" if democracy is to save itself should—but probably won't—welcome the navy "speed-up" act rushed through Congress just before it recessed for the Republican National Convention. Under the terms of this act the President has power to commandeer and put under government operation "any manufacturing plant or facility" in the country which he considers essential to the national defense. The exercise of this power does not depend upon war but upon the national emergency declared by the President last September, and the mere threat should be helpful in invigorating certain manufacturers who place profits before patriotism. Some of our airplane manufacturers seem disinclined to build planes for the army or navy until Congress has repealed the 8 per cent limitation on their profits. Mr. Roosevelt's agreement to drop the profit limitation is not enough for them. Some of our steel and shipbuilding companies can also be dealt with more efficiently if a birch rod of this kind is available in the government's cupboard. A Ford, at the risk of losing that Hitler medal, might be forced under this act to make good his boast of 1,000 planes a day. It remains to be seen whether the act will be turned to these purposes or merely held in reserve for some occasion when a strike needs to be broken.

*

AMERICAN FLIRTATION WITH APPEASEMENT of Japan seems to have ended. A Presidential order has been issued prohibiting the export of oil and scrap iron from this country without a license. Present indications are that the licensing power will be used to cut off oil shipments to the Axis via Spain and to end the suicidal

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practice by which we have been supplying a potential enemy in the Pacific with the sinews of war. Even before the order went through, the Maritime Commission had on several occasions forbidden the charter of vessels to take gasoline to Spain and to Japan. But just the same Japan received from us last year 65 per cent of its oil imports and more than 85 per cent of its iron and steel scrap. The President's order was the only proper sequel to our protest against Britain's action in shutting the Burma road, over which supplies had been flowing into China. It should also end the embarrassing contrast between our sympathy for China and our boom business with Japan in the very articles it needs to subdue the Chinese. Relevant, too, is the fact that the export of scrap iron cuts down our domestic supply of a basic raw material and adds to the prices American consumers must pay for all products in the manufacture of which steel plays a part, that is, virtually all products. The Japanese rightly take appeasement for weakness: Britain's action in closing the Burma road was followed by the secret arrest of British business men in Japan. An embargo on oil and scrap iron to Japan is language its militarists will understand.

*

MORE AND MORE OF BRITAIN'S RESOURCES are being poured into its fight for life, and to support the effort taxation on rich and poor alike is being raised to heights far above those of the last war. Introducing the third budget within twelve months, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir Kingsley Wood, said that the war bill now averaged £57,000,000 weekly. This is not far short of £3,000,000,000 annually, or approaching 60 per cent of the estimated national income. And on top of this, large sums are required for civil expenditures and debt charges. As a result, even with the new levies now imposed, revenue will cover less than half the expenditures of the current year. The income tax, which in the last war reached a peak of 30 per cent, is now raised to 42½ per cent, and there is also to be an increase in the graduated surtax which applies to incomes exceeding £2,000. The Exchequer will now take 90 per cent of the excess of incomes over £20,000. But the small man is also hard hit, especially those who just come within tax limits, since whereas the rate on the first £165 of taxable income was formerly half the standard rate, or 18¾ per cent, it is now to be raised to 25 per cent. On the other hand, there is to be no reduction in personal allowances. This recognizes the fact that a minimum subsistence level must be maintained. The same principle applies to indirect taxation. There are to be new or increased levies on all luxuries and even on those essentials the consumption of which can normally be postponed. But absolute necessities are not affected. Thus Britain adapts its fiscal system to the exigencies of siege warfare. Amazingly little grumbling has been reported, and the general criticism of the British press seems to be, not that the burden is too heavy, but that the Chancellor has not been sufficiently exacting.

*

THE VICHY GOVERNMENT IS DOING LITTLE to support Ambassador Bullitt's optimistic belief that it is not fascist. Certainly the arrest and threatened prosecution of MM. Daladier, Mandel, Delbos, and others on the charge that they forced French entry into the war is typical of the scapegoat hunting which has marked the advent of every fascist regime. Daladier and his colleagues have, indeed, made grievous errors, but the most deadly was their failure to deal strongly with the traitors of the right. This can hardly be the reason for which they are to be punished. However, the Vichy regime is clearly at a loss for positive measures of reconstruction, and not being able to offer the people bread, must try to satisfy them with purges. The development of policy hangs on German decisions, and Berlin is taking its time. Perhaps Hitler hopes to demoralize France further prior to taking over the whole country and splitting it into a number of protectorates. There are reports of a plan to include northern France with Belgium and Holland in a new Nazified Flemish state. Breton separatism—a weakly growth prior to the war—is also being encouraged. Perhaps the most significant news from France is the report that in the confusion following the armistice large quantities of arms disappeared. Realizing the use to which such arms might be put in the future, the government has ordered the death penalty for concealment, but many prudent Frenchmen are likely to keep their rifles safely hidden until opportunity arises for their use.

*

ALL TOO FEEBLE IS THE RECOMMENDATION of a Senate interstate-commerce subcommittee that railroad holding companies be brought under federal regulation. Senators Wheeler and Truman, who signed the report embodying this anti-climactic proposal, base their view on the disastrous experience of the Missouri Pacific under the domination of the Alleghany Corporation, chief Van Sweringen holding company. But the story of Alleghany, like that of our other great railroad holding company, Pennroad, underscores the need for more drastic measures. Neither served any sound economic purpose. Both were set up to circumvent ICC supervision. The Morgans made money on the operations of Alleghany; Kuhn, Loeb, on those of Pennroad. The public lost heavily in both. The Transportation Act of 1920 was intended to end the practice of using a railroad as a means of speculating in the securities of other railroads. The New York, New Haven, and Hartford crash and the 1915 Missouri Pacific bankruptcy had shown how dangerous it was to convert a railroad into a jackpot for stock speculation. Railroad holding companies came into being as a means of getting around the Transportation Act and the anti-trust laws. The losses suffered by stockholders and the public have demonstrated anew that the only safe way to run a railroad is to confine its activities to transportation.

*

GEORGE WASHINGTON HILL'S TONGUE MUST have been in his cheek when he sent a letter to the stockholders of his American Tobacco Company declaring that the real purpose of the new anti-trust attack on the tobacco companies was "to repudiate established economic principles and to promote economic theories wholly foreign to American principles of fair competition and individual enterprise." For he and the other executives of tobacco's "Big Four" have done their best to keep "American principles of fair competition" out of the business and have shown individual enterprise chiefly in discovering new means for making a dead letter of the 1911 Supreme Court decree "dissolving" the tobacco trust. The farmer selling the leaf and the consumer smoking the weed have both found themselves up against a combination powerful enough to dictate the terms of purchase and the terms of sale. Arnold is to be commended for his courage in obtaining criminal indictments under the Sherman Act against the eight major tobacco companies, their subsidiaries and officers. That he will be successful in restoring adequate competition in the business is dubious, but he is even now planning another Augean task, restoration of competition in oil. The Rockefeller oil trust was "dissolved" in 1911, along with the tobacco trust, and with equal inefficiency. The present monopoly depends on control of the pipe-lines, and Arnold is reported preparing to strike at this very point. We wish him luck.

*

IN HAVANA SECRETARY OF STATE HULL HAS been trying to induce Latin American statesmen to scotch German fifth-column activity—particularly that of consular and diplomatic agents. Back in Washington Acting Secretary of State Welles has been considering whether or not to do anything about the case of Frederich Ried, the new German consul at New York. Mr. Ried took up his post in this country when Brazil expelled him for the very conduct against which Hull warned his fellow-delegates. Why Ried should have been accepted by the State Department in the first place and why Welles should have to ponder the matter now that the facts are known are mysteries for the solution of which we should not wait too patiently. German diplomatic staffs in this country as elsewhere are notoriously swollen and go about their business with Teutonic bluntness. A few weeks ago the German consul general at New Orleans, Edgard Freiherr Spiegel von und zu Peckelsheim, told us to mend our ways or suffer trade discrimination at the hands of the New Germany. Now Mr. Ried boasts of the 1,000 Nazified schools he established in Brazil and of his intervention against the suppression of a pro-Nazi newspaper by the Vargas government. Consul General Spiegel, etc., escaped with a light slap on the wrist. If that is all that Welles has in mind for Mr. Ried, his boss has been wasting the government's time in Havana.

*

TO ANTI-FASCISTS HUDDLED IN MARSEILLES the sailing of the American freighter McKeesport, in ballast, empty of passengers, and bound for the Statue of Liberty, must have seemed like the final cruelty in a sadistic world. Many of these people hold American visas, but the McKeesport could not take them. It would have been "illegal" for the democratic government of the United States to save these anti-fascists; their torture at the hands of the Nazis will also be "illegal." Meanwhile, on this side of the ocean a fine transatlantic passenger liner has just been launched. We dreamed the other night that the America on its maiden voyage crossed the Atlantic to rescue Europe's children. But that would be illegal too. Instead, it is going on a pleasure cruise to the West Indies.

CONTENTS

THE SHAPE OF THINGS 81

EDITORIALS:

HAVANA—A LIMITED VICTORY 84
THERE IS NO ALTERNATIVE by Freda Kirchwey 85

CONSCRIPTING AMERICA by Maxwell S. Stewart 86
THE WAR AS REVOLUTION II. THE ATTITUDE OF THE INTELLECTUALS by Max Lerner 88
EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS by Keith Hutchison 92
IN THE WIND 93

BOOKS AND THE ARTS:

HENRY ADAMS: AN UNPUBLISHED LETTER Introduction by Harold J. Laski 94
NOTES BY THE WAY by Margaret Marshall 95
BIOGRAPHY OF WEBER by Jacques Barzun 96
HISTORY OF SURGERY by Karl Menninger 97
RECORDS by B. H. Haggin 98

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Havana—a Limited Victory

THE Havana conference, which as we write is entering its concluding stages, has squared up to some of the problems of hemisphere security with far more realism than was displayed at the meeting in Panama last fall. It has also provided a more convincing demonstration of pan-American solidarity than most observers had expected. For this achievement a great deal of the credit is due to Cordell Hull, whose perseverance, sincerity, and tact did much to allay ever-ready suspicion of "Yankee imperialism."

In a reverse sense we should also, perhaps, pay tribute to the Axis propagandists, whose vicious attempts to sow discord at Havana have done much to defeat their own ends. The delegates assembled only a few days after the Franco government, apparently inspired by its masters in Berlin and Rome, had broken off relations with Chile and launched an insulting attack on the government of that country. This impertinent interference in the affairs of a sovereign state aroused wide indignation and conjured up visions of assaults to come should the Axis gain a hold in Latin America. The lesson was rammed home by bombastic articles in the German and Italian press outlining fascist proposals for economic relations when victory was won and by the declaration of the Reich Minister of Economics that Germany would trade with the Americas on its own terms or not at all. With European fascism hardly bothering to conceal the mailed fist it has begun to stretch across the Atlantic, there seems a stronger inclination among the Latin American states to accept United States leadership. At Havana this proved disconcerting to the chief Argentine delegate, Dr. Leopoldo Melo, who arrived with the obvious intention of heading an opposition if one could be gathered. After a few days, during which he led the attack on Mr. Hull's draft proposals for securing European possessions in the Americas against a forced change of ownership, he found himself in a minority of one and capitulated at the price of a few minor amendments. The declaration of the conference on this subject is likely to prove its most important act. The preamble states that European developments may create a situation in American territory held by belligerents which might generate peril for the peace of the continent. Because of this prospect, it continues, the American republics may establish regions of "provisional administration" in non-American possessions which "are in danger of becoming the subject of barter of territory or change of sovereignty."

In order to carry out this policy, an executive committee made up of one representative each of the American republics is to be appointed, and in an emergency this committee may itself assume the administration of an attacked or menaced region. But should the necessity for immediate action make it impossible to wait for assembly of the committee, any of the republics, individually or jointly, "shall have the right to act in a manner required for its defense or the defense of the continent." This clause may prove a vital one, for it might well be invoked by the United States if the problem of the French Caribbean islands became a pressing one. In a recent article Major George Fielding Eliot pointed to the possibility that French North African bases were being lent to the Italians for attacks on Gibraltar. If this were proved, Britain might well feel justified in attempting to seize Martinique and the warships now harboring there. It may therefore be necessary for this country to take steps at a very early date to prevent the Caribbean from becoming a battleground.

Questions of economic defense occupied a good deal of time at the Havana conference, but the final resolution, as might have been expected, did little more than lay down directions for cooperation in solving inter-American economic problems, with special regard for the handling of surplus commodities. If Hitler wins the war and brings the vast consuming power of Europe under single control, a united front of American producers of basic foods and raw materials will be highly necessary. Such an organization would have an immense bargaining power, but it would have to recognize that it could not hope to withhold surplus commodities from Europe permanently. Its chief job would be to see that Europe paid a fair price—not in frozen credits or job lots of fountain pens. This would mean a hemisphere planning board with authority to decide what quantities and kinds of European goods could be easily absorbed. In trading on a totalitarian basis tariffs must give way to quotas.

The most vital method of economic defense would be the adoption of a carefully planned program for raising the standard of living throughout the Americas. The inter-American economic and financial consultative committee to be set up in Washington was directed to recommend methods for attaining this end. If average incomes among our southern neighbors could be raised even to WPA levels, the problem of commodity surpluses would be largely solved. A wise investment policy on the part of this country directed toward the development of potential Latin American resources is an essential step toward increasing purchasing power.

More than ever our own prosperity and security depend on the prosperity and security of our neighbors. They will react violently against attempts at exploitation and be angered if we adopt the attitude of a charity organization. We must strive, therefore, to construct plans for the economic development and integration of the continent which are clearly of mutual benefit, leaving to the Nazis the theory that trade is a kind of warfare.

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There Is No Alternative

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

ALMOST every sentence in Maxwell Stewart's attack on conscription in this issue of *The Nation* is, by itself, convincing. The trouble with his argument lies in its premises. He analyzes the proposal for universal military service today in terms of the draft army of 1917, and in those terms he opposes it—cogently. If our army is to be only the A. E. F. over again, its value is certainly to be questioned. But the very circumstances in which it s being created insure important differences.

The conscript army of 1917 was improvised after war had been declared. With surprising efficiency considerng the pressure of events, but hastily none the less, two million men were selected, trained, and put under arms. The raising of this army was a temporary break in a normal national life in which military affairs were happily remote from the ordinary citizen. After the war armament expenditures were sharply reduced, the army was demobilized, and the United States washed its hands of he affairs of Europe.

Contrast the situation today: France disastrously defeated in the field and Hitler lord over continental Europe; Britain, with no unconquered allies except its colonies and the dominions, facing imminent assault. No one knows whether Britain wil be able to resist or will be overwhelmed with the loss of empire and fleet. But, at best, we cannot realistically hope for an early defeat of Hitler. Churchill's warning after Dunkerque hat a successful withdrawal must not be confused with a victory applies to England's present situation. A successful resistance will also not be a victory. The political and military dominance of Nazi Germany, together with he spreading power of Japan in Asia—these are the controlling characteristics of the world of 1940. The creation of a strong army is not a temporary emergency measure; it is part of a long-range program necessitated by a world situation which is likely to grow worse.

A period of peace preceded the war of 1914. It was a period pricked with warnings for those who chose to see them; but few did. The world awoke to war with a start. The present war is different. It began—where? In he Rhineland or in Ethiopia? Or before that in the bare hills of Manchuria? It is not an event that can be pinned down with a date, but this much is sure: Hitler did not defeat France in forty days of invasion; he defeated France in the years that went before—years of deliberate, implacable preparation. Britain and France were at peace during those years, but Germany was at war. Britain and France approached the final showdown in much the same mood that characterized the years leading up to 1914—the same old diplomatic maneuvers, the conventional pre-World War military preparations. They believed that they were at peace until they found themselves fighting, but all the time they were in process of being conquered.

It is this error that the United States should avoid. As long as Nazi despotism rules Europe and threatens the world, so long must the word and hope of peace be banished from our minds. Even today the United States is no longer at peace. It is living in a state of war preparation which will last until fascism has been defeated. Hitler's successes and further ambitions have thrust upon us an unwelcome but inescapable job of total preparation. Out of nothing—speaking relatively—we must create a war machine, not as an emergency improvisation but as an integral part of our national life in the years to come.

Maxwell Stewart opposes conscription for two reasons. First, he contends, we need no large army; a two-ocean navy, an expanded air force, together with anti-aircraft defenses, and a well-equipped army of about 300,000 men are all that is required. For such an army conscription is unnecessary. Second, American experience with conscription in 1917 was not the sort to recommend the system today.

Even in his own terms Mr. Stewart is not wholly consistent. At the start of his essay he says, "Conscription in war time is regrettable but necessary." But why? If a small, well-equipped army were sufficient, conscription would never be necessary. On the other hand, if, as Mr. Stewart admits, a conscript army is required in case of war, it should most certainly be created before the actual fighting begins. That is the real lesson of 1917. For such an army must not be improvised. Its construction and equipping are a long job, especially today, when, as Mr. Stewart points out, the intricate machines of modern warfare demand a high proportion of technically trained soldiers.

It is quite true that the final size and disposition of the army cannot be determined exactly until we know the issue of the struggle over England. As long as the British fleet is intact, we have a two-ocean navy. If it is lost to Hitler, we have far less than a one-ocean navy. If it is lost, we must rush our preparations in order to be able to occupy by land and air forces any threatened area near our coasts or within striking distance of the Panama Canal. A two-ocean navy takes longer to build than even a modern army: during the next few years, years in which Hitler will be making his bid for world dominion, our newly authorized navy will still be under construction. Today we must act on the assumption that Britain may be defeated and that we may be faced with an early threat to the security of the hemisphere. It will be easier later on to limit our program, if fate permits, than to try, in the face of threat, to reach the level of totalitarian preparation in one desperate leap.

Mr. Stewart's second main argument against compulsory military service rests on two sets of facts—his experiences in the American army during the World War, and the reactionary influence of the conscript armies of Europe. With many of his points I agree. At a time when a reasonable chance existed of maintaining our independence and our democratic way of life without a big army, his insistence on the social dangers of militarism and on the deadening effect of army discipline would have bespoken a radical and militant attitude. Today that chance is gone. We have no choice between civilian virtues and military vices, between good and evil, between an army and no army. The choice lies between an army based on universal service and a greatly expanded professional army. That is the issue under debate in Washington this week. Admittedly a conscript army holds many potential dangers of reaction; admittedly, even in democratic nations, the armies are more reactionary than the general political level of the countries; at the same time the dangers of reactionary control in a volunteer professional army are even greater.

By and large, in every nation, the progressive groups in the community have shunned the army. This is due partly to a sensible objection to military life and military ideals, partly to the lack of professional inducements to take up an army career. The result is that a volunteer army is largely populated with able-bodied ne'er-do-wells and misfits, officered by reactionaries and bureaucrats. An army based on universal service will not be democratic *per se,* but it offers all the elements out of which a democratic institution can be built. To reject universal service out of fear of its potentially reactionary results would be to deliver the army to the reactionaries without a struggle. The very dangers to which Mr. Stewart points lead me to the opposite conclusion. An army is at best a favorable breeding-ground for reaction. We must fight for its democratization; and success in that fight is only possible if we have an army in which all elements of the population are represented.

American liberals should recognize before it is too late what the British working class and its leaders realized only after the war had started—that the left must take a positive position on the question of national defense. It must make the struggle against Hitler an honest fight for the faith it lives by. And it can do this in only one way—by working not against the army but for the army. It must help to create it and man it and then to control it—by democratic methods and for democratic ends.

Conscripting America

BY MAXWELL S. STEWART

THE brutal logic of events during the past few weeks has swept away many illusions long cherished by those who call themselves liberals or progressives. Pacifism has become a luxury which we dare no longer enjoy; few of us who fought armament bills in the past have come out against the President's recent unprecedented defense program. The fate of France with its Popular Front reforms has even raised the question of how far we dare go in ameliorating working conditions when faced by potential enemies whose strength is based on a slave economy.

This revision of judgments has not been wholly free of hysteria. In the rush to secure our national defenses in the shortest possible time, we have taken action that would have seemed fantastic a year ago and that may seem equally so a year hence. Some of it has little relation to a rational defense plan. The gravest example of this mass hysteria, to my mind, is the general support which has been given to proposals for peace-time compulsory military service. Conscription in war time is regrettable but necessary; it also may be necessary for a country with hostile armies on its borders. But the dangers of conscription far outweigh its utility for a country possessing the peculiar defense advantages of the United States.

That these dangers have not been more clearly pointed out is probably due to the fact that they are largely intangible, and are recognizable chiefly to those who have had the misfortune to pass through a period of rigorous military service. My protest against conscription grows out of personal experience and observation in the last war; prior to my enlistment in the marine corps in 1918 I shared most of the popular misconceptions regarding the value of military training. (The training given to marines during the last war, however, was in every way superior to that given the conscript army.)

Theoretically, compulsory military service offers certain advantages. It is said to develop strong bodies, a valuable sense of discipline, self-reliance, and a worthy spirit of patriotism. There is a tendency to idealize it as a means of building citizens. On the first point there is little room for argument. Military training, like any other form of organized exercise, is beneficial physically. The more intensive the training, the greater, under most circumstances, are the physical benefits. Sloppy, half-hearted training which leaves the recruit with hours of time hanging on his hands may actually be detrimental physically. As to the other supposed gains, the effects of military service are the reverse of those claimed.

Take, for example, the matter of discipline. No one will deny that intensive military training involves strict discipline. Discipline is indispensable for effective military operations. A certain type of discipline is also valuable in civil life. But American army discipline as enforced in the last war was a far better training for life under a dictatorship than in a democracy. It was anything but a conscious, self-imposed discipline. No effort was made to explain its purpose. Obedience was expected to be unquestioning. Every detail of the soldier's life, including much of his recreation, was controlled from above. Individual initiative of any type was distinctly not encouraged in the ranks. It was a prerogative of officers. Absolute discipline is of course necessary in war. But I maintain that the efficiency it creates is gained at the expense of those qualities of human personality most essential to a democracy. It is sheer hypocrisy to pretend, as do the military-minded, that discipline "builds men." Its purpose is to create not men but robots.

Nor does military training build self-reliance. A soldier may be accustomed to hardships, but he is not practiced in bearing responsibility. His food, clothing, shelter, and employment are provided by the government. As a result, civilian life with its uncertainties and lack of security becomes rather terrifying. I have known able young men who have reenlisted in the army year after year because they lacked confidence in their ability to cope with civilian problems. And I can testify from personal experience to the deadly, enervating effect of having all decisions made by superiors. It is particularly unfortunate that military training should usually come just at the period when boys are attempting to escape from the sheltered life of childhood and take their places in the world. For it definitely impedes, if it does not altogether block, that process.

Equally demoralizing for the developing personality is the dull routine of military life. Wholesome recreation is almost completely lacking. To be sure, there is a certain amount of supervised athletics, and some "uplift" recreation is provided by the Y. M. C. A. and the Salvation Army. But the average young soldier wants to get away from supervision and uplift in his free time. He wants, if possible, to use his scant leisure as he chooses. He would like, above all, the companionship of young women of his own kind. This is rarely possible. So, at best, the average soldier idles away his spare hours in desultory talk or in playing cards or shooting dice; at worst, he spends his time, at least before pay day is too far in the past, in bars or brothels. Often he can literally find nothing else to do. Good current books or magazines are rarely available. Nothing is provided to appeal to the intellectual or artistic interests of youth. The effect is particularly bad in the case of pampered youngsters who have never learned to stand on their own feet. And how many young men of eighteen to twenty-one are really fortified against the dull monotony of military life?

For years our jingoes have lauded military training as a means of developing a sound patriotism. Pacifists have opposed it on the ground that it tends to create a military mind-set, that it makes killers out of otherwise normal young men. Actually, it develops neither patriotism nor militarism, as millions of former service men can testify. The average soldier in the ranks comes to dislike or despise his officers, and soon his resentment is extended to the government which is responsible for the injustices and petty inconveniences of military life. Our conscript is not patriotic; he is cowed and submissive though inwardly seething with rebellion. This attitude may, as military men insist, make a good soldier. It does not make a good citizen.

I have reserved for the last what seems to me to be the most serious indictment of military training, especially in peace time, namely, that such training conduces to inefficiency and sloth. Nowhere in civil life would inefficiency be so generally tolerated, or rather encouraged, as it is in the army. This is quickly realized by the soldier in the ranks. Seeing inefficiency on all sides of him, he rapidly becomes cynical regarding his own duties. Finding that only suckers work, he shirks at every opportunity. This is distinctly not the attitude that I should like to see inculcated in American youth.

The inefficiency which characterized our war-time preparations in 1917-18 is sometimes blamed on the necessity for speed. It is pointed out that nearly five million men were trained, fed, and equipped within about eighteen months. Under such circumstances little attention could be given to standards of efficiency. Most of the officers were either uneducated army men from the ranks or inexperienced men drawn hastily from civil life. But I suspect that conditions would be even worse if an extensive program of military training were launched today. Control would rest in the same military caste as before, and my experience with this caste suggests that without the compulsion of war, morale would probably be lower than it was in 1918. Moreover, the peace-time conscript is not likely to take his job as seriously as the man seeking knowledge that may save his life. In the last war it was difficult to make the average soldier see the value of close-order drill. In peace time the traditional routine makes even less sense.

Some sober-minded persons who advocate universal military training in spite of its dangers give two arguments more weight than they deserve. One is that conscription is a means of getting rid of the military caste that has held the services in its grasp for many generations. Only a draft army, it is asserted, can be truly democratic, because it alone allows no distinction of class. The idea appears on the surface to make sense, but unfortunately it finds little support in the experience of the democratic countries of Europe which have had conscription. The Swiss army has frequently been held up as a model of democratic efficiency. Yet a recent study shows that even in Switzerland a highly disproportionate number of the officers come from well-to-do families with rightist political leanings. The same seems to have been true in France. In this country conscription would probably only place more power in the hands of the present military caste.

Even more persuasive is the argument that universal military training is necessary if we are to avoid the slaughter of untrained youths in the next war. This belief seems to me to be based on a misreading of history. Insufficient training was not responsible for American young men being sent to certain death during the last war. Few men were sent to the front without an adequate number of weeks of training. It was simply the wrong kind of training. Practically the entire period in camp in this country was given over to close-order drill and parades. Little or no attention was paid to maneuvers simulating actual combat conditions. Many a man was sent to France before he had ever handled a rifle, but this was not for lack of time but for lack of rifles.

The experiences of the last war, moreover, can scarcely be used to illuminate America's present defense problem. For under any conditions that can be foreseen today man-power is of relatively little importance. Experts are generally agreed that a rational defense program for the United States requires (1) a two-ocean navy, (2) an enlarged air force together with greatly improved antiaircraft defenses, and (3) a small but highly mobile land force. A well-equipped, well-trained army of 300,000, with a National Guard of about the same size in reserve, could meet any conceivable defense demands. Such a force would have to be highly trained technically. The doughboy of the last war must give way to the technician, skilled in one specialized duty. This implies a professional army with a relatively long period of enlistment. Conscript armies may still have their place in the land fighting of Europe, but they are ill suited to the peculiar defense needs of this country.

In the light of these facts Senator Burke's plan for universal military service seems fantastic. His bill looks forward to the training of all men between the ages of eighteen and sixty-four, men between twenty-one and forty-five being subject to call for active service. To provide these tens of millions of men with even the most fragmentary training would place an enormous strain on our military equipment and personnel. And in modern warfare poor training is little better than none.

If war comes, conscription may become necessary as a means of mobilizing the entire force of the nation against the enemy—conscription of economic resources as well as of man-power. The nature of the training to be given will depend on the source of the attack. Presumably more attention would have to be paid to education in industrial techniques than to purely military training. Let us arm to the limit against Nazi aggression. But let us not think that we are safeguarding ourselves against attack by teaching our men and boys to do "squads right" and "squads left" under the totalitarian discipline of an army clique.

The War as Revolution

II. THE ATTITUDE OF THE INTELLECTUALS

BY MAX LERNER

ALMOST twenty-five years ago Randolph Bourne wrote an essay on The War and the Intellectuals which in the bareness of its logic and the cold passion of its words stands out from the mediocrity of the war writings. It was published in a little paper called the *Seven Arts* and summed up what was in Bourne's generation the best and most generous effort of the left. The intellectuals, Bourne said, were plumping for the war; they had been betrayed by the philosophy of pragmatism. But the true intellectuals could have no traffic with the war; the real choice was between the war and American promise. Bourne was ignored when he was not vilified. He died at the age of thirty-four before he could see the harvest of the dragon-teeth that the intellectuals, in their acceptance of the war and all its implications, had sown.

The role of Bourne and those whom he attacked in the last war is worth our study. Many have argued from it that since Bourne was proved right by what happened after 1933 his position must be the right one for 1940. Every generation of thinkers tends to act negatively in terms of its experience in some analogous situation within its memory. It carries over from its previous experience a sense of the mistakes it once made and wants to rectify them. What we forget now is that the intellectuals of the first World War were the Wilsonian generation of liberals who felt that they had finally come into power after the long, lean post-Civil War years. We think now of that Wilsonian generation as composed of idealists. Actually its thought was saturated in pragmatism. As Bourne pointed out, John Dewey and Herbert Croly and Charles Beard and Walter Lippmann were followers of the Wilsonian war policies because they felt that it was better to swim with the current and thus retain some influence than to remain frustrate outside the current. They sought—to shift the figure—to manipulate the great forces of history, to ride the whirlwind and command the storm. The whirlwind and storm were too much for Wilson and his brain trust. The Allies were unable to organize the peace, and America found itself implicated in their failure. The Wilson group had talked to the people in idealist terms but acted pragmatically. The result was a deflation of the pumped-up idealism which left the post-war generation with a sense only of how stale, flat, and unprofitable were all wars and all attempts to organize a peace.

I am interested in, but not much concerned with, the variety of attitudes which the survivors of that generation have taken toward the present war. Croly is dead. Lippmann writes for the New York *Herald Tribune;* Dewey is scarcely heard from; Beard is fiercely isolationist; the *New Republic,* most savagely attacked by Bourne, has sought for years to find atonement for its sins in the first World War by isolationism in the present one, and has been jolted out of its position only recently by the *Blitzkrieg;* Dos Passos has clung to his ironic sense of withdrawal; Hemingway fought fascism in Spain and is now reported to be finishing a novel in Cuba; Lewis Mumford and Waldo Frank, who stood with Bourne during the first war, have swung into the vanguard of interventionism today; MacLeish, who once admired Hemingway and Dos Passos, has swung with them. Yet it is not these movers and shakers, going off in divergent directions, who will count decisively in the American future. Many of them are still smarting under the intolerable humiliation of having once been taken in, and the attitude of our isolationists today is not so much a reasoned view as it is a licking of wounds. What will count is the generation now coming to maturity. Everything they have learned from the "lost generation," from the war novels and the historical post-mortems and the Nye committee reports, leads them to suspect the stakes, the purposes, the costs, and the consequences of intervention in another war.

I do not blame them. I cannot join in the present cry of my own generation against the cynicism of the college-age generation, both within and outside the colleges. I think that in a national crisis a disbelief in the basic premises of their culture on the part of young people is dangerous, but I can understand its sources. How can we expect them to be anything but cynical considering the mess we have made of the world we are handing on to them; considering that we have never given content, in terms of their lives, to the concepts of democracy, liberty, the career open to talent? Just as in the last war the carry-over of attitudes led the young generation to one form of mistake—the overcalculation of what they could do to control world forces—the carry-over of attitudes in our own time has led to the opposite mistake—a disbelief in all international action by America so deep as to add up to a suicidal inaction, a skepticism of values so intense as to add up to a form of nihilism.

I have spoken thus far as if there were a single strain among our intellectuals and that younger group which generally follows them. That is of course not true. There has probably never been a period in our history when a deeper cleavage existed between, let us say, college faculties and college students on a major issue of social policy. And this reflects a split among intellectuals in general which is especially serious on the left. In one camp are the "deadly-parallel" anti-interventionists, both of the middle and the younger generation. Without any particular party affiliation, they cling to a common desire not to be fooled again. With them are the Communists, who, until last August, acted as if a European war would find them cheering American entrance, but who now bask in the good fortune of having been swung by the course of events back to a line where they can once more quote John Reed's "This Is Not Our War." With them stand, ironically, the Communist-baiting Trotzkyists and Socialists, at least the majority groups among them. Since I am speaking only of intellectuals I omit the Coughlinite and Nazi elements in the anti-interventionist camp.

In the other camp, favoring intervention through war or measures short of war, are most of the non-Communist groups that were formerly for collective security, the left-wing New Dealers, including many who spoke with scorn of collective international action a few years ago, the intellectuals of every political persuasion who plead for intervention in moral terms because this is to them a war between two diametrically opposed conceptions of human destiny, and those independents on the left who believe that their only chance of continuing to work in the direction of a collectivist democracy lies in preventing a Hitlerized world. Again, since I am talking only of the intellectuals, I omit the pro-British industrial and financial groups and the hysterical patrioteers.

The Hitler revolution has found American intellectuals, as it found intellectuals elsewhere, unprepared to understand, to resist, or to transform it. In Germany and in every country which the Nazis have annexed, the republic of scholarship and letters was the first victim, and in every instance it became the satrapy of the conquerors. I am not prepared, however, to conclude that the ineffectiveness of intellectuals and the division among them betray a deep core of decadence in our culture. Our thinkers still exhibit, even in their disunity, a fierceness of belief which is the best mark of a continuing vitality. The fact is that almost the only resistance that Nazism has thus far encountered has come from the intellectuals and the workers. In Germany, in Austria and Czechoslovakia, in Spain and Norway and France, this resistance was undermined by capitalist sabotage, treason in high places, middle-class passivity and bewilderment. But the intellectuals themselves, who formed the heart of their country's culture, showed no decadence—only a heroism which may still be an earnest of vital cultures yet to come. The Spenglerian gloom with which so many of our thinkers have spoken of our decadence is something the enemy delights in. If we really believed it, there would be nothing, either for the intellectual or for the common man, left to fight for.

But the intellectuals cannot help to control the present or shape the future by clinging to the past. It is not their function today to exemplify those who cling to outworn economic, political, or administrative forms, even though they use such terms as "Western culture" or "the great tradition." Only to affirmations will our young people respond, and only if we seek to organize the future can we achieve or deserve their allegiance. Nor can the intellectuals be effective unless they move beyond the materialism which has up to now kept both the capitalists and the left arid, unless they recognize in men a desire for the heroic that cannot be summed up as a response to self-interest or even class interest, a desire to link themselves with the fate of something larger than the individual atom in a society.

Whatever the intellectuals may accomplish for our culture in the future, they cannot accomplish it by themselves. The "illusion of centrality" informs many of the recent calls to arms sounded by intellectuals. There is an underlying assumption that if our thinkers determine their share of the guilt in the victorious march of fascism they can then proceed to convert themselves and remedy everything. This assumption underlies the recent writings of Frank, Mumford, and MacLeish. But intellectuals cannot by themselves shape history. When they have become effective in the past, it has been because they have linked themselves with the rising energies of new classes and new élites. For while intellectuals must not follow the mass, they dare not alienate themselves from the mass. They must discover the healthy lines of direction in their culture and work with the people along those lines. Their objectives today must be socialism in economics, democracy in politics, planning in administration, humanism in culture. But to achieve these they must become again, as they were in Milton's day and Voltaire's and Jefferson's, organic parts of the life, the thinking, the striving of common people. If they fail here, they are lost. They are lost in the sense that they are reduced to an élite of the spirit competing for mastery with other élites which do not have their purposes or their scruples but which know how to make themselves a part of the life of the people.

There can be no doubt of the strength of the German élite or of the effectiveness of the administrative revolution it has accomplished. Our own élite has shown that it need not be deficient in this respect. "Brain trust" furnished a term of contempt which measured the fear that the business men felt about their effectiveness. Our intellectuals have already shown that they can move into the realm of government, master the techniques of law and engineering and production and administration, and compete even in these areas with the men of action. The French and British experience has now shown conclusively that the business élite as such is through, that it cannot be trusted to run a government for democratic purposes with any measure of success. In Britain it was the Baldwins and Chamberlains—the business men in government—who messed things up, and today England has turned to an aristocrat like Churchill and to labor intellectuals like Morrison, Bevin, Attlee, Laski, Cripps. It may be too late for Britain. But America has more time, and it need not be too late for us. The British did not discover until their backs were to the wall that there was a revolution going on in the world, that only a revolutionary reorganization of democracy could cope with it, and that the intellectuals on the left, with the labor forces, would have to be the vanguard of this reorganization. How long shall we wait before we make the same discovery?

The intellectuals cannot afford to wait until the discovery is made by others. They must understand that in a world in which things are moving very fast in some direction survival is for those who push things in a direction of their choosing. That means that they must rid themselves of the last residues of ivory-towerism. That is the real meaning and validity of Archibald MacLeish's recent *Nation* piece on The Irresponsibles, although MacLeish might have added that the intellectuals have been forced into an ivory-tower irresponsibility by every pressure within their social structure. We have moved far from the time when Julien Benda could get a wide response for his book "Le Trahison des Clercs" (in English "The Treason of the Intellectuals"). What Benda called treason was the abandonment by some intellectuals of the detachment of the medieval clerks or clergy and their mingling in the battles of the day. What we call treason now is not the political activity of intellectuals but their withdrawal from politics and the fact that they were not realistic-enough fighters.

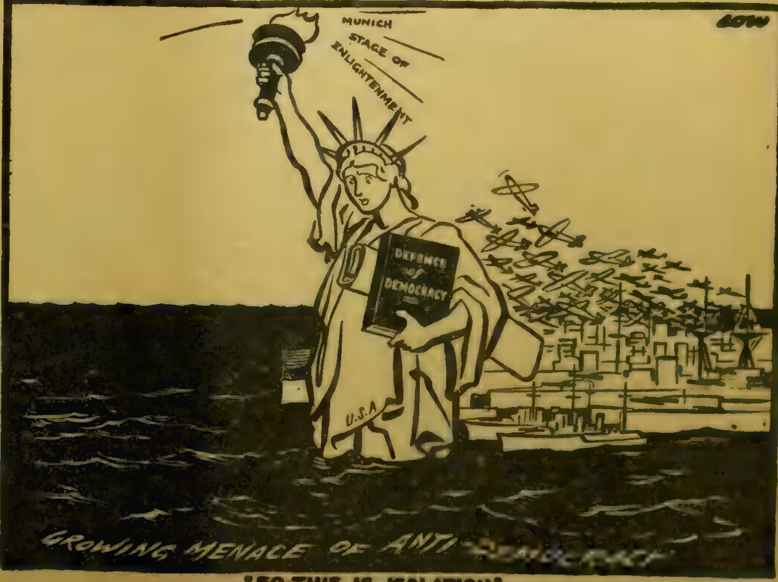
It is upon the intellectuals and the common men that the real burden of the democratic struggle against minority power and social incompetence has in the past fallen. In this struggle they have together evolved an outlook on life which has been dangerous to the holders of economic power, but which has been the only continuing guaranty of democratic survival. The partnership has been on the whole an uneasy one. The intellectuals have had a sort of olympian attitude toward the people, and the people have responded by an anti-intellectualism which has made them the prey of the demagogues of the right. But even this uneasy alliance has been given a rude jolt in the past quarter-century. The intellectual has gone on believing that he can enlist the support of the common man for their mutual interests on the plane of logic and reason. He has gone on believing that all he has to do is map out in his mind the outlines of the good society, and that the common man will then proceed through free thought and free suffrage to enact that society into reality. He has finally found, of course, that in thinking thus he has all along been living in a dream world. The common man discovered that he was not getting his *quid pro quo,* that the principles of civil liberty and intellectual freedom which meant so much in the realm of absolute values were in his world only so much rhetoric. His claims and expectations had been aroused by the promises implicit in the universals of liberal democracy, and now these claims were less and less being fulfilled. The gap between rhetoric and actuality was too monstrous to be tolerated. The sheath of rationality, thin enough at best in any group and at any time, was now worn completely through; and the way was opened for the irrationals which are always potential in political life.

No historian will ever write adequately of our epoch unless he sees clearly the dual chords of the irrational upon which the political adventurers of that epoch were able to play. A revolutionary situation brings to the fore first of all the active irrationalism of change and dislocation, of the drive to power, the release of resentments, the wreaking of vengeance. But once the new power structure has been created, a second and more passive set of irrationalisms comes to the fore—a desire to be ruled, to submit, to have done with the intolerable uncertainty of change, to yield, to adjust oneself to the inevitable. Much has been said of the capacity of Hitler and Goebbels to imbue the German people with the glow of their own fanaticism. Undoubtedly there has always been a group, whether storm troopers or parachutists, which has followed the Führer like a band of drugged assassins. But the more important hold that Hitler now has over the Germans and may still acquire over other peoples is his capacity to evoke their desire for submission and their weariness of struggle.

If the intellectuals of our time recognize what has happened in this psychic revolution, they will rid themselves of the myth of the reasoning man. They will understand that since ideas are weapons in social struggles, their own ideas cannot be merely chaste logical constructions but must be part of the deep emotional currents of their time. They must discard the fear they have thus far felt for the mass mind. They must understand that the kind of society they want will not be achieved unless, in company with the mass of ordinary people, they are willing to enter the struggle for state power.

Our business élite, I am convinced, now understands this. In every country it has held on to power as long as possible—in England up to the eleventh hour, in France to the very end. The tradition in America has been for the business élite to remain behind the scenes of state power, and the typical business-man politician was Mark Hanna, the President-maker. But Wendell Willkie, who is our 1940 edition of Mark Hanna, represents a desperate decision on the part of the business groups to make an open bid for administrative power. This open bid is being made with a shrewd knowledge of the people's desire for a new symbol around which to rally, with a shrewd knowledge of their desire for an efficiently administered nation no matter under whose auspices, and with some understanding that if the American people cannot be persuaded to fight under business leadership they may be persuaded under that leadership to yield to Hitler's *fait accompli.*

"War," wrote Bourne, "is the health of the state." It is perfectly true, of course, that in war time state powers are maximized, national cohesiveness is more easily achieved, and dissident opinion is stamped out. Yet for the intellectuals to argue from this that they can



"SO THIS IS ISOLATION"

never have any traffic with war or with a state in war time is for them to abdicate effective leadership at the very crisis period, when leadership is most needed. Whatever may have been true in the past, it is true today that state power can build, crush, and rebuild the elements of the world. We must face the implication of this for intellectuals, whether we have war or whether we have peace.

We need not justify war or celebrate it in order to recognize the function it has played in history. War has always been a part of the revolutionary process, has always been a phase of rapid social change. War never solves any problems, but war often removes the obstacles which stand in the path of their solution. War can overcome the crystallized inertia of the past, as it has done in England, where the sort of social revolution that has now taken place would have been impossible except for England's peril. Social catastrophe of any sort may have a cleansing and unifying effect, and for intellectuals to shut their eyes to these facts is for them to shut their eyes to history and politics. We can no longer go on believing in the liberal notion of the unaided final triumph of the idea. Nor can we sit back passively and bask in the long historical perspective. In describing this war we cannot continue to use phrases like "a war between two imperialisms," which have lost every bit of real meaning they once had and whose effect is to pave the way for the only imperialism in the world that offers any great danger today—that of the Nazis. Nor can we indulge in the wishful fiction that if we let this war run its course and meanwhile preserve our chaste intellectuality, it will be followed by a real class war in which we can finally participate and which will lead to socialism. All the conditions out of which democratic socialism may yet emerge are in the world today. But if we are to bring it forth we must vie with Hitlerism in organizing the revolutionary forces of the world. Ultimately America will have to play its role in organizing the world of the future, and there is no nobler effort on which American intellectuals can choose to spend themselves.

We had better understand that there is a triple war going on in the world today; first, the military war which can be seen; second, a civil war in every country, much of which is unseen because much of it consists of secret efforts by the enemy to win over powerful groups in our culture and gain the victory without fighting for it; and, finally, the war within each person. This last is the most important war that is going on today—the war between the fascist and the democrat in every one of us. It is in this war that our intellectuals have a special task of leadership. But they cannot fulfil it unless they confront the realities of all three wars.

[This is the second article of Mr. Lerner's series. The third and last will appear in an early issue.]

Everybody's Business

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

Defense and Taxes

ACCORDING to the financial press, the placing of arms contracts is being delayed by uncertainty about amortization allowances for tax purposes. Manufacturers who have been offered contracts which would necessitate an expansion in their capital equipment are hesitant because they fear that the flow of emergency orders will cease before they have been able to write off the additional investment. In this case, unless the plants were readily adaptable to peace-time production, their balance sheets would be burdened by unproductive assets, the amortization of which might swallow up all their profits on arms contracts.

The Administration has recognized that such firms have a genuine case for special treatment, and the Treasury is understood to be willing to recommend amendment to income-tax laws which would make possible the writing off in full of defense capital expenditures over a five-year period. However, it is anxious that this change should be accompanied by the enactment of an excess-profits tax. Naturally this suggestion is much less popular with government contractors, and they are proposing that the amortization amendment should be rushed through immediately so as not to hold up the defense program, leaving the controversial excess-profits tax to be fought over in Congress in a more leisurely way.

The two proposals, however, hang together, for rapid amortization removes much of the contractor's risk and thus lessens the justification for an unusually high rate of profits. Let us consider the case of a corporation which accepts an order for the construction of 5,000 tanks in five years. To carry out the order it must invest $5,000,000 for new buildings and machinery. That is equal to $1,000 per tank, and this sum will be included as an item of cost when the price is being calculated. Hence when the contract is completed, the corporation will have recovered the whole of its investment, and if the depreciation rules are revised, will have deducted this amount in annual instalments from its gross profits before arriving at its taxable income. This practically puts the government in the position of underwriting the capital commitment and reduces the risk to the possibility that part of the contract might be canceled without compensation. Moreover, if the additional plant retains any value, that is so much velvet for the corporation.

At the present time profits on naval and aircraft construction are limited to 8 per cent, or 7 per cent when a contract is negotiated instead of being placed by competitive bidding. It is expected, however, that this restriction of profit margins will be removed if and when an excess-profits tax applying to all industries is enacted. There should be little objection to this change, for there is no reason why the law should discriminate among the many industries working on defense contracts. And a general excess-profits tax is open to fewer technical objections than an attempt to limit profit margins on all government contracts. The latter course involves very complicated bookkeeping and raises constant difficulties over the position of sub-contractors. Moreover, it fails to take into account the profits indirectly created by huge government expenditures for industries not actually producing defense goods.

Accepting the principle of a general excess-profits tax, there remains the question of the most equitable and efficient method of assessing it. In Britain and Canada the tax is levied on profits exceeding the average of three pre-war years. But this may bear hard on companies of the "prince-or-pauper" type, and it necessitates special provision for new companies. During the World War our excess-profits tax was based on the "invested-capital" principle, but a good deal of litigation resulted owing to the difficulty of reaching agreement on the real capitalization of any given corporation. In practice this method would be favored by highly capitalized industries, such as steel, and disliked by those with a relatively quick turnover and large profits in relation to investment, such as aircraft. One suggestion being discussed is a combination of the "standard-profits" and "invested-capital" method, giving each taxable concern a choice of the one that suited it best. No doubt this solution would make an excess-profits levy more palatable to industry, but it would probably also mean a lower yield to the Treasury.

It is often forgotten that we already have an excess-profits tax operated in conjunction with the capital-stock tax. The latter, at present, stands at only $1 per $1,000, plus the new 10 per cent supertax, but it serves to fix a base for the excess-profits tax, which starts at 6 per cent on income in excess of 10 per cent of declared capital-stock value. There is a good deal to be said for revising these levies during the emergency period. It would be necessary both to lower the starting point and increase the rate. The recent La Follette amendment to the 1940 revenue bill, which was passed by the Senate but rejected in conference, allowed a specific exemption of $3,000 plus an amount equal to 8 per cent of the invested capital. Income in excess of these credits and not exceeding 20 per cent of invested capital was charged at 20 per cent; that in excess of 20 per cent of invested capital, at 40 per cent. These scales are much below those imposed by the 1918 levy, but the exemptions are the same. In view of the very low rate of interest obtainable at the present time, an 8 per cent exemption seems sufficiently generous and should not prove a discouragement to equity capital in the period of bonanza profits.

In a recent speech K. T. Keller of the Chrysler Corporation said: "Don't get down in the mouth about business in this country. There is going to be a lot of money spent here —more than any of us realize—and this money will get into circulation. Taxes may be higher, and in the long run this may cause some change in the buying of luxuries. But what we have ahead of us immediately is accelerated business." Corporation reports for the second quarter underline Mr. Keller's forecast by showing profits in many cases double and treble of those a year ago. To finance defense the government will have to draw on these profits either by borrowing or taxation. It will be far better for the economic health of this country, both now and after the passing of the emergency, if chief reliance is placed on the second alternative.

[Mr. Hutchison will be on vacation in August but will resume this department on September 7.]

In the Wind

A RANDOM HOUSE proofreader, working on the forthcoming volume "Stoics and Epicureans," found this sentence in Epictetus: "When men's minds harbor wrong opinions on things beyond the will . . . they are bound to pay regard to tyrants. . . . Would that it were only tyrants, and not chamberlains too."

WHEN PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT spoke of "the one man" who had refused to cooperate in the national defense program, several newspapers reported that he was referring to Alf Landon. They were wrong. He was referring to Henry Ford.

FEW NEWSPAPER REPORTS on the Democratic convention quoted the raucous Ohio delegate who facetiously nominated Bacom M. Timmons for the vice-presidency as saying: "The only thing wrong with Chicago is the *Tribune* and the Hearst papers." None noted the fact that the radio booth of *Tribune*-owned Station WGN, broadcasting from the convention hall, went dark as the delegate delivered himself of this conviction and remained that way until he was safely diverted to other channels.

THERE IS MORE than one source for the report that John L. Lewis's days as C. I. O. chief are numbered because of his anti-Roosevelt stand. He is expected to step down quietly rather than risk a real upheaval in the C. I. O.

THE AMERICAN LEGION of Wisconsin sponsored a week's schooling in "practical democracy" for boys of high-school age. At a meeting of the student body one of the boys introduced a resolution opposing compulsory military training. The State Commander of the Legion stepped in, said the resolution was "no part of the program," and had it withdrawn.

IN THE NORTHWEST, an observer reports, the G. O. P. ticket is McNary and Willkie rather than Willkie and McNary. Audiences tumultuously applaud the vice-presidential candidate, who has always supported publicly owned power projects, while the man who led the fight on TVA is received in stony silence.

ADOLF HITLER'S last big broadcast was substituted for a sponsored program on C. B. S. The program that gave place to the Führer was "The Rise of the Goldbergs."

ONE OF THE key defendants in the Christian Front trial that ended disastrously for the government was John F. Cassidy. After their acquittal most of the defendants resumed work for the Front; Cassidy is quietly planning to run for Congress from a Brooklyn district. Father Coughlin is preparing to return to the air in time for the campaign.

"I KNOW I am not going to be nominated for President. I have no ambition to be President." Wendell Willkie, quoted in *The Nation*, April 13, 1940.

[The $5 prize for the best item submitted in July goes to the contributor of the note about the Legion published above.]

Henry Adams: An Unpublished Letter

THE letter which follows was purchased with a mass of papers, published and unpublished, written by or to Sir Henry Maine; it seems to me so characteristic of Henry Adams that I think it may be of interest to the readers of *The Nation.*

I suspect that Adams had no more than met Maine, perhaps at Monckton Milnes's breakfast table when he was his father's secretary at the American embassy in London during the Civil War; but he seems to have maintained a casual relationship with him until Maine's death. At the time this letter was written Adams was engaged upon those studies in primitive law of which his well-known contribution to "Essays in Anglo-Saxon Law" (1878) was the outcome. He was teaching at Harvard, though, as the letter makes clear, he had already begun to doubt his fitness for the vocation of teacher. Of his legal studies he has himself written in the "Education" that "at Harvard College, weary of spirit in the wastes of Anglo-Saxon law, he had occasionally given way to outbursts of derision at shedding his lifeblood for the sublime truths of Sac and Soc," and it is clear that he did not think the law provided much insight into the nature of the Middle Ages. Perhaps this explains why he turned, in the later seventies, to the study of American history. I imagine that the book Maine sent to him was the "Early History of Institutions" (1875)—possibly an advance copy, through Henry Holt, of the American edition. I do not know whether Adams fulfilled his promise—or threat—to review the book in the *North American* since the war prevents me from examining the files of that periodical.

The reference to Justice Holmes is, I think, of special interest. As is well known to scholars, Hensler's work, to which Adams refers, had considerable influence on the Justice, who was at this time engaged in the researches which resulted in "the Common Law." Holmes had already met Sir Henry Maine on two previous visits to England. Of the first meeting, which took place, I think, in 1867 or 1868, he himself told me. Sir Frederick Pollock, then a young Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, had taken him to Maine's to breakfast; they stayed until eleven, when their host suggested that they accompany him to see John Stuart Mill at Blackheath. Talk with Maine and Mill on one day was not, I suspect, an unattractive experience for a young man eager to establish himself in the world of scholars.

It is not unamusing that among the letters in this collection there is one from John Stuart Mill acknowledging the gift of the same book, expressing the hope that he may be able to review it, but fearing—like Adams—that no public exists likely to be interested in learned literature of this kind.

HAROLD J. LASKI

My dear Sir Henry: I was delighted to receive your book, not only for the book's sake, but to feel that you had not forgotten me. I have read it through with great interest and pleasure and shall write a notice of it for the April *North American.* Of course I shall attack it ferociously. There is a delightful want of responsibility in writing in this country on such subjects, a feeling that no one will read it, or care for what is said if they do; and this stimulates the writer to the most reckless tours de force by way of criticism. After writing more or less habitually for years, I have yet to learn that anyone has ever so much as seen any of my remarks, with the single exception of Freeman, who did once condescend to write a very droll letter of reply to some comments of mine on his essays. So I shall attack all your opinions on the principle that it is better to be thorough about it. As it amuses me, and won't hurt you, I suppose there can be no just ground of objection. I only wish I could ever do anything myself that was half as good.

The truth is, the more I study this subject, the less practical and positive are the results. I have again this year taken a class through your "Ancient Law," encouraging them to dispute, and overthrow if they could, every individual proposition in it. Then we read the "Germania" and are now halfway through the "Lex Salica," translating and commenting on every sentence. They have had to read your "Village Communities," McLennan's book, Nasse, and everything else they could lay their hands on, including much Roman law and other stuff. They are deep in theses on numerous abstruse points, and argue in the lecture room by the hour. But I regret to say that except as an intellectual exercise I cannot see that there is any great result. I believe they do learn a better method of investigation than they might in a simpler study, and I hope they will make better lawyers for the training, but they have not yet solved the riddles of archaic law. Nor have I, in spite of having read more dreadful German lawbooks than a Christian community ought to tolerate. By the way, have you seen Hensler's book on Seizin ("Die Gewere")? It is valuable.

My friend Wendell Holmes told me he had seen you in London, which I was delighted to hear, as he has long been one of your warmest admirers here. My own life is of the calmest kind. My wife and I jog on as peacefully in this remote corner of the Arctic Circle as though we had half a century behind us. We hope you will still pay us a visit one of these days. For a summer excursion, to one who can tolerate the sea, America is not altogether a bad resort.

My wife wishes to be remembered to you and Lady Maine. She is still at times a little homesick for London, but I doubt whether we shall ever get the energy to cross the ocean again, unless we become dyspeptic or otherwise imbecile enough to be driven by physicians. As Europe is the only pleasant remedy in the whole *Materia medica,* the doctors prescribe it for everything from a toothache to apoplexy.

THE McCLELLAND
PUBLIC LIBRARY
PUEBLO, COLO.

Thanks again for the book. I hope you find Holt a satisfactory publisher. He wrote me some months ago that you were a most satisfactory "client," and if he patronizes you as most of his class do with us poor scribblers, you must indeed feel an increased degree of pride.

Ever very truly yrs,

HENRY ADAMS

91 Marlborough Street, Boston, 22 Feb., 1875

Notes by the Way

OSBERT SITWELL went to China, he says in the introduction to "Escape with Me. An Oriental Sketch Book" (Harrison-Hilton, $3), largely to get away from Europe. But since, as he says at another point, he could not, even if he would, divest himself of Western ideas and of "the culture which, such of it as I possess, comes from the shores of the Mediterranean, and not from those of the China Seas," he took Europe with him. T. E. Lawrence said of Doughty that although he lived and dressed like the Arabs of the desert, "his seeing is altogether English." In the same sense Mr. Sitwell's seeing, the fiber and attitude of his mind, despite its special English and Sitwellian cast, is altogether European. What we get, therefore, is a constant confrontation of two cultures—which heightens the interest and the significance of both. We are transported not only to Angkor Vat and Peking by two superb evocations—they are not merely descriptions—but also to the country of the European mind. And the real escape is to a perspective on history and culture in which Hitler appears certainly as large as life but still only as one giant in a vast landscape that has been scourged before.

Mr. Sitwell, of course, did not set out to write his book with any such objective in mind. He was concerned with making his reader see, as he had seen, the dead wonder of Angkor Vat and the living-dying wonder of Peking. His approach is visual and sensual; he draws on history and archaeology only to reinforce a line or deepen a color in his canvas, as when he cites the artistic as well as historical fact that the massive towers of Angkor Vat were made possible by the trade in kingfishers' wings. In a similar way he uses, when he pleases, the antique accounts of Marco Polo; and at one point the witches' song from Macbeth makes startlingly vivid for us the swarming winged and crawling jungle life of Angkor Vat.

The chapters on Peking take up half the book, and it is the better half. Mr. Sitwell spent a considerable time there, and he is fitted by temperament and sensibility to understand and be captured by the character and daily life of a people who over thousands of years have learned to savor existence grain by grain. Here are solemn gentlemen airing their birds in cages, connoisseurs selecting a goldfish or a miniature flowering tree for points as an Englishman might select a dog or a horse; pigeon fanciers who tie whistles to the bodies of their birds in such a way that the rush of their flight produces a strange and menacing music. Here are festivals and fairs and the innumerable small rituals of Chinese life. He does not slight either, or gloss over, the poverty and decadence which haunt the streets. He gives us wonderful pictures of the Forbidden and Imperial Cities, fast falling

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RANDOM HOUSE, Publishers, N. Y.

into ruin, and of the countless temples to countless gods in a land of absolute tolerance—and of extraordinary capacity for adaptation and absorption. The Chinese character emerges from his pages complex, witty, lovable, indestructible. He asked a Chinese scholar what would happen in China. "At present," was the reply, "there are seventy million Japanese and four hundred million Chinese; [if the Japanese win] there will, instead, be four hundred and seventy million Japanese, of whom four hundred million will be Chinese. You see?" After reading Mr. Sitwell's chapters on Peking, of which one can only suggest the richness, we see.

There is very little, in this book, of the preciosity for which the Sitwells have popularly been noted. There is instead an accuracy and fitness of word and tone which is amazingly sustained, considering the temptations of Peking and Angkor Vat. And it is pure pleasure to read a writer who uses the word "transpire" correctly.

MARGARET MARSHALL

Biography of Weber

ENCHANTED WANDERER: THE LIFE OF C. M. VON WEBER. By Lucy and Richard Poate Stebbins. G. P. Putnam's Sons. $3.75.

MUSICAL biography is of all historical genres the most difficult. It has action to show, but the action requires technical knowledge to be appreciated; it can praise the triumphs of genius, but can neither quote nor describe them; it can interweave the inner life of the man with his outer work, but in so doing it always skirts the shoals of baseless sentiment.

The admirers of Weber's music have long been waiting for a life of the master which should do all that is required without falling into these attendant pitfalls, and the Stebbinses—mother and son—have gone a long way toward fulfilling the requirement. Their work is scholarly, sympathetic, and readable. They leave far behind not only Emil Ludwig's cock-and-bull essay but the summary judgments of Julius Kapp and the dry sketch by Spitta in Grove's dictionary. All these writers had, of course, a wonderful subject. Next to Berlioz and Wagner, Weber is the best-rounded musician of the past century. He may, indeed, be said to have shown the way to the other two in the multiple careers of composer, conductor, critic, organizer, journalist, and man of the world. After the passing of the eighteenth-century courtier—the household music-box which is fed a meal and regurgitates a tune—the independent self-promoter, often lacking the meal, was bound to come: Weber was the first. His life in Germany, France, and England during the revolutionary and Napoleonic period is a story of precarious struggle and undaunted genius. It is set off by the tyrannical animosities and amiable caprice of petty German sovereigns and their no less petty *Kapellmeister,* and it winds up in a touching climax with glory and death in London.

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Within the Gates
The Nation's new feature exposing fifth-column activities in the United States will hereafter appear
Every Other Week

All this the authors of "Enchanted Wanderer" have told with great simplicity and a staggering fulness of knowledge. In their pages one can meet Mozart's Constance, who was Weber's first cousin; Abt Vogler, known to most through Browning's silly lines; the Meyerbeers, so unjustly treated by Wagner; Wagner's own stepfather—or father—Ludwig Geyer; the crazy Duke of Saxe-Gotha, grandfather to Victoria's Prince Consort, and hundreds of others of that caliber. The chapters bulge with the names of minor eminences about whom the ingenuity and patience of the authors leave no secret of genealogy or character. The whole is well coordinated into a lightly flowing narrative full of understanding and charm.

Unfortunately, there is not quite enough about music itself. Though the two biographers make it clear that they consider Weber a very great composer, more than a mere precursor of Wagner's, they never tell us in what precise ways "Der Freischütz," "Oberon," and "Euryanthe" are masterpieces. To be sure, they warn us on page one that "this is no treatise on Weber's music." But then they go too far in the direction of criticism not to whet our appetite for more; while at the same time they fail fully to remove the prejudices still current against Weber's work. In "The Heritage of Music," for example, a critic writes: "Weber may not have been a great composer, but he was without doubt a great opera composer. . . . In Weber's music there is little musical development. . . . Weber never produced a prize bloom or perfected a single species . . ." and more plausible imagery of the same sort. The Stebbins book does little or nothing to remove such confusions, and in fact by constant misleading references to romanticism, it adds the confusion of the historical background to the existing one of personal injustice. What I mean will appear from a typical quotation. Our authors are discussing the interesting question of Weber's susceptibility to scenery as a source of inspiration. They go on to say: "The grandest spectacles seldom equal the imagination of a romantic." We are never directly told what a romantic is, but six pages farther on we read: "Duke Emil Leopold August was either insane or the embodiment of the *n*th degree of early German romanticism—which indeed amounts to much the same thing." Quite apart from the illiterate use of "*n*th degree," this sentence would be pure slander if it were not simply the result of a blind spot in the writers' equipment—a slander not only of the fruitful German romantic school but of their own subject, Weber, who six pages earlier was patronizingly declared a romantic.

The chaos of terms extends to the very jacket of the book, where we are told that Weber was *no romantic composer* but a serious, hardworking musician. Apparently romantic composers do no serious work, and it is a mystery how posterity ever hears of them. In the 350 pages of this biography there are perhaps a hundred important references to romantic art, but not once do we get wholly clear of the absurd misuse of the word as a synonym for silly, sentimental, or insane. This reading back of our misconceptions into the past, where they did not exist, certainly vitiates an otherwise notable piece of work. That it does not render it valueless is due to the authors' obvious sincerity and fine scholarly instincts. But a stronger and a perverse instinct drives them on to relish and exaggerate what they take to be sentimental; else they would not have chosen, from all the names which their hard-working, serious musician was called, the title "Enchanted Wanderer."

JACQUES BARZUN

History of Surgery

THE STORY OF SURGERY. By Harvey Graham. Doubleday, Doran and Company. $3.75.

"SURGERY," writes the author of this book, "was born of a queer muddle of demonology, tribal ritual, and social necessity, but in the earliest civilizations it developed rapidly into a lusty infant art." He untangles this muddle in an interesting and credible way, tracing the various forward steps, side steps, and back steps of surgery from the earliest evidences to the most modern refinements. He gives an infinite variety of details, many of which are very interesting and some rather dull and off the subject, as, for example, his account of grave robbing and his diatribe against homeopathy. The style is marred to a slight extent by attempts at humor which usually fall flat.

In his discussion of primitive surgery the author displays considerable psychological insight, particularly in his recognition of the functions of the infliction and the endurance of pain in the therapeutic efficacy of surgery. This psychological insight seems to desert him in the discussion of more recent developments.

A far more serious defect of the book is its curiously insular nature, which becomes apparent chiefly in the latter half. A more provincial viewpoint can scarcely be imagined. To the author there have been no great modern surgeons in any country but England. Valentine Mott is not mentioned, nor Harvey Cushing, nor any of the three Mayos, nor any of the great Chicago and Baltimore surgeons. But America is not the only country slighted; none of the great French and German surgeons are mentioned either. Even the discussion of anaesthesia is heavily weighted in favor of Simpson's introduction of chloroform in November, 1847, which was five years after the value of ether was first demonstrated in this country.

It would be equally chauvinistic of the reviewer to dwell too heavily on this criticism. But it is strange that in these days, when nations are trying so hard to understand one another—or to misunderstand one another—a British man of science should write a history of surgery which flagrantly violates the fundamental dictum that science is international.

According to the publisher, Harvey Graham is the pseudonym of a prominent British physician.

KARL MENNINGER

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YOU may disagree with us on political issues, but we all cherish the right to choose our public officials and the right of political parties to a place on the ballot. We want to tell you in this limited space, of an important chapter being written today in the life of America. (Finances do not permit the space required.) We are facing the 1940 election campaign with the right to vote as an issue, *the right of a minority party to a place on the ballot.* That right is being challenged *today* by the bourbon forces throughout the country. You know the pattern of reaction in the modern world. Remember 1933 when the Nazis came to power? In West Virginia, 9000 American citizens signed the Communist Party nominating petitions placing its Presidential electors on the ballot. 141 of the signers were jailed. The American Legion printed and distributed a brochure with the names and addresses of the 9000 signers. (You can guess the rest of the story.) In Pennsylvania, 60,000 signed Communist nominating petitions. 43 were arrested and placed under bail totaling $350,000. Reactionary newspapers printed the names of these signers. Steel workers lost their jobs. (You can fill in the rest of the story.) In Kansas and Georgia, public officials have issued statements to the press, wherein they declared that they will break statutes which made mandatory the placing of the Communist Party on the ballot. . . And this is only part of the chapter this space will permit us to write. We are fighting this terror with all the resources at our command. We are defending the rights of these petitioners. *We are fighting for the right of a minority party to a place on the ballot.* Will you help in checking these reactionary forces before it is too late? We are asking you for a contribution, no matter how small or big.

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RECORDS

MY CRITICISM of the technical discussions of the music in recent Victor leaflets brought three letters of protest, all of which praised the leaflets for their information about the composer's life and period and the way these affected his music. I don't deny that such information, when it is correct, is valuable; but I do say that to experience the effect of the arrangement of colors, planes, masses, lines, directions that constitutes a Cézanne still-life, the impact of the force that it embodies, one does not need to know any facts about Cézanne's life and period and their relation to things one may observe in his way of painting; and I say this is true also of a Mozart symphony. And if I say that one can have the experience of the symphony without the knowledge of the cultural history, it is because the information in the leaflets—and not only in leaflets—being what it is, one does best to do without it.

The Victor leaflets under discussion are slapped together from other writings—sometimes with quotation marks, sometimes without. To quote the effective statements of others at points in one's own line of thought is legitimate; but in these leaflets the slapping together is done for lack of any original thought, and sometimes without even a sense of direction in the slapping together. Thus, after a discussion of Berlioz's sensitiveness to literary stimuli we read: "The motives which led Berlioz to occupy himself so intensely with the composition of elaborate libretti for his instrumental works are still subject to speculation. It may be that 'Berlioz's failure to combine his many excitable impulses into an organic whole caused him to feel the need of a program which should explain the intention of his music.' ('Oxford History of Music,' Vol. VI.) It may indeed have served 'to disguise a lack of constructive power.' It is much more probable, however, that this is entirely too simple and convenient an explanation"—explanation, that is, of the programs by lack of constructive power; "and that whatever inadequacies we find in the Symphonie Fantastique have profounder roots than such an explanation would indicate"—explanation, now, of the music's structural weakness; and with this sudden change in direction we read further: "Einstein, perhaps, has come closer to the heart of the matter with the suggestion that the traditional symphonic form which Berlioz did not discard was basically at variance with the elaborate kind of program which he tried to put across. The new content might well have demanded a new form." Here are grand intellectual flourishes of pretensions to knowledge by a man who does not know from one clause to the next precisely what he is writing about. Such a man, assembling material from the writings of others, cannot tell good material from bad: preparing a leaflet about Berlioz's Fantastic Symphony he borrows from the "Oxford History," borrows from Einstein, but overlooks the one book that demolishes the legends which the others repeat—the book by Tom Wotton.

"I claim no more authority for my ideas," says Wotton, "than that which can be obtained from a close study of his works (both musical and literary) for very many years." That is a great deal of authority for ideas about music to have, and a great deal more than can be claimed for most such ideas, and for most ideas about Berlioz. For it is no less true today than it was when Ernest Newman pointed it out thirty or forty years ago that our notions of Berlioz's music are derived from no experience at all of what those who know him claim are his finest works—"The Trojans," "The Childhood of Christ," the songs—and only from occasional hearings of the three excerpts from "The Damnation of Faust," the "Roman Carnival" Overture, the Fantastic Symphony, the "Queen Mab" Scherzo, and one or two other excerpts from "Romeo and Juliet." But even these have been sufficient to confirm for me what Wotton says of Berlioz—that there was much extravagance in behavior and statement but little in his work, that "few composers have produced such fine effects with restricted means," and that "of all Berlioz's compositions, the Requiem alone really requires a huge orchestra and chorus in order to produce its proper effect"; and if I had heard nothing but the "Queen Mab" Scherzo I would know that Berlioz was an artist not only of the most astounding and fascinating originality but of the utmost precision, finesse, delicacy, and subtlety in his use of the orchestra.

Even, then, if Einstein's experience of Berlioz's music when he wrote his "Short History of Music" about twenty-five years ago was, as I suspect, pretty much the same as mine—for that matter, if he had heard nothing but the three excerpts from "The Damnation of Faust"—he had heard enough to know that Berlioz used an orchestra hardly distinguishable from Wagner's in "Die Meistersinger" and Debussy's in "Ibéria" and without the array of extra brass and woodwinds in Strauss's "Heldenleben"; that he used it in the Minuet of the Will o' the Wisps with admirable finesse; and that for the Ballet of the Sylphs he reduced it to five woodwinds, harps, kettledrums, and strings. Or if Einstein had heard all of "The Damnation of Faust" he had heard enough to know the quiet, subtle beauty of many of its pages. And if he wrote that "the full orchestra was his principal medium; only very occasionally did he handle smaller musical forces, preoccupied as he was with extreme and gigantic aims"—with the implication that the full orchestra was the medium only for extreme and gigantic aims; or that "he forged anew the poetry of 'Faust' and 'Romeo and Juliet' to his own ends, and monstrous works came forth, half oratorio, half symphony, half lyrical and half dramatic, all blazing with color," I conclude that Einstein wrote not of what he had heard in the music but of what he had heard about it, merely restating the old colorful legends in new colorful language. And the writer of the Victor leaflet merely restates them after him with additional trimmings—statements of Berlioz himself for which Wotton knows how to supply the context that gives them their correct meaning.

Hence, I repeat, listen to the music and do without the history.

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Letters to the Editors

Conscription in a Democracy

Dear Sirs: I cannot see how you can support a program for non-military "vocational" conscription, and oppose a program for straight military conscription. (See *The Nation* for July 13.) Certainly, it is the former program rather than the latter which smacks of fascism. There is no valid reason why our youth should be conscripted into labor camps for vocational training. On the other hand, there are good reasons why a democracy should insist on universal liability for military service and training.

I should like to add that you could perform a great service to the country if you would tie up support for compulsory military training with the following program:

1. Conscription of wealth and industry as well as man-power in the interest of national defense.
2. Higher pay and greater promotional opportunities in the armed forces.
3. Intelligent criticism of current military technique in the light of the realities of modern mechanized warfare.

MAX SCHNITZER

Brooklyn, July 23

Robert Dell

Dear Sirs: I was deeply touched by the loss of our friend Robert Dell. Just now, when nations are overawed by successful dictators who change their "principles" according to the exigencies of their struggle for power, the passing away of Robert Dell means more than the loss of an able journalist. He was one of those few Europeans who never bent their backs to politicians in power. Thereby he set an example of character which in spite of the new serfdom will be of lasting importance in all efforts for a higher organization of human society.

RUSTEM VAMBERY

Richmond, Va., July 21

Bronx Houseworkers

Dear Sirs: You must have been extremely credulous to have accepted Carl Offord's article on Bronx slave markets (printed in your issue of June 29) as a true picture of the relationship between Bronx housewives and colored workers. The victims of your so-called "slave-markets" are not 1/10 of 1 per cent of the total number of houseworkers employed in Bronx homes on an hour, day, or full-time basis. Most of these girls and women are obtained through reliable agencies, and they demand, and receive, an average of 35 to 40 cents an hour, plus carfare and meals. Very few of us, indeed, would risk the health and safety of our families by hiring workers from the street corners of the Bronx—without references or other qualifications.

I do not assume that wage and hour standards in domestic service are completely satisfactory—surely there is much that can be remedied. However, this is not a Jewish problem, as your article so viciously suggested.

DAVID LEVINE

New York, July 24

[This is one of a number of letters we have received in protest against Mr. Offord's article. We have every reason to believe that nothing was farther from the author's mind than any wish to stir up anti-Semitism. It seems to us that if anyone is guilty of that offense it is those who engage in the activities Mr. Offord described. He explains below his purpose in writing the article. —EDITORS THE NATION.]

Dear Sirs: Slave Markets in the Bronx was not an anti-Semitic tract; its emphasis was on the plight of Negro workers in Harlem, mirrored in the slave markets. To allow the actions of those Jewish women who resort to the practices discussed in my article to reflect on the Jewish people as a whole would be as despicable and as harmful as to denounce the entire German people as Nazis or to smear all Protestants with the mark of the Ku Klux Klan. The Bronx slave market is an expression of the familiar conflict between the worker who tries to get as high a wage as possible and the employer who wants to pay as little as possible. It is an unusually sordid, even tragic, demonstration of the struggle because both employer and employee enjoy such a relatively slight degree of economic security and because both suffer open or covert racial discrimination.

It was owing to my intense interest in advancing the unity of our people that I pointed out that the actions of the Bronx housewives in some measure facilitate the spread of anti-Semitism in Harlem.

A consistent struggle against anti-Semitism is being waged by the National Negro Congress and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, in cooperation with Jewish leaders. I am but one of a great number of Negroes who believe that "unity" is the people's strongest weapon in fighting the development of fascism—which invariably advances under a barrage of anti-Semitism. Slave markets in the Bronx are definitely a contributing factor to disunity, and the sooner all Jews, Gentiles, and Negroes who cherish a hope for peaceful interracial relations decide to do something about it the better for our political health.

The Committee on Street Markets headed by Cara Cook, 247 Lexington Avenue, New York, has compiled an extensive report on slave markets in New York, with an excellently detailed program for correcting the existing evils. I understand that this report is now being considered by the Labor Department.

CARL OFFORD

New York, July 25

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The Shape of Things

APOLOGISTS FOR CHARLES LINDBERGH WILL find it difficult to dismiss his Chicago speech as an innocent transatlantic flier in universal peace. And if the Nazis are as smart as we think they are they will recognize it as the perfect "line" for America. It invoked the American Revolution, the fearless spirit of the pioneers, the army, the navy, and the air force. In tones more world-weary than vindictive, Lindbergh spoke of the British Empire as aged, complacent, and too rich; referred ironically to the democratic pretensions of the peacemakers of Versailles; and by implication celebrated the invincibility of Germany. He did not mention his own race theories. "In the past we have dealt with a Europe dominated by England and France. In the future we may have to deal with a Europe dominated by Germany." America for the Americans; Europe for the Germans. "An agreement between [the two hemispheres] could maintain civilization and peace throughout the world as far into the future as we can see." This is plain talk from our own Duke of Windsor. He was cheered by members of the German American National Alliance, successor in Chicago to the Bund, who had been ordered to attend the meeting en masse. He may well become the rallying point for the tendency toward appeasement which is already becoming vocal in some respectable native circles. The fifth column is forming on the right.

*

IT IS NOT EXACTLY A SIN AND CERTAINLY not a crime for an American business man to talk trade with a commercial agent of the German government. At the same time it is good for the American people to know which of their business men have the stuff of which appeasement is made. If the case of Dr. Gerhardt Westrick presented nothing more than a simple matter of drumming up business, we should still feel that the New York *Herald Tribune* had performed a signal service in tracking him down and revealing the identity of his guests. In fact, however, Dr. Westrick's elusive conduct since he arrived in this country last April gives the *Herald Tribune's* scoop an even higher degree of usefulness. Ostensibly a commercial counselor to the German embassy, Westrick arrived with a grandiose plan whereby the United States would stake a Nazi-constructed Europe to some $5,000,000,000 in gold. Since then he has flitted from one hotel to another, winding up on the Westchester estate where the *Herald Tribune's* reporter caught up with him. Here he received not only executives of the Texas Oil Company, the Underwood Elliott Fisher Company, and other concerns, but humble employees of the Eastman Kodak Company, Electrolux, the Artcraft Iron Works of Buffalo, and other manufacturers. Dr. Westrick's activities need an airing, but we hope the authorities will not follow the policy of harrying him for irrelevant offenses. The fact that in applying for a driver's license he stated that he was not a cripple when in fact he has an artificial leg is not nearly so important as the nature of the proposals he has been making to American business. This question of dealing with Nazi agents for what they are brings up once more the painful question of Friedrich Ried. How long will it take the State Department to expel a Nazi consul who proved too annoying even for the Brazil of Vargas?

*

MR. ROOSEVELT'S ONE EFFECTIVE WEAPON for forcing action out of defense industries now hemming and hawing over taxes and amortization allowances is being taken from him. The navy "speed-up" bill as passed on June 22 contained a provision authorizing the Secretary of the Navy to commandeer any plant necessary for the national defense. Thus the threat of "conscription" could be used against any industry that declined to "enlist" in the defense program. The House has unanimously passed an amendment by Chairman Vinson of the Naval Affairs Committee repealing this provision. The Senate is expected to do likewise, and the President will be left without any "birch rod in the cupboard" for armament makers whose patriotism runs a poor second to their love of profit. With this "conscription" clause out of the way, aviation and steel and chemicals will have a better bargaining position than

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ever in the current fight over excess-profits taxes and amortization. Two schedules of excess profits have now been presented: one by the joint Congressional Committee on Internal Revenue—to yield $300,000,000; the other by the Treasury—to yield $500,000,000 to $700,000,000. Considering the huge profits already being made by defense industries, with the defense program hardly started, we favor the latter. Defense industries would prefer repeal of the Vinson-Trammell limitations on defense contracts and the enactment of five-year amortization, as promised them—but no taxes on excess profits.

*

THE PROCESS OF "APPEASING" BUSINESS AND disaffecting labor continues in Washington. At the last moment an anti-trust complaint against the oil industry was held up by the Department of Justice at the request of the National Defense Commission. Whether the suit will be permanently sidetracked remains to be seen, but the general feeling in many Washington circles is that nothing must be done to annoy big business during the defense program. Since workers are likely to make up a somewhat larger percentage of any army we may put into the field than are oil magnates, one would think it at least as important not to "annoy" labor. Nevertheless, the Smith committee, less amenable to reason than the anti-trust division, is on the rampage again. The committee accuses the National Labor Relations Board of reorganizing and renaming its Economic Research Division in order to evade the "plain mandate of Congress." The House, after the "revelation" that David J. Saposs, the division's head, was a dangerous red—though the Communist Party has been no less hostile to him than the Smith committee—voted down the appropriation for it. Chairman Madden changed its name to Technical Service Division and found funds for it elsewhere. He explained that he felt legally justified in his action, for while Congress had dropped the appropriation for the division it had not directed him to discontinue its work. The incident promises to be the springboard for a new attack on the National Labor Relations Board.

*

PREMIER MOLOTOV HAS SCOTCHED, AT LEAST for the time being, any hopes the beleaguered British may have had that the Soviet Union would betray Berlin. He attacked Great Britain, asserted that the pact with Germany remained strong, assuring Hitler of "a calm feeling of security in the East," reported that relations with Italy were improving, and spoke of a possible rapprochement with Japan. He put Turkey and Rumania on probation and made a veiled threat against Finland unless "certain circles discontinue attacks against the people and support friendly relations with the U. S. S. R." A day or so later Soviet newspapers featured an alleged attack on Soviet sympathizers at Helsinki, which may mean that Finland, as well as Latvia, Estonia, and Lithuania, will have cheering delegates at the next meeting of the Supreme Soviet.

*

PETAIN'S FRANCE IS PREPARING TO TRY THE men who began and carried on the war. The Vichy government has set up a Supreme Court of Justice for the purpose and has endowed it with powers so wide and so ill-defined as to be almost unlimited. Certainly its mandate will cover the acts of all the former ministers and their chief collaborators; how much farther it goes will doubtless depend on political developments. That the men who surrendered France to Hitler should thus sit in judgment on the men who tried—some bunglingly, some with patriotism and vigor—to defend it is a just measure of the present independence of the country. The least the Pétain government can do is to give their compatriots and predecessors a fair trial. Since the outside world will watch the proceedings with deep suspicion, we propose that a committee of American lawyers be sent to France to observe and report the case from start to finish. If the government intends to conduct the trial properly, it will welcome a group of qualified observers; the general public would accept the verdict of such a committee with far more confidence than it would that of the court itself.

*

NEWSPAPER PUBLISHERS ARE BACK AGAIN at their old attempt to have newspaper work declared a "profession"—so they can dignify it by paying lower wages and working their men longer hours. The old days of the NRA were recalled by the request of Elisha Hanson, counsel for the American Newspaper Publishers' Association, that the Wage and Hour Division exclude large groups of newspapermen from its benefits on the ground that they are "professionals." Supporting Hanson, like a chorus of three trained seals, were the deans of journalism at Columbia, Northwestern, and Missouri. Dean Ackerman of Columbia unearthed the suggestion that wage-and-hour restrictions endanger freedom of the press, a chestnut we thought lay buried with the Blue Eagle. Now that the Newspaper Guild is organizing business offices as well as news rooms, we find Dean Olson of Northwestern testifying that advertising solicitors as well as "reporters, copyreaders, and rewrite men" are "professionals" whose dignity is endangered by wage-hour regulations. But the publishers aren't putting all their eggs in one basket. The A. F. of L., which appeared with a news writers' union of its own in the Chicago Hearst strike, has now turned up at the New York *Times*—just in time to delay Guild negotiations for a contract.

ATTORNEY GENERAL JACKSON HAS BEEN asked by the American Civil Liberties Union to investigate widespread attacks on minority parties, particularly the Communist and the Socialist Labor Party, in thirteen states of the Union. It is the duty of the federal government to protect national elections from interference, and the civil-liberties unit of the Department of Justice has full power to inquire into the incidents reported. Action has been taken by the Dies committee, by the American Legion, and by local newspapers—notably the Annenberg *Inquirer* in Philadelphia—to terrorize persons signing nomination petitions for the Communist Party and for the Socialist Labor Party. The American Legion has obtained the names of persons signing such petitions and circulated them among employers. Many persons, according to the Civil Liberties Union, have lost their jobs as a result. The Dies committee is intimidating signers of such petitions and misrepresenting their attitude. In Pittsburgh, where the *Press* had led the campaign, there have been forty-three indictments arising out of the Communist Party petitions, and in Philadelphia a campaign is under way to dismiss all teachers who signed. There have been 100 indictments in West Virginia and many assaults on both Communist and Socialist Labor solicitors in Illinois. It is up to the federal government to keep federal elections free from practices that smack of hooliganism and persecution.

CONTENTS

THE SHAPE OF THINGS 101

EDITORIALS:

BLITZKRIEG IN THE EAST 103
EMBARGO WITH LOOPHOLES 104
HELP BRITAIN WIN! by Freda Kirchwey 105
FARLEY TO FLYNN by Charles Malcolmson 106
HULL THE MIRACLE MAN by Willard R. Espy 107
JEHOVAH'S 50,000 WITNESSES by H. Rutledge Southworth 110
WITHIN THE GATES 112
IN THE WIND 113
A NATIVE AT LARGE by Jonathan Daniels 114

BOOKS AND THE ARTS:

NOTES ON A MEXICAN JOURNEY by Margaret Marshall 115
A NEW ECONOMIC POLICY by Lewis Corey 116
SMALL CANVAS by Louis B. Salomon 117
IN BRIEF 118
RECORDS by B. H. Haggin 118

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Blitzkrieg in the East

REPORTS of extensive demands against Indo-China suggest that the long-awaited Japanese *Blitzkrieg* against the Western powers may be near. The last few weeks have been momentous for Japan. Prince Konoye's new fascist government has lost little time in putting the army's anti-Occidental policies into operation. The ink had hardly dried on the agreement closing the Burma road when the new government took the extraordinary action of detaining thirteen British subjects on charges of espionage. New restrictions have been laid down governing foreigners living in China. And hints of early action against Hongkong, Indo-China, and the Dutch East Indies have become more open and persistent than ever before.

Stung by the failure of its latest attempt at appeasement, the British government has struck back at Japan by arresting nine prominent Japanese, also on charges of espionage. The United States has contributed its bit to the defense of Western interests by refusing to supply Japan with further amounts of aviation gasoline and by making the export of other petroleum products and No. 1 heavy-melting scrap iron subject to license. In the editorial which follows this we discuss in greater detail the practical applications of the licensing order. Although the restriction so far affects only a small part of America's export of war materials to Japan, it has drawn a sharp protest from Tokyo, where even a minor interruption in the flow of war materials is a genuine cause for concern. For propaganda purposes the Japanese press is saying that America's action in limiting oil and scrap is justification for an attack on the Dutch East Indies. Actually, the ultimate success of such an attack depends upon Japan's continued ability to obtain essential supplies in the United States.

With our attention riveted on Japan's controversies with Great Britain and the United States, we have all but lost sight of the undeclared war with China. There can be no doubt that the closing of roads through Indo-China and Burma has been a severe blow to the Chinese. But the full impact of the blow will not be felt for some months. During the past year China has built up huge reserves. All munitions in Burma are reported to have been cleared before the ban on shipments went into effect. Chinese industries have been developed to an unbelievable extent in the western areas still under Chinese rule. So it may be assumed that China will fight on with what help it can obtain from the Soviet Union. It is difficult to say to what extent Chiang will be forced to yield to political pressure from Moscow as the price of this assistance. But it is obvious that the Western powers cannot hope to retain their previous influence if they refuse to aid China in its hour of extremity. Already we learn of a settlement of differences between Chiang and the Chinese Communists. Although this action may not be very significant in view of Moscow's relative indifference to Chinese political issues, it is a clear indication of Chungking's determination to carry on the war.

Japan's demands for use of Indo-China's railways and for the right to establish a military base within French territory represent an effort to attack China from the rear. They indicate that the new Japanese government has not forgotten its struggle with China in its preoccupation with the possessions of the Western powers. But the primary drive in the next few weeks will undoubtedly be against the West. And if we are to judge by the events of the past three years, its intensity will be directly proportionate to the strength of appeasement sentiment in Britain and the United States. Three times—twice at Tientsin and once in the Burma road controversy—Britain has yielded to Japan. Each time it has almost immediately been faced with new demands. France's capitulation in regard to the flow of goods into Yunnan has been followed by extreme demands threatening French sovereignty over the colony. At the moment both Britain and the United States seem to be taking a somewhat firmer stand than at any other time in recent months. It is possible that this belated show of firmness may yet give Japan pause. But we dare not count too much on it. In the first place, the Western powers may again give ground in the face of continuous Japanese pressure; the British government has already released one of the Japanese business men arrested in London. In the second place, Japan may have committed itself to a policy of aggression no matter what the opposition. The present leaders of Japan are afflicted with the same mania that dominates the Führer of the Third Reich. It is a sickness which can only be cured by defeat.

Embargo with Loopholes

ON JUNE 11 Congress passed a law authorizing the President to levy an embargo on the export of military equipment and "machinery, tools, or material or supplies necessary for the manufacturing, servicing, or operation thereof." This power was primarily intended for use against Japan, and was broad enough to cover planes, oil, steel, machine tools, chemicals, and all other necessities of war. It was felt that our defense needs made it folly to go on exporting these materials to a potential enemy. There was also the growing public disgust with a national policy that gave the Chinese sympathy and the Japanese war supplies. Observers with no feeling for the delicate nuances and difficulties that played a part in this odd procedure were apt to apply hard names to it.

The Administration has yet to use this power in a vigorous and effective manner. On July 2 the President took advantage of the new law to issue an order dealing with the export of certain metals, raw materials, chemicals, plane parts, and machine tools. The last was the most important category covered by the order, for we ourselves shall soon face a shortage of machine tools. Last year exports of machine tools to Japan were eight times as large as before the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese war in 1937, and shipments to Japan during the first four months of this year were running at a rate about 30 per cent higher than last year. The order was not an embargo order, however, but merely required licenses for export. Some shipments have been held up, others allowed to proceed. We do not know to what extent machine-tool exports have been reduced by the new procedure; it would probably take a Congressional committee to find out.

Oil and scrap iron, two of the materials Japan most needs to carry on its war against China, were not included in the order of July 2. Neither was copper. On July 25 the President issued an order applying the licensing provisions to petroleum and scrap iron. The delay in adding scrap iron to the list may be important. On July 18, seven days before, Japan completed the purchase of 300,000 tons of steel scrap. The price paid, according to the New York *Journal of Commerce*, which follows the commodity markets closely, was $2 a ton less than that charged the British. The order was an enormous one. The largest scrap order on record is 600,000 tons, but that was a purchase by the entire European scrap-buying cartel two years ago, before the war started. Steel scrap is a basic war material. The big steel companies favor its export because the reduction in the supply of scrap helps to maintain steel prices and puts a curb on competition from the little independents. Was the influence of Big Steel brought to bear to delay the inclusion of scrap in an export-licensing order until the Japanese had finished their purchases?

It may also be asked whether the political and economic power of the big steel companies made itself felt in the limited character of the licensing order. There are about seventy-five different kinds of scrap. The order applies only to No. 1 heavy-melting steel. Normally only about 40 per cent of all scrap exports and 25 per cent of Japan's purchases are in this category. But there is another catch: No. 1 may easily be mixed with a little scrap of other grades and classed as "mixed scrap," and mixed scrap is not covered by the licensing order. Even No. 1, of course, has not been embargoed but merely included under the licensing provisions. Will the State Department issue licenses for the shipments now being made on that 300,000-ton purchase? Most of that purchase, perhaps in anticipation of the licensing order, seems to have been for No. 1 heavy-melting. The State Department, we are informed, has the power to refuse licenses even though the purchases were made before licensing went into effect. If it permits the shipments, we shall have (very gently) locked the stable door on No. 1 scrap after permitting the Japanese to make a huge purchase here. It is important to note that the Japanese are now placing inquiries in our steel industry for orders totaling between 110,000 and 125,000 tons of raw and semi-finished steel. With our steel plants working at about capacity and a huge backlog of orders waiting to be filled, we are going to let the Japanese use our steel industry for their war in the Far East and for armaments that may be used against us. The steel industry seems to follow the dollar sign rather than the flag.

It remains to be seen how effective the licensing order on oil and its products will be. On July 21 the President placed an embargo on aviation gasoline, shipments of which have already decreased since the "moral embargo" went into effect last year. During the first five months of this year they totaled 90,000 barrels as against 300,000 in the same period last year. The moral embargo also covered planes; aircraft and parts sold Japan last year totaled $2,500,000 as against $11,000,000 in 1938. The new oil ban does not apply to gasoline for tanks, trucks, and passenger cars. As the situation stands, we refuse to supply the Japanese with planes and aviation gas to bomb the Chinese, but we continue to supply them with steel and machine tools to make the planes and with at least part of the chemicals for the bombs. We hope the Chinese appreciate these fine distinctions.

Help Britain Win!

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

A CURIOUS change has come over the war, a change that was not to be predicted. When France fell, despair and a sense of shame filled every freedom-loving human being, whether he lived in a warring nation or at a safe distance from the struggle. The fight, which was his fight, seemed lost; the surrender, the humiliating terms, were a measure of the defeat of his dearest values. If France did this, could we do better? If French democracy was so deeply infected, could democracy anywhere be healthy? Self-distrust and weakness seemed to spread from the surrendered nation, which had served the world as a symbol of militant democracy. Now, suddenly, the air has lightened. With the Continent in Hitler's hands from the North Cape to Spain, confidence is none the less beginning to rise.

The present war started as a tired war; it was declared out of necessity and entered upon half-heartedly. Hitler had to be stood off or there could be no repose in Europe; but nothing more stirring was suggested than resistance, a resistance carried out as economically and even as peaceably as possible. It took the disastrous invasion of the Low Countries and France to end the illusion on which the war was begun. For the illusion was bred out of deep national emotions in both France and England. In the hearts of millions of ordinary men and women lay the ingrained belief that the status quo was no great shakes at best and certainly not worth dying to preserve. It was merely better than fascism. You don't fight gladly to your last breath for so relative a value.

The fall of France marked a beginning as well as an end; Englishmen have discovered that the will to power of the fascist despots can be thwarted only by equal will and equal strength; that their choice is nothing less than struggle or slavery. And they have learned something equally important. They have learned that the war is not the war they believed it to be. Slowly the understanding spreads that the status quo is already gone—and gone forever. Ahead lies a Europe ruled by terror or a Europe reorganized as a collective democracy. No doubt the ordinary Englishman would shrink from so flat a saying: he is not consciously fighting for a socialist society either in England or the Western world. But he knows, at least, that he is fighting on the side of a more decent order of things—neither the narrow, defensive stand-pattism of Chamberlain nor the plug-ugly dynamism of Hitler. Almost imperceptibly the war has become his war.

This does not mean that Britain will win. Confidence and positive aims are assets of first importance; but planes and guns and ships are as necessary. If Hitler is to be not merely checked but defeated, resistance will have to be maintained and finally transformed into successful aggression. This cannot happen soon. England's first task is survival. It has evidently used the weeks since the fall of France for a major effort of defense. Clearly, too, the R. A. F. is performing brilliantly, although none of the specific reports of destruction by bombing are to be trusted—on either side. The one fact we can know for certain is that Britain's inferiority in every branch except the fleet is still acute.

And this brings us again to the pressing question of American help. Today, more than ever, Britain is fighting our battle. We know that we shall face Nazi aggression if Britain is defeated; we face it now in all its initial stages. It is against Nazi aggression that we are building a new fleet and turning out new arms. It is to meet Nazi aggression that we are debating the need of a conscript army. But these are our reserves and they are not yet ready. Our active fighting forces are the troops on guard in England; our main Atlantic fleet is the British navy patrolling the coast of the Continent. We cannot afford to withhold supplies from these forces, even to equip our own future forces at home.

Britain needs planes and destroyers—these above all. Not long ago a bill was passed to "expedite national defense and for other purposes." Section 14 of the new law prohibits the sale or transfer of any vessels, weapons, or munitions to any foreign government unless the Chief of Naval Operations or the Chief of Staff certifies that they are not essential to the national defense. Another law, dating from 1917, forbids the release from United States jurisdiction of "any vessel built as a vessel of war with any intent or under any agreement that such vessel shall be delivered to a belligerent nation." These two restrictions must be removed quickly. If we delay long we shall be too late. Experts give England a good chance of survival if it has sufficient continuous help. Without such help its resources will be unequal to an indefinitely prolonged resistance, no matter what the courage and determination of the people.

England needs destroyers in particular. Destroyers are the most effective ships for defensive use in the narrow waters of the Channel, and Britain's losses in this class have been heavy. The Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies declares that we have 162 over-age destroyers, of which 60 could easily be spared. These vessels should be released promptly, by executive order if possible, by legislation if necessary. No other defense measures now under consideration—not even the hotly disputed proposal for selective service—is so urgent as this.

Successful resistance by England would alter all prospective plans for the defense of America. Britain is not going to surrender. It is up to the United States to help save it from defeat.

Farley to Flynn

BY CHARLES MALCOLMSON

Washington, August 5

IT WOULD be refreshing to be able to report that the selection of the Bronx political boss, Edward J. Flynn, to succeed Jim Farley as chairman of the Democratic National Committee has cleared the way for the long-awaited and drastically needed conversion of the party machine into a loyal, hard-hitting Roosevelt organization devoted to the party's New Deal ticket. Unfortunately, that bit of political alchemy appears as distant as ever.

The choice of Flynn was perhaps inevitable. He was one of three candidates who were both acceptable to the President and available. The other two were Paul McNutt, Federal Security Administrator, and Leo Crowley, former chairman of the FDIC and now president of Standard Gas and Electric. McNutt, who some New Dealers felt was entitled to the national chairmanship because of his dramatic abnegation at Chicago, is anathema to Farley, and that eliminated him. Crowley, a loyal New Dealer and a first-rate administrator, is also unwelcome in the Farley camp, though a more compelling factor in this instance was his current utility tie-up.

That left Flynn, an experienced organizer, perhaps no better but certainly no worse than political bosses everywhere, who is a friend of both Farley and the President. He is a first-class campaigner, possesses much of Farley's political astuteness, and in addition was a third-termer "before Chicago."

Induction of a new national chairman ordinarily would be followed by a revamping of the party machine and the replacement of uncooperative or patently disloyal officials. It now appears, however, that Flynn is not temperamentally fitted to carry out the fumigation the National Committee so badly requires and that the President is unwilling to force the issue. Thus the two Farley satellites best equipped to sabotage the New Deal campaign—Secretary Lawrence ("Chip") Robert and Treasurer Oliver A. Quayle, Jr.—will probably remain right where they are.

It is no consolation to realize that the New Dealers have only themselves to blame for this unhappy mess. The so-called high command was charged with many errors of commission at Chicago, and certainly the fumbling appeasement tactics in Suite 308-9 of the Blackstone Hotel provided no refutation; but the New Dealers' biggest error was one of omission. With the convention concluded and a straight New Deal ticket triumphant, they omitted the little detail of party organization. Farley stays on only until August 17, but his two most effective hatchet men, Robert and Quayle, were elected for another term. Thus in their moment of glory were the New Dealers outsmarted. There is always a possibility that a house-cleaning will be attempted, though Farley's influence with the new chairman and the President's reluctance to "stir up a scene" make it a very feeble one. In all probability the National Committee will remain as Farleyized as ever and will continue to hamstring the President.

The President's position, expressed privately to New Deal lieutenants, is that the national and international emergency supersedes all domestic political exigencies, and that as Chief Executive he cannot take time off for campaign matters. Underlying this, however, is the President's determination not to supply the Farleyites with real or imaginary grounds for complaint. Then, too, there is Mr. Roosevelt's weakness for retaining even disloyal lieutenants in preference to forcing a showdown. This serves to underscore the magnitude of the New Dealers' error at Chicago, for with a clean sweep of major National Committee posts at that time the President would not now be worried about a possible repetition of the yowling that went up when Farley was eased out of the chairmanship.

No politician ever retired amid so much maudlin sympathy as accompanied James Aloysius out the door at Chicago. The very writers and public figures who in 1932 and 1936 sneered at Genial Jim as a "machine boss" have led the caterwauling from coast to coast, pointing to him as a living sacrifice to principle. And, like Senator Burke, Senator Wheeler, and Vice-President Garner on somewhat similar occasions, Farley has been getting as many Republican banzais as he got hoots when he was plumping whole-heartedly for the New Deal. Anyone with a stiletto in Mr. Roosevelt's back is a great guy.

Plainly, the President feels that another such outburst is inevitable if Robert, Quayle, *et al.* get the ax, and he wants to avoid it. Just as plainly, however, his delicacy in the matter and the resultant boundless inactivity at party headquarters are leaving the Administration open to effective Republican sniping. Even the mordant Mr. Michelson has muffed the opportunity to snap back at the G. O. P.'s political grave-robbing—parading a few minor-league "bolters" from Democratic ranks in the hope that their defection will be mistaken for a great national upheaval.

There are unquestionably many liberals, Democrats, and even New Dealers who are sincerely opposed to the third term on principle. But the exhuming of Al Smith and the lame-duck Senators Burke and Holt to head the parade would scarcely indicate that the movement has attained the proportions of a tidal wave—not even when the list of bolters includes that high-minded, liberal searcher-after-truth Edmund M. Toland, who resigned as counsel for the Smith committee (investigating the NLRB) "to work for Willkie."

Nor has the Farleyized National Committee gone to the trouble of pointing out the growing similarity between the Republican campaigns of 1936 and 1940, a fact which has become painfully apparent here. Four years ago the Liberty League carried the torch; today it is upheld by the matrons and Junior Leaguers of Newport, Tuxedo Park, and Bar Harbor. Unkind critics may put this down as an effort to inject "class hatred" into the campaign, as perhaps it is, though all I do is quote from the society column of a Washington newspaper:

> So great is the Willkie fervor becoming that local ladies are even wearing their [Willkie] buttons on their evening dresses. A survey would probably show they are also being pinned to nightgowns. But nobody, to our knowledge, has yet emulated the Newport woman who four years ago had a Landon pin made of diamonds and rubies.

Democratic National Committee please copy.

Hull the Miracle Man

BY WILLARD R. ESPY

Havana, July 30

BEFORE adding my voice to the chorus of rejoicing over the hemispheric solidarity achieved at Havana, I want to warn against an old American habit of mistaking the pledge for the deed. It's still all on paper.

The ban on fifth-column activity was nice. So was the warning against abuse of diplomatic privileges by non-American powers. Immediately after backing these measures, however, Cuba, seat of the conference, proceeded to legalize again the local branch of the Spanish Falange, and on the request of the Spanish legation Cuban authorities arrested a refugee whom the legation charged with theft of a book in Madrid.* If he had not been able to produce documents to prove he was Cuban by birth, he would now be on his way to face a Spanish firing squad.

A longer article than this would be necessary for listing similar ironic events that occurred in other American countries while the conference was in progress. None the less, the Foreign Ministers accomplished at least as much as had been expected. By turning the Monroe Doctrine into a multilateral document and accepting United States leadership against the authoritarian threat, they gave democracy its first green light in many a moon. What we shall do with that leadership is another question.

On the hot and humid opening day of the emergency pan-American meeting, prospects looked black. Across the ocean fascism had spread like a fire through dry-rotted wood, and already sparks were alighting in the Western Hemisphere. Uruguay had escaped a Nazi coup by a hair's-breadth. There were rumors of impending putsches in Bolivia and Chile. The Latin Americans' European markets were gone. A new business slump was answering their hopes of a war-time boom. Their poverty-stricken masses were restless. Their business men and politicians were listening, mouths watering, to German trade proposals and delivery guaranties. It was small wonder that some of the delegates were ready to accept the seemingly inevitable and have done.

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* The details of this incident are given in our correspondence columns on page 120.—EDITORS THE NATION.

They came to Havana to hear what the United States offered, and privately they said it had better be good. No new $500,000,000 loan from Washington would hold them in line; hadn't they learned from Britain's example that loans to jeopardized countries were not enough? Trade was what they needed; and if we wouldn't trade with them, Germany would.

Washington had to think fast. European possessions in the Western Hemisphere were in imminent danger of being taken over by the Nazis. The Panama Canal was menaced. Our growing market to the south might be lost. Unless the conference did what Hitler had said was impossible for democracies—unless it made hard decisions in a hurry—freedom might soon be snuffed out in the Western Hemisphere.

Seemingly insuperable difficulties stood in the way of effective action. Appeasers and isolationists, some of them in high places, were branding the mildest of defense moves as hysteria. An election campaign was under way; who could tell whether a Republican President would honor Roosevelt pledges? American business men were willing to increase exports to the countries south of the Rio Grande, on their own terms; but to increase imports, especially of such products as Argentine wheat and beef and Brazilian cotton, which competed with our own, was something else again. Moreover, they didn't understand or trust these Latins.

As for the Latin Americans, not only did their cultural ties run east and west instead of north and south, but many of the states were completely dependent on the European market. There wasn't even a land route to link the United States with South America; and if one should be created, who could tell how the Colossus of the North might use it? Some of their political and military chiefs admired Hitler and his methods more or less openly. They read German, Italian, and Spanish editorials which either jeered at the conference as a foredoomed economic absurdity or warned of what the fascists would do if Latin America let itself become the cat's-paw of Washington. Communists, Nazis, and Falangists on this side of the ocean cried in concert, "Beware of Yankee imperialism!"

Argentina felt that the United States was invading its sphere of influence. Its President, ill, had just resigned, and rumor said that powerful elements had urged him to this course so that he might be succeeded by a more pro-Nazi vice-president. Argentina had no wish to offend a Reich which might control its most important markets after the war. The United States sold to it but did not buy; in 1939, 17.2 per cent of Argentine imports came from this country, but we took only 11.9 per cent of its exports in return. Let's not commit ourselves on anything, whispered the Argentine delegate Leopoldo Melo in the corridors. The danger is only speculative; who said Hitler had designs here, anyhow? On the other hand, Central American delegates declared privately that eventually the United States would have to land marines and set up air and naval bases in their countries.

For three days the meetings dragged. The speeches were pretty, but Argentina stoutly held the bridge against passage of any effective solidarity measure. Then something happened. There was a stir among the delegates and newspapermen; they were uncertain and incredulous at first, later exultant. Argentina's satellite states were deserting it. Even Paraguay acknowledged the spiritual leadership of Washington. Talk was heard of a plan for smelting tin, Bolivia's most important product, either in the United States or in Bolivian factories set up with American capital. A railroad project uniting Brazil with Chile via Bolivia, and consequently carrying the United States' radius of effective action far south of its present limits, was slated for conference approval. A miracle was taking place.

The miracle-worker was a tired, gray man with a Southern drawl and a mule-driver's command of epithet. For seven years he had worked patiently, fitting together piece by piece the structure of inter-American good-will. Now he was proving his earlier work. And—behind his back—he was being called Saint Hull. The United States Secretary of State proposed no American league of nations, no all-embracing trade cartel which to be effective must injure at least the pride, if not the sovereignty, of certain member states. He proposed no hemispheric monetary unit, no customs union. No such measure could have passed. But he saw that the immediately pressing matters were attended to and laid the groundwork for more effective collaboration.

The most dramatic conference declaration, the Act of Havana, in effect gave the United States permission to occupy European possessions in this hemisphere should an emergency make such a move necessary. (The achievement was shadowed at the last moment by Argentina's reminder that it had to be ratified by the Argentine congress.) Though a committee of twenty-one is to be set up to deal with the problem, in an emergency any American nation may take the steps required for its own defense. A correlated convention places the administration of occupied regions under an Inter-American Commission, which, in Hull's words, will be "provisional in character, and will continue only until such time as the region is in a position to govern itself or is restored to its former status—whenever the latter is compatible with the security of the American republics."

A second resolution called for immediate consultation among the signatory governments in the event that any one of them was menaced by subversive activity; a third set limits to the privileges of non-American diplomats and urged limitation of their staffs.

The conference attempted no technical economic measures, though it was generally agreed that cooperation among American sellers would be necessary in the event of a German victory in Europe. The existing Inter-American Economic and Financial Advisory Committee was strengthened, in order that it might, to quote Hull again, "proceed at once with the preparation of detailed plans to cope with active temporary handling and orderly marketing of existing and prospective surpluses; for development, where feasible, of commodity production and marketing agreements and arrangements; for promotion among the American nations of mutually beneficial trade. . . . Finally, the committee was instructed to consider, while these measures and plans are being developed, the possibility of a broader system of inter-American cooperative organization in matters of trade, credit, money, foreign exchange, etc."

Prior to the conference American experts had decided that this hemisphere was not ready for a full trade cartel, a common currency, or a customs union. Clearly, however, the foregoing quotation contains the germs of all these proposals. An economic bloc is being formed slowly and carefully to meet totalitarian tactics on even terms until reciprocity is again possible. For Europe needs the raw materials of the West quite as badly as the Americas need the European market. In 1938, the last year of pre-war commerce, Europe bought Latin American raw materials to an approximate value of $1,000,000,000. It has been estimated that 75 per cent of these commodities could not have been purchased elsewhere.

The delegates took home with them not only written agreements but an unaccustomed feeling of hopefulness. The Havana conference had "cleared the decks" for the job that must be done. Because its accomplishment depends on the strength of the democratic forces in the countries concerned, the first task of the United States is to support those forces. A relentless counter-offensive must be carried on against the serf-like way of life now driving westward from Franco Spain. We might establish schools in which to train our southern neighbors in our techniques and points of view. Social and economic institutes might be set up in Latin America, run by nationals but calling on United States experts to advise on means of improving social conditions and ending the lopsided economies which have retarded development—in some Latin American countries today one or two raw materials form from 75 to 95 per cent of the total value of exports. The present program of cultural exchange will be furthered by completion of the pan-American highway—which should be rushed, with United States supervision and labor if necessary.

Prerequisite to these measures is an increase in our purchases of Latin American goods. It is noteworthy that in 1938 but 60 per cent of our cacao imports, to the value of $12,108,000, a third of our wool imports, $7,788,000, and a third of our hide imports, $9,791,000, came from Latin America. These percentages can be increased, in the last two instances at the expense of British dominions. It should be possible also to raise our imports of manganese, cottonseed oil, henequen, sisal, and industrial diamonds. A gesture permitting restricted entry of Argentine beef would remove a psychological as well as an economic grievance, and large imports of Bolivian tin will be possible once smelting facilities are built.

Secretary of State Hull

The $180,000,000 we spent for rubber last year all went to the Orient, though South America was our original source of supply. Synthetic rubber factories may ultimately take care of our major needs, but our demand is great enough to build up a sizable Latin American industry. Henry Ford is experimenting with a rubber plantation in Brazil, and last June Congress appropriated half a million dollars for investigating possible rubber-producing areas of this hemisphere. An Institute of Tropical Agriculture, to be located in some Latin American country, was projected in May by the scientific congress that met in Washington.

The extent to which trade can be increased depends on both government and business. If American manufacturers can buy more cheaply elsewhere, they are not likely to turn to South America unless the government subsidizes their purchases there. And without a government guaranty American salesmen will not offer prices or terms commensurate with those of German agents. Business may demand guaranties likewise before investing in countries that have practiced expropriation. It will talk loud and long about the billion dollars of defaulted Latin American bonds held here.

There are knotty problems ahead. But the Conference of Foreign Ministers at Havana, the culmination of many years of patient work, has brought the vision of pan-American integration a long step nearer realization.

Jehovah's 50,000 Witnesses

BY H. RUTLEDGE SOUTHWORTH

IN FORTY-ONE states of the Union members of Jehovah's Witnesses have been the victims of mob violence and police persecution during the past two months. In Mississippi a number of Witnesses were kidnapped and taken across the state line to Louisiana; in Wyoming a Witness was tarred and feathered; in Maine a "Kingdom Hall," as their meeting places are called, was burned down. Five Witnesses are being held in excessive bail in Kentucky for violation of the state sedition laws. In Texas alone there have been more than nineteen attacks on members.

Jehovah's Witnesses are believers in the Biblical interpretations of Pastor Charles Taze Russell, who died in 1916, and of seventy-one-year-old Judge Joseph Franklin Rutherford, his spiritual successor. Their creed, a belief in the second coming of Jesus, is a primitive American folk faith arising from the same soil that produced Mormonism and Adventism. The movement has now spread all over the world, but its main field of activity is still in the United States. In August, 1939, there were 41,902 active field workers in this country and about 11,000 more in Great Britain and Canada; elsewhere they are few—28 in Chile, 114 in Brazil, a handful in Africa.

The Witnesses insist that their movement, though basically Christian, is not a religion. "Religionists have an ambitious desire to rule the world in the place and stead of God and Christ. Religion is therefore a snare and a racket, and the Lord's kingdom will do away with religion and all fraudulent schemes," declares Judge Rutherford, who is not only the recognized leader of the movement, but also the president of the Watch Tower Bible and Tract societies of Pennsylvania and New York and of the International Bible Students' Association of Great Britain. His interpretations of Scriptual prophecies determine the present "line" of the Witnesses.

This line has changed greatly since 1884, when the movement was officially founded in Pennsylvania by Pastor Russell. The Witnesses today believe that Satan ruled the world until 1914, that Jesus Christ, son of the "Great Theocrat Jehovah God," was "enthroned as King in 1914 A. D. and since then has been specifically directing the Witness work on earth"; that Jesus came "to his Temple" in 1918, but that Satan still operates; that all governments are the "devil's kingdoms"; that "Armageddon will come as soon as the Witness work is completed." The "Witness work" is a relatively recent development, having been started in 1925, when the Russellites and the International Bible Students, following Judge Rutherford's Biblical interpretations, became Jehovah's Witnesses.

"This is no time for the erection of buildings for the purpose of assembling in them and going through a form of worship, but it is the time to go from house to house and tell the people the good news of God's kingdom, which is the only possible relief for suffering humanity," declares a recent Witness pamphlet. In compliance with this precept, each member preaches or "witnesses" by distributing the literature of the society from house to house. The Witnesses have a big printing plant in Brooklyn and one in Berne, Switzerland. More than 229,675,028 copies of books and pamphlets by Judge Rutherford have been given out. In the United States during the year ending September 30, 1939, the Witnesses distributed 15,169,244 pieces of literature and in addition 6,740,000 copies of their two magazines. Their literature is printed in eighty-eight languages.

To spread their doctrine the Witnesses use not only printed matter but the phonograph, the sound truck, and the radio. Their usual procedure when they "invade" a town is to "work" a street with a sound truck that blares out speeches by Judge Rutherford attacking established religions, especially the Roman Catholic church. If invited, they enter homes and play their phonograph records and give out literature. Last year Witnesses in the United States made 1,285,327 "back calls" on people who had shown interest in the work. The persistence and enthusiasm of these workers is perhaps explained by the fact that their primary purpose is not to convert the listener, though that is desired, but to carry out their conception of God's commandments and thereby insure themselves a place in the kingdom of Jehovah God.

The Witnesses are perhaps best known for their refusal to salute the flag, an act which they believe to be forbidden by the Second Commandment, and for their semi-pacifism—they will fight for Jehovah God but not for man. They have also attracted public attention by their forthright propaganda tactics and their unremitting warfare against the doctrines of the Roman Catholic church and other "organized religions." Their peculiar methods of preaching—which they themselves call "the strange work"—have got them into many a brush with the law. Local authorities do not always consider the house-to-house canvassing preaching, or may require a license, while the Witnesses refuse to ask permission of the "devil's kingdoms" to carry on "Jehovah's work."

Every time the Witnesses have been restrained by a local ordinance and have carried the case to the United States Supreme Court, they have won. The actual "witnessing," that is, the manner in which they preach and proselyte, is unorthodox and may be irritating, especially to Roman Catholics, but it is not unconstitutional. On May 20, 1940, the United States Supreme Court affirmed by unanimous vote the constitutional right of the Witnesses to distribute their propaganda and to play their phonograph records (Cantwell *vs.* Connecticut).

This legal victory seemed to impel the Witnesses to greater zeal—and their opponents to extra-legal means to defeat them. The tense situation that resulted was made worse by another Supreme Court decision, handed down on June 3, which gave to school officials the right to force children to salute the flag. The latter decision, coming at the height of the fifth-column scare, made the Witnesses obvious targets for persecution.

The first of the recent attacks took place on May 22 at Del Rio, Texas. The United Press story read:

> An angry crowd of 400 persons headed by former service men escorted three Nazi agents to the city limits of Del Rio late today and warned them not to return. . . . The three agents . . . had been distributing Nazi literature in this Mexican border town for three days. Police said that yesterday they began forcing housewives to listen to pro-Nazi phonograph recordings and leaving copies of a pamphlet entitled "The Watch Tower" and bearing a swastika on the cover.

The pamphlet was in reality an anti-fascist, anti-Catholic publication called "Fascism or Freedom," and the swastika was on a ball and chain to denote fascist slavery.

On May 25 three Witnesses were accused of being Nazi agents and threatened by a hostile crowd in Glenwood, Arkansas. A few days later the same charge was made against two Witnesses in Sanford, Maine, and they were severely beaten by a Legion mob. On June 22 a Witness was tarred and feathered at Parco, Wyoming, for having allegedly given the Nazi salute. On June 30 the New Orleans *Times-Picayune* carried the following statement by Dr. A. C. Bryan, American Legion commander at Meridian, Mississippi:

> We, the American Legion, in cooperation with the police department, are making every effort to round up these "Witnesses." It is the duty of every citizen to report these persons to the police. The literature being issued by members of this organization is printed chiefly in Germany by German printers and on German paper.

A charge of distributing Nazi literature was brought against the Witnesses in Odessa, Texas, on June 1, and a "kangaroo court" that included many city and police officials and a Baptist minister tried to coerce them into saluting the flag. The Witnesses' official report of this affair states:

> At Odessa, Texas, about seventy innocent men, women, and children were hauled into the courtroom by the sheriff and county attorney, held until midnight without food or water, and then the thirty-five men were packed into a small upper room for the rest of the night. During five hours from midnight they were brought downstairs, one by one, and grilled by the American Legion. Purposely deprived of food and drink until ten o'clock Sunday morning, they were then loaded on a truck and carried to the county line, delivered to a mob of a thousand, guided by and including the American Legion, who stoned and drove them on foot along the railroad right of way for over five miles. They were prevented from leaving the right of way to get water; a number fainted and had to be carried . . .

One of the most disturbing features of this wave of violence is the complete unwillingness of local law-enforcement officers to protect the Witnesses. In many cases officers of the law have been active participants in the outrages. At Jackson, Mississippi, a group of Jehovah's Witnesses, many of them citizens of the state, on being threatened by the American Legion appealed for local and state protection—in vain. On June 27 they were chased across the state line by a mob led by the head of a private detective agency and delivered into the hands of Louisiana legionnaires. "They would not allow the women and children to go to toilets or to secure food. Several of the legionnaires went ahead, and at every town we were met by officers and ordered on," writes the leader of the group.

In nearly every account of the prevalent violence we read that the Witnesses were accused of being pro-Nazi and that American legionnaires led the attacks. The pro-Nazi charge has no validity since the Witnesses' literature is strongly anti-Nazi and their work is forbidden in Germany. Their printing plant in Magdeburg was confiscated by the Nazis, and some 3,000 Witnesses are in concentration camps. The Witnesses believe that the fifth-column excitement is being used against them by the American Legion, urged on by the Catholic church. Because of their vigorous assaults on organized religions, especially on the best organized of all, the Roman Catholic church, the Witnesses have long been a target for relentless Catholic attack. For years the Catholic church, firmly intrenched in local politics, has tried to restrict the activities of the Witnesses by city ordinances and police regulations. When Judge Rutherford broadcast from London on September 11, 1938, Catholic authorities in the United States used both legal and illegal means to prevent his being heard by his followers. In New Orleans a policeman named MacNamara cut the telephone wires when the speech began. The Right Reverend Peter N. H. Wynhoven, editor of *Catholic Action of the South,* commented on the New Orleans convention:

> It is indeed a source of deep gratification that notwithstanding the persistent efforts of the Witnesses of

> Jehovah their three-day convention in New Orleans was frustrated. . . . Practically every large hall in the city was denied them. . . . The chief of police's office and the sheriff of Jefferson Parish unhesitatingly stepped in to stop effectively this insult to New Orleans.

In Dickinson, Texas, Father Thomas A. Carney, priest of the Shrine of the True Cross, was arrested on complaint of a Witness for directing an assault against several members of the group. The priest was defended by a prominent Protestant lawyer from Houston, and the trial was officially observed by representatives of the American Legion from Houston, Galveston, and other cities. The spectators cheered when Father Carney was freed, a Witness was fined for contempt of court, and a grand-jury investigation of the Witnesses was promised. The Houston *Chronicle* of July 7, 1940, reported Father Carney's testimony as follows:

> Father Carney's testimony was that he had seen the group in Dickinson Sunday and that he had walked over to the car with "some of my boys" to warn them to leave town. He said that when it became apparent that the group was not going to leave peaceably he walked back to his home, telling "the boys" to see that the group left town without distributing any literature or phonograph records. "I didn't tell the boys to hit anybody," said Father Carney," but as long as it happened, I'm glad that they did it. Those people deserved it."

Far from condemning the recent wave of Legion lawlessness, National Commander Raymond J. Kelly writes as follows in the *National Legionnaire* for July, 1940:

> The good of the nation compels summary action to be taken by our properly constituted federal, state, and local authorities to stamp out in their entirety the activities of these subverters, irrespective of what may happen to their fellow-travelers or innocent bystanders. This is no time for quibbling. We must pull no punches. In my public utterances I have stressed the importance of American Legion organizations assisting and working through recognized law-enforcement agencies. I see no reason for deviation from that policy at this time.

The Legion conception of "assisting and working through recognized law-enforcement agencies" is typified by the following resolution (June 27):

> Therefore be it resolved by the George Hart Post No. 167 of the American Legion, Harrisburg, Illinois, that in the future no Jehovah's Witnesses or any other sect having similar belief shall distribute any literature or play any recordings in the city of Harrisburg or surrounding territory stating publicly that they will neither salute the American flag nor take up arms in defense of this country in the event of an armed invasion. Be it further resolved that no Jehovah's Witnesses shall in the future solicit membership to their organization, either in the city of Harrisburg or any surrounding territory.

The Witnesses have just been banned in Canada, and there is no doubt that as we draw nearer to war our own tolerance for minority views will likewise diminish. But we are not yet at war. And I understand that the Department of Justice has sent a special circular to all United States district attorneys instructing them to take every possible measure to prevent interference with the Witnesses' right to freedom of assembly. Only resolute federal action to enforce the decisions of the Supreme Court can put an end to the assaults on the Witnesses, but this is election year and the pressure groups that would resent so vigorous a policy represent a political power no vote-seeker can ignore.

Within the Gates

THE Montana primaries of July 16 yielded an important item of news without making a ripple in the American press, namely, Jeannette Rankin's victory over Dr. Jacob Thorkelson for the Republican Congressional nomination. Defeated by 6,870 to 5,868, the country doctor will probably return to obscurity after the present session of Congress, but not without having made a real contribution to American fascism. For it was Thorkelson who demonstrated the value of an office on Capitol Hill as a platform for addressing the nation. Even though his colleagues frequently refused to listen to his obscene anti-Semitic diatribes, he made full use of the *Congressional Record* as a propaganda vehicle. By inserting lengthy extensions of his remarks in the appendix of the *Record,* Representative Thorkelson succeeded in stuffing it with more than 450 columns of propaganda, totaling approximately 360,000 words, at a cost to the government of more than $10,000 for printing. He also reprinted tens of thousands of his speeches and extensions and sent them—with a supply of "franked" envelopes—to the more important fascist leaders, who mailed them to their followers.

Dr. Thorkelson's success in distributing his propaganda has led other fascists and pro-Nazis to aspire to a seat in Senate or House. Joseph E. McWilliams, leader of the Christian Mobilizers, has come forward as the candidate of the so-called American Destiny Party. Four nights each week he harangues street-corner audiences in the Yorkville district of New York. Following the tried-and-true Nazi technique, he tells the people—the shabby, frustrated little people who mill sullenly in the streets because their apartments are unbearably hot and they can't afford tickets to the air-conditioned movies—that they should be represented in the national legislature by a man who is not the tool of "international Jewry." In other words, they should be represented by Joseph E. McWilliams. For his open Jew-baiting and "incitement to disturbance of the peace" McWilliams was recently fined $50. Another candidate of the American Destiny Party is McWilliams's first lieutenant, James Stewart, who is asking the voters of Harlem and Washington Heights to send him to Congress.

According to present plans, the name of the American Destiny Party will not appear on the ballot. McWilliams and Stewart will first attempt to capture the Republican nominations in the primaries. If they fail—as they almost certainly will—they will try to have their names presented to the voters under the designation of "Independent Republicans." Even qualified by the term "Independent," the Republican label will snare some Republican voters who are dissatisfied with their party's nominee or platform and welcome the chance to cast a protest vote. The members of the American Destiny Party will vote right no matter what party label is chosen, for they will have been taken into the confidence of their leaders.

Of all American fascists campaigning for Congress, none has been more outspoken than Kenneth A. Brown of Gervais, Oregon. His platform is built of a single plank—anti-Semitism; and his four-page advertisement in Oregon's "Official Voters' Pamphlet" fell one step short of advocating a pogrom. In the primaries Brown received only one vote for every seven given his opponent, the popular James W. Mott, but his unexpected strength of more than 10,000 votes convinced him he should become a candidate of the American Destiny Party in the fall elections. In the meantime he is attempting to increase his following by means of a weekly news letter called the *American Fifth Column.* The real fifth columnists, according to Brown, are the Jews.

Another West Coast fascist to adopt the Republican label is Harold A. Sparling, who is campaigning in the Seventeenth California District (Los Angeles) for the Republican nomination to the House of Representatives. Mr. Sparling's concept of good government is indicated by his favorite slogan: "We liberated France, and we shall liberate these United States." An expensive campaign booklet entitled "Why I Am Running for Congress" acknowledges the candidate's indebtedness to Father Coughlin. "I want personally to thank the Reverend Charles E. Coughlin," says Sparling, "for being so kind as to allow me to quote from two of his very valuable books."

The Democratic Party also is being used by politically ambitious fascists. The most formidable of these is Louis B. Ward of Michigan, who last month resigned his position as editorial director of Coughlin's *Social Justice* to seek the Democratic nomination to the United States Senate. Mr. Ward is no amateur in politics. In a four-way race for the senatorial nomination in 1936 he ran a close second to the winner, Prentiss M. Brown, obtaining 117,872 votes to Brown's 125,338. After his defeat in the primaries he became a candidate of Father Coughlin's National Union for Social Justice but was again defeated by Brown, this time by the decisive margin of 910,937 to 75,680. Another of Father Coughlin disciples to announce his candidacy for Congress is Dr. George H. Derry, who will oppose Representative John D. Dingell of Michigan. Because Dr. Derry is a national officer of the Knights of Columbus, he is expected to poll a large Catholic vote outside of Coughlin's following.

These candidates, and others who have not been discussed, are not immediately dangerous. None of them, with the possible exception of Ward, is conceded the slightest chance—at least this year. But they are important because they indicate that fascist forces for the first time are making a real attempt to capture the national legislature. They are straws in the wind. Hitler did not succeed in destroying the Weimar Republic until he reconciled himself to the unpleasant task of winning seats in the Reichstag.

In the Wind

STATUETTES OF Allied war leaders are being sold in London. Those of Mr. Churchill and Lord Gort are priced at sixpence. Those of Mr. Chamberlain and General Gamelin are advertised as "specially reduced" to threepence.

ALTHOUGH THE NEWSPAPERS have reported that John G. Winant is to succeed J. Warren Madden as head of the National Labor Relations Board, Winant has told friends that the job has never been offered to him; moreover, he has expressed vigorous approval of Madden's regime.

AT CHRISTIAN FRONT and other right-wing meetings these days subdued approval is being voiced for Wendell Willkie. Most of the orators lament Willkie's foreign policy but call him "the lesser evil" and boast that "anti-Jewish money is going into his treasury."

DURING THE RECENT heat wave, with the temperature at 95 in Boston, the Shell gasoline sign over the Charles River flashed in large electric letters which could be seen for miles around. The first letter wasn't functioning.

BUSINESS GROUPS are planning to flood the country with huge billboards which will read (in effect): "Remember England and France. America can't afford industrial troubles."

REVIEWING A Tschaikowsky concert in London, the Croydon *Times* explained: "In fairness to the memory of Tschaikowsky it should be emphasized that his music was the product of Czarist and not Bolshevist Russia."

THE CHICAGO *TIMES* has dropped Hugh Johnson's column. In doing so it ran an editorial explanation deploring the venom of Johnson's attacks on the President. "Hell hath no fury like General Johnson's scorn," it said.

JAMES CAREY, C. I. O. secretary, recently wrote an article for his union paper indorsing President Roosevelt for a third term. The article dispelled any idea that John L. Lewis might actively oppose Roosevelt. Carey is one of his closest, most loyal lieutenants.

HAVANA NOTES: At one of the conference sessions everybody was making speeches about Bolivar. When Hull's turn came he was obviously unprepared to speak. He rose, hesitated a moment, and then proposed one minute of silence in honor of the great Liberator. . . . Kurt Sel, correspondent of D. N. B., the official German news agency, was talking to American newspapermen. "Going to the official reception?" he asked. "Sorry, we weren't invited. Are you going?" Whereupon Sel replied, "I should say so. If the fifth column can't get in, I'd like to know who can."

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind —either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. A prize of $5 will be awarded each month for the best item.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

A Native at Large

BY JONATHAN DANIELS

IN CHAPEL HILL, which is a North Carolina village as well as the University of North Carolina's town, Paul Green and Richard Wright work at one table in these hot weeks dramatizing Wright's "Native Son" for production by Orson Welles this fall. The dramatization may be as important as the drama. Green is a Southerner of white, Southern-farmer stock. Wright has become the city Negro. Wright wrote his grim Chicago story to show the effects on a Negro of the social and economic problems confronting his race. Green, rejecting Hollywood, has remained in his South, where among white men and Negroes those problems begin.

These two, as they work in Chapel Hill while so many other American minds are on war abroad, know that it is easier to see the results in Chicago at the end of baffled migration from Mississippi than it is to make some sense and safety where the slow, bundle-carrying, timid, and determined movement of Negroes and little white men begins. The Okies were new and strange in California; sadder are the thousands more like them who are not strange in Oklahoma. There were a million more people on the cotton farms of the South when World War II began than at the beginning of World War I, but cotton only brought half its old share of national income.

Those facts are not only back of the play but back of the politics, and this month a committee of Congressmen, named out of an attention now diminishing, are coming down to look at them. The committee's interest is the migrants, and they are going first in the South to Montgomery, Alabama, which was founded long ago by a migrant from Rhode Island. Their chairman himself moved from Minnesota by Kansas and Montana to California, a longer distance than the Joads pushed from Oklahoma. Moving does not make a migrant; it is what he started from and what he finds.

The Congressmen are welcome, but I wonder what they will find. Not much that is new, I am afraid. They will hear the experts—maybe some of the more articulate poor. In the evenings they can take their puzzles or their answers to the air-conditioned Drum Room of the Jefferson Davis, where they put together a very palatable julep. And they can talk. That's what Alabama does, and Arkansas. At home nobody yet has found an answer. That is certainly not because they do not want one.

It is hot in Montgomery in August, but it is a beautiful month. Cotton bursts open in the sun; there are long twilights. At night the black belt lies steaming in the deep dark. It is a crowded darkness. Where the soil and most of the people are black, both violence and easygoing remain, but easygoing grows difficult. The land is worn; the cabins are crowded. The Negroes move in knots on the roads and alone or in couples across the fields and along the ditches. Tow-headed women rock babies on the porches. Sallow men laugh loudly in the filling stations. Slavery is gone for the same reason that it began to burden Virginia under Jefferson: it does not pay. People are not worth their pot liquor and corn pone.

Alabama was the Promised Land once. It was the new, rich land which lay behind the colored folks' proud cry from the quarters, "Niggers is riz'!" Alabama was the end of migration. Virginia was then its beginning. Jefferson put at least two dozen of his Monticello slaves on the market, saying, "Nor would I willingly sell the slaves as long as there remains any prospect of paying my debts with their labor." Instead, they were eating up Virginia and the Virginians. The land there was worn out; war—the war for American liberty—had cut the foreign markets. But Jefferson himself bought the vast lands called Louisiana. The foreign slave trade was outlawed. Eli Whitney and English textile men invented machines.

"Niggers is riz'!" A man could take pride in his price.

How are they fallen, and white men with them now!

The answer is not in Richard Wright's book. I don't think Paul Green can help him put it in his play. I am not counting on the Congressmen. But I am glad the migrants moved, even to brutal murder in Chicago, mass violence in California. This business back of Bigger Thomas, this business which drove the Joads, is not a migrant problem. The migrants are only the messengers, carrying both news and shame to the whole land. California did not like it, and Chicago is not entirely pleased about it. That is not hard to understand. The reason the landlords tied their tractors to the tenant houses and pulled them down was that not even the toughest landlords want hungry children on their places, under their eyes. What I fear now is that in California and Chicago, New York and Detroit, the war abroad will pull all our home memories down. I am grateful to Congressmen and novelists and playwrights, to everybody who keeps these people under our eyes. The only answer will come from uninterrupted attention. They will not stop starving or moving because they are forgotten.

[*From now on Mr. Daniels's page, A Native at Large, will appear in* The Nation *every week.*]

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

Notes on a Mexican Journey

THE parlor car from Vera Cruz to Mexico City is filled, so I find a seat in *primera clase*. Every inch of space is filled with human and other baggage. The fat conductor, who is pure Indian, gets through the aisle only with difficulty. The population shifts—the train stops at least half a hundred times—but never shrinks. At every town we are surrounded by men in serapes and women with babies slung in rebosos and so closely wrapped that only a tiny hand or foot showing indicates the nature of the bundle. They offer trays heaped with tortillas, hard-boiled eggs in little baskets, many-colored fruits, fried chicken. There are children, too, selling souvenirs or flowers—mostly gardenias massed solidly in queer fragrant shapes. Boys with flutes come on board and ride to the next station, play wailing subtle tunes, and gather pennies. It is a journey through Mexican sounds and smells as well as Mexican landscapes—the whole gamut of tropics, mountains, dusty plateau. Contrasts too sharp to be inclosed in twelve hours; the pouring evening rain in Mexico City seems like a welcome solvent to the complex heated day.

"I WONDER that you don't write about the sensational events in Mexico. . . . You seem strangely tranquil and unaffected by all the blasting in Europe." A letter from a friend in the United States. It is early June. Trotsky has just escaped assassination; the Nazis are walking through France with giant tanks for boots. I don't subscribe to the theory that the Trotsky attack is some far-fetched fake—the surface explanation that it is the work of the G. P. U. seems to me the sensible one; I realize what is happening in Europe. And heaven knows, the headlines in the Mexican newspapers are sensational enough; they out-Hearst Hearst. Yet from Mexico City the sense of horror and doom that one takes in with the *Times* every morning in New York seems like a remote hysteria. Since I avoid radios and American newspapers I shall not experience that hysteria again until I pick up a copy of *Time* on the boat returning home—and realize with what fiendish expertness the American press and radio drive into the mind and heart every fact and implication of every hour's news.

The sketchiness of news in the Mexican papers is one element in the curious aspect that sensational and tragic events assume in Mexico—or at least assumed for me. I think another, more important one, has to do with the quality of Mexico itself. Mexico is theatrical—its climate, its scenery, its history, its social landscape, its people; and in this context sensational current events seem of a piece, not extraordinary. Whatever the reason, "trouble" in Mexico arouses more excitement in New York than I could find in Mexico City. There might be trouble. Who could tell? But certainly the possibility did not seem to weigh on the minds of the people I met, a limited group, to be sure, of Americans and Spaniards and Mexicans, but still a group in which any general state of tension or dread might be expected to be concentrated rather than otherwise. In Mexico City, in sight of Popocatepetl, I ceased for the first time in two years to have the feeling that I was living on the edge of a volcano; I almost came to feel that Mexico is a place where anything may not happen.

Yet volcanic is a word for describing Mexico. Counterpoint of inertia and eruption. It is hard to summon up fighting generals and bloody revolutions as one looks at the broad, gentle brown faces of the peasants in a village market with the sun pressing down like a white incubus. Yet one senses tremendous energy under the crust of squalor, ignorance, and apparent resignation. And the land is filled with the survivals or the ruins of its earlier manifestations, the pre-Spanish pyramids and tombs and the ubiquitous elaborate churches which the Spaniard inspired but which the Indian built.

I HAVE no intention of writing a travelogue of Mexico. It has been done before. Nor would I attempt any serious comment on a sociological scene in which feudalism, capitalism, and state socialism are mingled in such complexity that seasoned observers are humble before it. The pitfalls of such an attempt were vividly brought home to me by a European who has lived there for fifteen years. He quoted a sentence from the latest series by a flying American correspondent who had spent five weeks touring Mexico. The sentence stated that Mexico's production of corn is only half what it was in 1907, the implication being that the standard of living has fallen. My instructor pointed out that Mexican statistics were probably even more unreliable a generation ago than they are now; the 1907 figure is particularly suspect because it is much higher than the figures for 1906 and 1908. In any case the figures are for marketed corn and not total production. The lower current figure may possibly mean a larger home consumption. Again it may not, because the consumption of bread has risen, and bread is made from wheat. This, however, would indicate a rise in the standard of living, as does also the fact that the consumption of beer has increased. He ended with the general observation that the basic mistake Americans make is to think and write in terms of a monetary economy about a country and a people to which those terms apply only superficially.

THE BRAZILIAN ordered avocado salad at Sanborn's, which is the Schrafft's of Mexico City. The Brazilian is an engineer and business man, middle-aged, shaped like Humpty-Dumpty. He obviously has money and background. He speaks English and French; he was educated in England and France. His conversation is filled with unexpected subtleties and abstractions. He is a colonial European, a Latin American European. He is proud of his family and has firm ideas about the place of women. His wife is American, but she is also a protected Brazilian wife who knows nothing about her husband's affairs. "I have told her," he says, "that

I have arranged for her permanent security. Why should she know more? It is better so. Her world is her home." There are three children. "My wife insists on speaking Portuguese. I'd rather she'd speak English for the children's sake." Intimation of rebellion? The protected American woman in the prosperous house in Rio de Janeiro interests me.

The Brazilian speaks German too, has been in Germany many times. He was there only last year. As we talk, the Germans are closing in on Paris and we exchange deprecations. But underneath I sense a reservation.

He tells me a story. "On one day a week, you know, all Germans must eat a certain soup for one meal—and nothing else. It's not bad, but I resented the idea. I went to call on an old friend, a professor, and there was that soup for lunch. Nothing else. I complained—he was a very old friend. He has two children, and they looked at me as if they were frightened. Suddenly my friend said to me, 'Come to my study. I have a letter for you. I almost forgot.'

"As soon as the door was closed, he pleaded with me not to talk about the soup. 'Not in front of the children. When they're gone I'll give you something else. But I don't want to make it hard for them. If they hear you complain they may feel that they must report it. Please eat the soup.' I ate the soup."

But again there was that reservation in the Brazilian's tone. And presently his voice was saying, "The Germans had to do what they've done. They had to organize the country." In the next breath he was telling me another story. In a German club where he was talking out loud to a Reichswehr officer, a busybody at the next table challenged his remarks and had to be called down by his friend, who happened to be important and above suspicion.

After that the Brazilian talked of other things. Of the dilatory ways of the Mexicans, of red tape; of the mistakes England had made; about the living standards of American workers—they are too high. And always that undercurrent of admiration for efficiency, Nazi efficiency, which came to the surface only a few times. I remember best from the Brazilian's conversation the things he did not say, that Germany is a good customer of Brazil, that what the world needs is efficiency.

EARLY AMERICAN NOTE: I see that the *Daily Worker* has been bought by the Freedom of the Press Company. This is owned in turn by three ladies who, to judge by the *Daily Worker's* announcement, were for Washington before Valley Forge. One of them belongs to the D. A. R.; another is described as a member of an old colonial family who became a Socialist (not a Communist) in 1898; of the third it is stated that her social consciousness was awakened through the novels of William Dean Howells. The paper, the announcement goes on a bit ominously, will receive the "wholehearted, continued, and ever-extending support" of the Communist Party. It is not revealed whether or not the three ladies will contribute to the columns of the paper, but if they are looking for pen names, I should like to suggest that they sign themselves Latvia, Estonia, and Lithuania.

MARGARET MARSHALL

A New Economic Policy

A PROGRAMME FOR PROGRESS. By John Strachey. Random House. $3.

IN THIS book, the most interesting and suggestive he has written, John Strachey joins the handful of Marxists and Socialists who are trying to overcome a fatal defect of socialism—its lack of a workable economic program of transition. Two equally disastrous policies have been advocated: revolutionary seizure of political power with the immediate total abolition of capitalism (I am not sure Strachey wholly rejects this); and the policy of reforms with bits of nationalization, which does not change the direction of capitalism and in time of economic crisis fails to solve that crisis, in fact, makes it worse. Strachey is trying here to work out a program for a radical government that comes to power during an economic crisis, finds it impossible to abolish capitalism but possible to modify it, and must restore production and raise living standards within a modified capitalism or make the crisis worse and invite reaction.

The basic elements of Strachey's program, which he calls "a new economic policy for the democracies," are shaped out of the experience of the American New Deal with some additions of his own. A progressive government must create new purchasing power by investing in enterprises which are not, at least not wholly, dependent upon the making of profits and by distributing money to consumers through greatly increased expenditures on pensions, insurance, and other social services. Income must be redistributed from rich to poor by means of taxation that will not press directly upon industry and so increase the costs of production—for example, surtax and death duties. The interest rate must be lowered to make investment and enterprise more attractive to private borrowers and more possible to public borrowers. To this Strachey adds the absolute necessity for a public banking system, on a non-profit basis, to finance government spending and to break the strangle-hold of finance on industry; and for a strict public control over the balance of foreign payments, to prevent a counter-offensive by the financial interests in the form of that flight of capital which was used so effectively against the government of Léon Blum in France.

That the program arises out of New Deal experience is nothing against it; on the contrary, that is in its favor. For while New Deal economists learned from the Marxist analysis and conclusion regarding the impossibility of constantly increasing accumulation of capital (investment), Marxists like Strachey and myself were so wrapped up in the analysis and conclusion that we did nothing to formulate a workable economic program to deal with the capitalist crisis. The economic experiments of the New Deal have made a decisive contribution to applied economics: any radical government, progressive or socialist, must shape its policy in large measure out of that contribution. But Strachey makes almost a complete circle, and in his enthusiasm is not sufficiently critical of New Deal economics. At many points Strachey's analyses and conclusions are defective and unconvincing. Space allows me only a few observations.

Strachey, following Keynes, overemphasizes the importance of the rate of interest—although both in the abstract admit its limitations. That rate is falling; it must fall still more. But the influence of the rate of interest on industry is limited. American corporate industry in the 1920's expanded with hardly any recourse to additional bank credit, the substantial increase in credit being used up in real estate and speculation. Low interest rates have not effectively stimulated new investment since 1933; partly because dominant industry can finance expansion out of its own resources, mainly because low interest rates are no answer to the decreasing proportional need for new capital investment. In this book, as in his "Nature of Capitalist Crisis," Strachey is not wholly clear about the significance of the falling rate of profit. The rate of profit depends upon constantly increasing capital investment; when the rate of new investment begins to decrease, as is now the case, it is impossible to maintain a high rate of profit for industry as a whole. While Strachey argues, rightly, that one of the tasks of a progressive government is to "restore the profitability of production," that can be done for non-monopoly business only at the expense of big business, by limiting monopoly profits in favor of competitive business (and of purchasing power). Otherwise, to "restore profitability" by means of lower interest rates and government creation of purchasing power will pile up profits and dividends that become idle surplus capital, with a resulting ill-balance that moves toward disaster. That is what happened in the United States in 1934-37 when, largely because of the New Deal program, profits rose, but *rose more than production, the national income and purchasing power—profits almost reached the 1928-29 level while the average yearly new investment was only 10 per cent of the average for those two years.* This played at least as great a part as retrenchment in New Deal spending in bringing the 1937 recession. Moreover, Strachey too closely identifies recipients of interest with capitalists. Dividends, in this country at least, are the monopoly of 300,000 stockholders who get 80 per cent of all dividends, but interest payments are much more widely distributed among the people, especially through their stake in insurance and savings. Too low an interest rate would harm millions of plain people and turn them against a progressive government. The problem is not solved by Strachey's offhand remark that interest on savings up to $2,500 should be maintained at 3 per cent by government action. Finally Strachey fails to integrate fully the Marxist analysis of investment and profit with the new economic problems because it still remains for him largely a dogmatic abstraction.

In itself the "expansionist" program suggested by Strachey has no direct relation to socialism; and he says himself that another collapse would follow unless the program moved toward socialism. But he does not combine the two, for he still opposes an absolute socialism to an absolute capitalism. Clearly, however, we cannot keep the two things in separate compartments; an immediate economic program must move toward socialism, and socialism must incorporate itself in the immediate program. That means that the economics of socialism must be reconsidered in terms of a limited collectivism. This Strachey does not do. Moreover, he still clings to the theory of "absolute working-class power as a prerequisite of socialism." But unless socialism can recast itself as an expression of the interests of all useful functional groups in society, directly, specifically, unequivocally, neither socialism nor the "expansionist" program can be put across. Farmers and salaried employees will not see their interests expressed in Strachey's program, except by indirection. His emphasis is on workers and wages, an emphasis that must be broadened and deepened if we are to get anywhere.

LEWIS COREY

Small Canvas

MADAME DORTHEA. By Sigrid Undset. Translated from the Norwegian by Arthur G. Chater. Alfred A. Knopf. $2.50.

WITH curious abruptness, almost as if this book were but a fragment of a longer work, Sigrid Undset raises [illegible] curtain on the most fateful moment in the usually placid life of middle-aged Madame Dorthea Thestrup, and drops it as suddenly a few months later in the story, which depicts sympathetically but unsentimentally Dorthea's tragic loss of her husband, the resultant breaking up of her home, and various family unpleasantnesses, including the revelation of some sinister blots on her mother's past. The plot has hardly larger dimensions than many a short-story plot, though it is expanded through intimate character development and expeditions along side trails, many of which are not explored to any definite conclusion. The number of loose ends, indeed, would seem to bear out the suggestion that "Madame Dorthea" is merely the core of what was intended to be a more ambitious novel—the course of recent events in Mrs. Undset's Norway might well have interrupted a large-scale project—unless the author has purposely eschewed a tightly integrated organization in order to show that life itself is thus formless, patternless, inconclusive. There is even, as in some of Selma Lagerlöf's stories, a hint of occult, inexplicable currents in the stream of human affairs, since the circumstances of Thestrup's disappearance remain utterly mysterious, and the gipsy Sibilla possesses a "second sight" which even Dorthea's rational mind must make a strong effort to discount.

The time of the story, though not definitely indicated, is apparently the late eighteenth century, but except for incidental details of background it might easily be today, for Mrs. Undset is concerned with the spiritual responses of individuals under stress rather than with the *mores* of an epoch as in "Kristin Lavransdatter."

LOUIS B. SALOMON

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SPECIAL NOTICE TO CANADIAN SUBSCRIBERS

Because of the [illegible] Excise War Tax on American periodicals going into Canada [illegible] well as the present exchange rate, THE NATION is obliged to increase immediately the rate on Canadian subscriptions from $5.50 to $6.00.

IN BRIEF

THE BRIMSTONE GAME: MONOPOLY IN ACTION. By R. H. Montgomery. Vanguard Press. $1.25.

Professor Montgomery has achieved a minor miracle in economic literature. In no more than ninety-four pages he has shown how monopolists sabotage production and create unemployment, and nailed down his thesis with a damning case-history of the sulphur industry. In addition, he has written with such clarity, wit, and vigor that the reader is swept along as by a first-class detective yarn. The American production of brimstone, or sulphur, is almost entirely in the hands of two companies possessing a water-tight selling agreement with foreign producers. During the depression decade, while prices in competitive industries were slashed again and again, sulphur was maintained rigidly at $18 per ton—about three times average costs. There could be no better proof of the monopolistic nature of the industry. This illuminating book is one of the first studies to draw on the voluminous evidence already accumulated by the TNEC.

THE QUAKER INFLUENCE IN AMERICAN LITERATURE. By Howard Hintz. Fleming H. Revell Company. $1.

A handy, readable account of the part which Quaker ideas and principles played in the work of Penn, Paine, Woolman, Brockden Brown, Cooper, Emerson, Whitman, and Whittier, with a note on the close relationship between the Quaker philosophy and American liberalism in general.

JOSEPH E. BROWN AND THE CONFEDERACY. By Louise Biles Hill. University of North Carolina Press. $3.50.

"Who the devil is Joe Brown?" demanded Robert Toombs of Georgia, on being told in 1857 that the Democrats of his state had nominated someone by that name for governor. If the modern reader is inclined to echo the question, it is because the legend of the Confederacy has caused all but the best-informed to forget how large a part internal politics played in its defeat. Burton Hendrick, in his "Statesmen of the Lost Cause," used the intransigent Governor of Georgia as an example. Now comes a minutely documented account of Brown's whole surprising career. He broke all precedent by serving four successive terms, triumphantly reelected by the people of a state undoubtedly devoted to the Confederate cause, although his bickerings with the Confederate government were a scandal verging on treason. "That Brown was important in the failure of the South to achieve independence seems obvious," says Miss Hill. In view of the evidence and the importance of Georgia both geographically and economically, one can only agree. But one is left still wondering about Brown's motives. The fact that as soon as the war was over he became a Scalawag and then a Bourbon Democrat, proceeding from a judgeship to a career in the United States Senate, would lead one to the conclusion that he had always been a Union man at heart if one did not know that before 1861 he had been one of the principal Secessionist firebrands. Perhaps he was merely an unashamed seeker after personal aggrandizement after all.

RECORDS

COLUMBIA'S set of Haydn's Symphony No. 104 (M-409, $5) has arrived, and reveals the anticipated excellences of Beecham's performance with the London Philharmonic—his powerful, sharply nuanced phrasing, the orchestra's beautiful playing and impressive sonority. Unanticipated is the revelation—with each side of the Victor set that I have played after the corresponding side of the Columbia set—of the superiority of those qualities of small-group ensemble performance that I found enchanting in the Edwin Fischer Chamber Orchestra version a few weeks ago, and of the greater effectiveness which those qualities of performance give to the music. The wonderful balancing and blending and matching of colors and sonorities by the Fischer group are what make the D minor whisper of the strings after the entire orchestra's opening call in D major so breathtaking, and contribute to making the entire introduction so much more impressive than in the Beecham performance. Again, what makes the opening theme of the second movement more affecting in the Fischer performance is the greater sensitiveness and fluidity of the playing of the small group. These, moreover, are qualities not merely of execution: they are themselves a manifestation of the superlative musical feeling and taste that are shown in the outlines, the pace, the spirit, the force of the work in the Fischer performance. And the greatness of the work, realized as it is in this performance, makes M-617 one of the finest sets Victor has ever issued.

Victor offers a new recording of another superb Haydn symphony, No. 92 ("Oxford") (M-682, $5), made by Bruno Walter with the Paris Conservatory Orchestra—a performance that treats the music with the warmth and sensitiveness of Walter's own nature, rather than with the sharpness and sparkle of Beecham's, and that in its own way is delightful. And another outstanding set is that of Schubert's lovely Moments Musicaux Opus 94 (M-684, $6.50), played by Schnabel with wonderful feeling for their delicacy and subtlety, and with his playing marvelously recorded. But what I am impatient for is the recordings Schnabel made of Schubert's great posthumous Sonata in B flat and the Sonata Opus 53.

The Budapest Quartet being the unique group that it is, there should be recordings of its performances of all the quartets of Beethoven, the best of Mozart, Schubert, Haydn. But Victor, with which the group has now signed a contract, already has recordings of many of the greatest of these works made by the Busch and Pro Arte Quartets; and it is issuing the entire Beethoven series recorded by the Coolidge group. We are, then, not likely to get Budapest recordings of Schubert, of Haydn, of even the last quartets of Beethoven; we may hope for some of Mozart; and what we are offered this month is Dvorak's Quartet Opus 96 ("American") (M-681, $6.50) —a fine set of this enjoyable work, but all things considered a poor use of great talent.

What we get in the set of Stravinsky's Capriccio for piano and orchestra (M-685, $4.50) is Stravinsky's own poor use of his great talent—in the service of impoverished emotions. The performance by Sanromá and the Boston Symphony under Koussevitzky and the recording have a steely brilliance. Constant Lambert, conducting the London Philharmonic, does a good job with the gorgeous-sounding but somewhat repetitious "On Hearing the First Cuckoo in Spring" of Delius (4496, $1). And another single disc (16969, $2) offers Brahms's "Sapphic Ode," Schubert's "Hark, Hark, the Lark," and Wolf's "Weyla's Song," sung by Kerstin Thorborg, one of the Metropolitan's outstanding artists, whose beautiful voice suffers at times from the strong tremolo that is heard on this record, and who is not wholly successful with the style of these songs.

B. H. HAGGIN

Letters to the Editors

No Treason in Norway

Dear Sirs: As *The Nation* has on several occasions referred to "the inside job" which according to Leland Stowe's now famous "scoop" is supposed to have handed Norway over to Germany, it may be proper to examine Mr. Stowe's charges. Lack of space forbids me to do anything but point out a few of his most salient errors.

1. He asserts that the Germans were able to penetrate the narrows of Oslo Fjord because the mines there had been "rendered harmless by being electrically disconnected from the Drobak Central."

There were no mines in the Oslo Fjord. This is vouched for both by Halvdan Koht, the Norwegian Minister of Foreign Affairs, and by General Otto Ruge, the commander-in-chief of the Norwegian armies. Consequently there could be no disconnecting for treacherous hands to do.

2. He asserts that the commanders of three Norwegian warships received forged messages ordering them not to fight against the Germans.

According to official Norwegian documents no such forged orders were ever received by the commanders.

3. He says: "The Norwegian traitors still remain anonymous, save for a few conspicuous cases. But the Norwegian fortresses of Kongsvinger and Sarpsborg stand on the record of their act."

All we need to say about this statement is that the fortress of Kongsvinger was dismantled in 1905, and the fortress of Sarpsborg had not been in use since 1933. (See the letter by the Norwegian Minister to the United States, Wilhelm Munthe de Morgenstierne, in *Life*, July 15.)

4. Mr. Stowe says that "Trondheim, the largest city in Norway, . . . was defended by four forts. One of these, Husnes, was reputed to be the strongest in Norway."

Trondheim is by no means the largest city in Norway. Oslo is more than four times as large as Trondheim, and Bergen is about twice as large. Agdenes was the largest fort in the Trondheim area. Husnes is some 300 miles farther down the coast near Bergen.

5. "By bribery and extraordinary infiltration on the part of Nazi agents and by treason on the part of a few highly placed Norwegian civilians and defense officials, the German dictatorship built up a Trojan horse inside of Norway," says Stowe.

Neither Stowe nor anyone else has proved that there was treason on the part of any highly placed Norwegian civilian or defense officials. A lot of rumors of treason and sabotage were spread by the Germans themselves so as to demoralize the Norwegian resistance, but both Koht and Ruge declare that to the best of their knowledge no authenticated case of treason among Norwegian officials has been discovered.

This last statement would also largely dispose of the sweeping charges made by Maurice Feldman in his article entitled Sweden's Trojan Horse in *The Nation* for April 27. There we were informed:

> Norwegians in the highest positions in the country's military and civic life deserted to the enemy. Commanders at important points, officers on the General Staff, prominent industrialists and merchants, the rector of Oslo University, and high church officials supported the puppet government of the leader of the Norwegian Nazis, Vidkunn Quisling.

The truth is that there was practically no support given to the Quisling "government" by Norwegians of either high or low degree. Even with the backing of the German army Quisling stayed in "power" less than a week. The following is what C. J. Hambro, for fifteen years president of the Norwegian Parliament, has to say about the "support" granted Quisling:

> Not a single one of the men he appointed as members of his Cabinet was willing to serve. Not a single public functionary came when he ordered them to take the oath of loyalty to his government. He invited leaders in organizations—employers, labor leaders, shipowners—to a conference, and there was not one who came.

It is about time that our publications began to examine more closely the stories of treason and sabotage in the European democracies which they have been spreading with such reckless abandon. Nothing will please the enemies of democracies more than such insidious undermining of confidence in our institutions. Actual cases of treason should certainly be exposed wherever found, but so much hysteria has already been aroused by rumors of fifth-column activity both here and abroad that grave injustices may be perpetrated unless we examine all such rumors with scrupulous care. C. A. CLAUSEN

Springfield, Ohio, July 24

Only One Thing Matters

Dear Sirs: Anti-third-term arguments are pretty silly, and too many are wholly insincere. Only one thing matters. Is Mr. Roosevelt the *best available* man for the Presidency of the United States? If he is and as long as he is, be it for the third term or the tenth term, he should be elected. Dictatorship is in no way in question, and most of those who raise the bugaboo know it.

New York, July 31 M. SCHULMAN

For a Decent Campaign

Dear Sirs: Can anything be done to insure a decent, honest, clean Presidential contest? As a rule, campaigns are not honest. The stump speakers seek applause, not clarification of issues. They distort, misrepresent, abuse the opposition, indulge in sophistry, dig up trivial and forgotten episodes, and appeal to partisan bigotry and blind prejudice.

Can we make an exception of the present campaign? Can we manage to put some intellectual honesty into the so-called debate? Willkie is not a product of machine politics; he is not a tricky, oily politician. Roosevelt has been President for seven and a half years, and it is absurd to revive old and petty charges against him. It is silly to talk of his wealth, his country-squire background. He has been a sincere and true friend of labor, a progressive humanitarian, a courageous and bold enemy of the brutes and gangsters who have enslaved continental Europe.

The situation favors a sober discussion of the actual differences between his pledges and those of his opponent. What would Willkie do for labor, for agriculture, for the unemployed, for the investors in stocks and bonds, for the aged and disabled? How much of the New Deal would he attempt to repeal or nullify? Let Willkie be candid with the intelligent voters. Let the independents and the liberal-minded put him on record and promptly expose any artful dodging.

The result of the campaign will depend on the farmers, the wage-workers, and the thoughtful liberals. Willkie must win over these groups. Big business and the newspapers dependent on advertising will do all they can to help him. Their strategy and tactics will have to be carefully studied and skilfully fought. The liberals have a big job before them. VICTOR S. YARROS

Westport Point, Mass., August 1

Franco in Cuba

Dear Sirs: On Thursday, July 25, the Cuban police arrested and interned in their equivalent of Ellis Island Dr. Jenaro Artiles, former librarian of the Municipal Library in Madrid. The Franco ambassador in Havana had asked for extradition on the grounds that Dr. Artiles had come unlawfully by a book supposedly "stolen" from the Church of Santa Maria. The extradition order was given by the Cuban Foreign Office. The Foreign Minister, Dr. Angel Campa, I am informed, is exceedingly anxious to go to Spain as ambassador.

Dr. Artiles, as municipal librarian in Madrid in 1936 when the rebellion broke out, was appointed by the government to serve on its committee for the preservation of art treasures. This committee, as is well known, did a brilliant job. Dr. Artiles himself had pictures, archives, and the like transferred from the churches, which were in considerable danger, to the National Library. The parish priest in Santa Maria now discovers that a visitors' book is missing. Artiles left Madrid in November of 1936 to take the post of commercial attaché in Switzerland for his government. He never returned to Spain. On Saturday, July 27, Dr. Artiles was released by the Cuban authorities after his lawyer had presented documentary proof that he was Cuban by birth, being a son of a Spaniard resident in Cuba before 1900 who did not sign the "Spanish Register" making him a Spaniard rather than a Cuban citizen. Artiles is out, but the principle on which he was arrested and held for deportation is still intact.

The Cuban press chief, one Conde de Rivero, who was also Cuban ambassador to the Vatican, is a passionate Franquista. He is the brother of de Rivero who publishes the *Diario de la Marina,* which is the most devoted Franco organ in the whole Latin American world. The *Diario de la Marina* expressed itself as of the opinion that too much importance was given to the case of Artiles; he had nothing to fear, if innocent, from Franco's justice.

Almost across the street from the Hotel Nacional in Havana is the building of the Escuela Libre de la Havana, a college set up by a group of distinguished Spanish Republicans in exile, professors from the University of Granada and Madrid among them. They offer some exceedingly interesting courses and, if given support, can cut into the influence of the Jesuit Academy Belem, where the sons of the Cuban middle class are educated. Not one of the professors on the staff is a Communist or anything like it.

The Escuela Libre decided some months ago to offer a course in business and banking in Spanish for the employees of American and British firms. They got a rather heavy enrolment from the National City Bank, but when the bank discovered that the school was Loyalist, for which read "red," it ordered its employees to cancel their enrolment. M. P. D.

Havana, August 1

Dictatorship in Tennessee

Dear Sirs: Philip H. Mankin, for fourteen years professor of English at State Teachers' College, Murfreesboro, Tennessee, has been dismissed without any charges having been brought against him. The reason given was that it was an "economy move" on the part of the new administration—a stupid evasion which didn't fool anybody. In a whispering campaign the usual accusation of beliefs that are anathema to honest, God-fearing Tennessee patrons was dusted off and put into use: Mankin was an atheist; he was a red; he was opposed to establishment of R. O. T. C. units in the college, and was therefore unpatriotic and probably a Communist!

The forces standing for progressive education and academic freedom in middle Tennessee protested vehemently against the dismissal of the most liberal and stimulating mind in the college and asked the state board for an investigation. The state board found Mankin guiltless of any charges, whispered or otherwise, but upheld the president in his dismissal. Evidently the board was afraid to stir up too much noise because of political interests involved and preferred risking the ire of a liberal minority to opposing the big boys who hold the reins of power in the state. Any fair investigation would have exposed the ugly dictatorship at S. T. C.

Some students at the college, wishing to aid in the fight for Mankin, were told they risked their teaching jobs in the state if they signed any petition in his favor.

Unless this move toward fascism in the schools is stopped, we patrons of state schools must expect our children to be taught by political appointees and accidental scholars. If a fine educator can be removed at the caprice of authority without any charges, and if the powerful state board is afraid to let the people see backstage into the political involvements, then dictatorship has come to S. T. C.

FRANK JONES, JR.

Ann Arbor, Mich., July 29

Grateful to Mr. Haggin

Dear Sirs: Ever since the Victor Black Seal records were announced I have hoped that an unbiased reviewer would give his opinion of their actual worth. And Mr. Haggin has done just that (*The Nation* for June 22), for which I am certainly grateful. The two monthly record reviews to which I subscribe, supposedly unbiased, have been rather cagey about those records.

ELIZABETH L. JUDKINS

Larchmont, N. Y. July 18

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THE *Nation*

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The Shape of Things

THE BATTLE OF BRITAIN IS ON. THERE NEVER was any mysterious delay. For one of the greatest naval and military attempts of all history a period of preparation was inevitable. Hitler's command had to assemble huge amounts of equipment and men, prepare new landing fields and gun emplacements in conquered territory, organize the plans for a many-sided attack. And at the same time they had to weaken the defenses of the enemy. This "softening" process has been going on since France fell. It has taken the form of steadily intensified pressure, culminating in the mass air raids of the past few days, and an assault on the outposts of the empire, in which Italy is playing its appointed role. The battle is now engaged. That it will grow more furious is certain. Only the outcome is uncertain. Upon the outcome depends the future of the British Empire—and far more. The struggle will determine whether the United States must become a great military power prepared to shoulder the final responsibility for preventing Hitler's domination of the world. The people and the government of the United States watch the Battle of Britain with wonder and a sort of fascinated horror. But they do not act. If a realization of our stake in that battle had really penetrated public imagination, American ships and fighting planes would long since have been in the hands of the British. We haven't learned yet that this terrific engagement is also the Battle of America.

*

IL DUCE'S LEGIONS, FAMED FOR THEIR exploits in Ethiopia, Spain, and Albania, are now reported to be overrunning British Somaliland in their first real action in this war. The drive is hailed in Rome as an effort to cut Britain's Red Sea line of empire communications. Actually, it carries no such threat. For the Gulf of Aden is about one hundred miles wide opposite British Somaliland, while the Red Sea is only about fifteen miles wide opposite the Italian colony of Eritrea. If Italy has not been able to interrupt British communications at this much narrower point, control of British Somaliland will hardly improve its chances. Nor is the Italian threat to Suez to be taken seriously at this stage. To reach the canal Italian forces must advance 600 miles across Egypt from Libya. Two routes are possible: the better one passes along the coast under the guns of the British fleet; the other follows an old caravan track across a desert in which the oases are about a hundred miles apart. Greatly outnumbered and seriously weakened by the defection of the French, British forces in the Near East must reconcile themselves to defensive action. But unless Hitler succeeds in transporting a substantial number of German troops to Italy's African colonies, defense should be possible.

*

BRITAIN'S WITHDRAWAL FROM SHANGHAI and Tientsin may have been for the purpose of strengthening its defenses at Hongkong and Singapore. Nevertheless, it constitutes a major victory for Japan's new fascist government. For months Japan has been seeking to oust the British forces on the ground that troops of belligerent powers should not be stationed in neutral Shanghai. The Shanghai and Tientsin concessions have sheltered vast British interests which are now presumably to be surrendered without a fight. The withdrawal of British troops places the small American defense forces in the two cities in an anomalous position. The United States has no part in the Tientsin concession; in Shanghai, where most of our troops are stationed, a Japanese admiral succeeds a British major general as commander-in-chief of the foreign defense units. Yet for us to withdraw our forces would be an open invitation to Japan to take over all Western interests in China, religious and educational as well as commercial. It would also deprive Chinese patriotic groups of bases in the coastal cities. Since the United States must now defend American interests in China without any assistance from the British, it very logically appears to be attempting to improve its relations with the Soviet Union as an offset to Japan's cooperation with the Axis powers. Following the renewal of the Soviet-American trade pact, Under Secretary of State Welles had a second long conference with Ambassador Oumansky, in which the discussion is officially reported to have proceeded "in a friendly and constructive spirit on both sides."

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LEADERS OF INDIA'S NATIONAL CONGRESS have exhibited a not unnatural coolness to the "free partnership" offered India by the Viceroy, the Marquess of Linlithgow. The Viceroy's statement revealed that slight, but very slight, progress had been achieved since last October. Dominion status following the war is still held out as the most that India may hope for from the British. As a token of good faith, however, "representative" Indians are to be invited immediately to join the Viceroy's Executive Council, and a wider representation —especially from the Indian States—is to be provided in a newly established War Advisory Council. In addition, the Viceroy gave assurances that representatives from "all elements of Indian national life" would be heard in building the constitution under which India is to take its place as a free member of the British Commonwealth of Nations. While the Viceroy's statement constitutes a complete rejection of the demands of the National Congress for immediate independence, it is not likely to precipitate a violent outbreak such as might have occurred six months ago. The Congress leaders have modified their tactics considerably as a result of recent Nazi and Japanese successes. Given even a slender ray of hope of obtaining their objectives at the hands of the British, they could probably be induced to support the war.

*

TREASURY ESTIMATES OF THE DEFICIT TO BE expected in the current fiscal year are going up; estimates of revenue to be received from the pending excess-profits tax bill are going down. The deficit, according to Secretary Morgenthau's latest calculations, will be $5,700,000,000. The excess-profits tax, in its present form, will pay off only about $190,000,000 of that deficit this year, or little more than 3 per cent. John Sullivan, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, testified that the new tax might yield from $400,000,000 to $480,000,000 in later years, but disagreed with the Ways and Means subcommittee that it would yield $300,000,000 this year and $500,000,000 next. Since the Ways and Means subcommittee is the proud father of this feeble little tax, we suspect that the Treasury estimates are the more accurate. Strangely enough, the great newspapers that usually clamor for a balanced budget are making no outcry against this excess-profits tax bill, which is likely to be weakened even further.

*

THE BILL AS IT STANDS ALLOWS FOR THE amortization of defense facilities—whether or not usable for other purposes afterward—in five years, or less if the emergency is declared at an end before the five years are up. The tax rate on excess profits would range from 25 to 40 per cent; a corporation could choose whether to pay on an excess over 4 per cent of its invested capital or on the excess over its average earnings for 1936-39; average earnings are allowed only up to 10 per cent of invested capital. It has been suggested, moreover, that any deficits incurred during the 1936-39 period be omitted, thus raising the level of average earnings. Concerns with water-bloated capital accounts, such as most of the steel companies, will probably choose to pay on "invested capital," since the word "invested" is not likely to be taken in too literal a sense. Companies which have held down their capitalization may find it to their advantage to pay on the excess over average earnings. If deficits are omitted from the 1936-39 period, or figured at zero, they will profit still further. The Dow, Jones analysis of what the new tax would do to representative big business firms indicates that it is somewhat less than confiscatory. In this analysis the tax was applied in each case to the company's best recent year. On this basis United States Steel would have had a net, after deduction of normal income and excess-profits taxes, of $89,000,000 instead of $95,000,000; United Aircraft would have had a net of $7,447,000 instead of $9,375,000; General Motors, $210,500,000 instead of $238,500,000. Since these estimates are based on the best recent year, it is safe to predict that actual net after deduction of income and excess-profits taxes this year will be much higher. The National City Bank compilation of earnings in the first half of 1940, after all taxes and charges, shows that our 400 leading corporations increased their earnings 58.6 per cent over the first half of 1939.

*

THREE GIANTS OF AMERICAN BUSINESS WERE the object of NLRB orders during the past week. Decisions were handed down to protect the rights of workers in Ford's Dallas plant, Giannini's Bank of America, and F. W. Woolworth and Company. The five-and-ten-cent concern was ordered to reinstate 140 workers with back pay amounting to $200,000. Giannini's bank must reinstate ten messengers and cease discouraging membership in the C. I. O. United Office and Professional Workers. The most shameful case was that of the Ford plant in Dallas, discussed in an editorial entitled The Ford Reich in *The Nation* for May 4. Two employees who were run out of the Dallas plant by the Ford strong arm squad were ordered reinstated with back pay. Ford was told by the NLRB that he must end the use of hired thugs against labor organizers in Dallas, discontinue the plant Gestapo he has used to spy on union workers, stop compelling his employees to contribute to anti-union campaigns, and issue written instructions forbidding his employees to make, store, or carry in the plant blackjacks or other dangerous weapons designed to "discourage" unionism. The process of enforcing these orders will no doubt be a long and costly one. Argument on them will be heard in the Circuit Court of Appeals, and appeal may be taken to the Supreme Court.

Profits Above Patriotism

ALTHOUGH big business has not hesitated to conjure up the most extreme forms of nationalism in defense of the profit system, its own patriotism has been notoriously lukewarm. Britain has never been in greater peril, even in the days of Napoleon, yet its capitalists are intent on squeezing the last possible cent of profit out of its distress. Sir William Firth, recently ousted as chairman and managing director of the $100,000,000 Richard Thomas Steel Company, has brought to light a scandal in the English steel industry. At the annual stockholders' meeting he charged that the company had obtained a contract to supply steel shells at a price yielding the company the fantastic profit of $45 a ton. As a result of his protests the price was lowered to $20 a ton. This may explain why Sir William is no longer managing director. *The Economist* demands an investigation of the financial battle by which the British Iron and Steel Federation obtained control of the Thomas company and now permits it to operate at only two-thirds of its huge capacity. The empire may founder, but British big business holds to its profit margin as if it were—we were about to say a Maginot Line.

The news from Britain makes it easier to understand the attitude of our own defense industries. Secretary Stimson's testimony that the army has been able to sign contracts for only 33 of the 4,000 planes for which funds were appropriated in June confirms I. F. Stone's story on Aviation's Sitdown Strike, of which we publish the first instalment in this issue. Secretary Stimson declared at a Congressional tax hearing that the fault did not lie with the army or with the Defense Advisory Commission and that "the representatives of the industry have been earnest" in their desire to cooperate. Like their British cousins, they seem "earnest" only in trying to make as enormous a profit as they can out of the defense emergency. The amortization question, as Mr. Stone shows, is not a life-and-death matter for industry, though delay may prove a life-and-death matter for the country. "In the last war," C. F. Hughes pointed out in the New York *Times* of August 11, "producers built their own plants and, except for a few final additions, these paid for themselves many times over." The determination of the plane and armorplate companies to take no risk whatever in a great national emergency is truly subversive, and we hope the Senate will take note of it and refuse to join the House in repealing the power granted the Secretary of the Navy on June 28 to commandeer the plants of the recalcitrants. Commandeering a plant will not make it produce without profit, but the mere threat should be enough to make it *produce*.

As serious as the sitdown strike in aviation and armorplate is the situation revealed by Assistant Attorney General Thurman Arnold. A grand jury in New York City has been investigating charges that German ownership of patents and international cartel arrangements between American and German firms have been throttling American capacity to produce essential war materials. This federal jury is also looking into the transmission to foreign companies of American military secrets under these arrangements and the price restrictions and collusive bidding that grow out of them. Patents are a privilege accorded inventors by our government, and there is no sound reason why this privilege should be extended to foreign concerns, even indirectly, at the expense of restricted production, delays, and higher prices on defense materials. The investigation is aimed particularly, according to Mr. Arnold, at industries engaged in the production of aircraft, naval equipment, electrical supplies, and metal alloys. The German corporations involved include the Krupp steel firm. In several of the industries manufacturing defense products the agreements provide for pooling of American and German patents in one international cartel.

The case of the Bausch and Lomb Optical Company, which came up earlier this year, provides an illustration of the situation. This company had an agreement with Carl Zeiss in Germany for the use of patents for special artillery range-finders, and the agreement affected not only prices here but American ability to compete with German exports in other countries. Bausch and Lomb agreed not to sell outside the United States. In the case of ships built here for use abroad, the American company was to supply the range-finder only with Zeiss permission and at a price agreed upon by the two firms. In case Bausch and Lomb was forced to bid on a contract moving outside the United States, it agreed to mark up its bid 20 per cent and to remit the 20 per cent overcharge to Zeiss if the contract was awarded Bausch and Lomb despite the markup. The American concern first pleaded not guilty and then *nolo contendere* to the indictments against it. A plea of *nolo contendere* is virtually an admission of the truth of the facts alleged.

Our guess is that pressure will be brought on the Department of Justice to call off this grand-jury probe, which is being conducted under the anti-trust laws. The fate of the pending action against the oil industry is important in this connection. Special exemptions from the anti-trust laws to meet specific defense needs may be necessary, but blanket exemptions are another matter. If the oil companies are powerful enough to have the suit against them called off on the plea of national defense, other companies will ask a similar privilege. Should that happen, we hope some Congressional committee will investigate these cartel arrangements. It would be shocking if an inquiry into international-trust practices endangering our national defense were halted on the specious plea that we must do nothing to "rock the boat."

Group Health Is Cheaper

THE greater efficiency of group medicine in comparison with that of the traditional methods so zealously guarded by the American Medical Association is demonstrated indirectly in a study just released by a joint committee of the Twentieth Century Fund and the Good-Will Fund. Five different working schemes for group health protection are subjected to detailed scrutiny. Two of these plans rely on prepayments; two depend on fees and prepayments; and one is supported entirely by an industrial concern. They differ considerably in the amount of service supplied free to patients. All provide the normal services of a physician, but two of the five exclude hospitalization as a free benefit under the plan. Only the plan maintained by the industrial concern provides drugs or appliances free of charge.

Strangely enough, the plan providing the greatest amount of service—that maintained by the industrial concern—proved to be by far the most economical. The cost of this entire service, including physician's and dental care, unrestricted hospitalization, X-ray services, radium treatment, drugs and appliances, and ambulance service, averaged only from $20.50 to $21.80 a year per eligible person. Two of the other plans offering much more restricted services cost respectively $27.90 and $30 per person. This difference cannot be accounted for by the selection of members or the income groups from which they are drawn since in both these respects the industrial plan was at a disadvantage. The primary factor affecting costs, as revealed by the experience of all five plans, was the number of persons covered. The two most expensive schemes each served about 5,000 persons. The most economical served 51,000. Small memberships tend toward an uneven spread of risks. It is only to be expected, therefore, that the cost of medical service should decrease as the group becomes more representative of the population as a whole. A larger group also assures more satisfactory care. Only where there is a large membership can a group health service afford to employ full-time specialists in such fields as orthopedics, neurology, and psychiatry.

Full comparison between the costs of group care and those of private practice is, of course, impossible. Studies like the National Health Survey and that of the Committee on the Costs of Medical Care have shown that only the very well-to-do have been receiving medical care comparable to that furnished by group medicine, and they have been paying several times as much as the cost of even the most expensive of the group plans. The grossly inadequate medical attention heretofore received by the American people costs, according to the Cost of Medical Care study, approximately $30 for each man, woman, and child. Adequate care, it is calculated, would cost more than three times as much.

Nightmare in France

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

THE story I have to tell falls into three parts. The first is the actual present danger of thousands of anti-fascist refugees trapped in both occupied and unoccupied France. The second is the effort now being made to rescue them before they are captured by the Gestapo. The third is a statement of what must be done if any considerable number of these persons are to be saved.

1. *The situation.* The number of anti-fascists in France is unknown. To the thousands of Italians and Spaniards, the Germans, Austrians, Czechs, and Poles that fled there before and during the war, have been added the human detritus swept toward the sea by Hitler's army flowing through the Low Countries and France. The numbers don't matter. They are surely in the hundreds of thousands. But the bulk of the anti-fascist refugees are inextricably mingled with the non-political millions who fled merely to escape tanks and bombers. What will happen to them depends on the greed of the Gestapo. Perhaps the least active and conspicuous will escape notice and ultimately make their way to Britain, if that is still possible, or the Americas. But among them are some—a thousand maybe—who are marked men and women. These are the bold spirits, the active political fighters who never were silenced and never gave in. They include creative writers, journalists, painters—such men as Feuchtwanger and Leonhard Frank, Konrad Heiden, Picasso. If they are not quickly brought out of France, they will be caught. If they are caught, their fate can be imagined. In this mass of trapped humanity is the culture, the wisdom, the democratic faith of Europe—sentenced to death. Each day the hope of reprieve grows less.

Only the other day it was learned that Germans and persons from conquered territories can no longer obtain exit visas from the local French authorities. Applications for exit visas are sent to Vichy, and it is believed the Pétain government submits them to the armistice commission at Wiesbaden. This means not only that applications by known anti-fascists will be turned down; that is certain and only relatively tragic. It means, much more crucially, that every application will reveal to the Gestapo the whereabouts of one of its victims. The result, of course, is that no applications will henceforth be made, since the one hope of safety lies in keeping out of sight till escape becomes possible. Many anti-fascists who have already secured that most precious of all documents—an American visitor's visa—are trapped by this provision.

It has been learned, also, that anti-fascists have already been taken up by the Gestapo in both occupied and unoccupied France. Many German Socialists have been found and seized even in the extreme south. In the occu-

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pied area the situation is of course much worse. Exact information has come to hand concerning the arrest by the Gestapo of five prominent Loyalist Spaniards. They are Francisco Crus Salido, member of the executive of the Spanish Socialist Party and a well-known writer; Carlos Montilla, a member of former President Azaña's party and Republican envoy to Cuba; Teodomiro Menendez, Under Secretary of Public Works in the early days of the republic; Señor Alfar of the Spanish relief organization; and Cipriano Rivas Cheriff, former general consul in Geneva, the brother-in-law of Señor Azaña. These men have been delivered to Franco. Their fate is certain death. In addition, many others—thousands in all—not only Spaniards, but Germans, Czechs, Austrians, Italians, Poles, and Frenchmen—are known to have been seized by the Nazi police.

Those still free are crowded in a few ports and border towns. Few have any means of support. Little food is available even for money. Suffering is growing faster than relief can be supplied; and political exiles must exercise constant caution even in applying for help.

2. *What is being done?* In the United States interested persons are making grim, last-ditch efforts to save Hitler's enemies in France. For a month an Emergency Rescue Committee headed by Dr. Frank Kingdon, in collaboration with the various groups already in existence, has been working to centralize the scattered efforts to get visas and transportation to safety for at least a few hundred known and endangered anti-fascist writers and politicals. All groups are consulting and cooperating actively with the President's Advisory Committee on Refugees, of which George L. Warren is the active, indefatigable head. The work done so far has been laborious and indispensable. *But to this day not a single anti-fascist trapped in France has escaped except through his own efforts or the efforts of his fellow-refugees.*

It is not the fault of the committees which have charged themselves with the task of rescue. Perhaps they could have worked faster or more boldly; but they were forced to improvise methods and organization as they went along, and they have worked hard. The fault lies in the grim efficiency of the fascist terror which systematically closes avenues of escape and in the timidity and procrastination of the governments that should speed the task—our own government is particular.

3. *What should be done.* Groups of determined citizens can assemble information and raise money. They cannot sweep away the technicalities that stand in the way of action. They can struggle to find out the exact whereabouts of anti-fascists in hiding, the names of their parents, their political connections, their professional accomplishments. They can search for friends to provide affidavits. They can urge the need of haste on reluctant, dubious officials. They can even raise money to charter ships for the evacuation of the refugees. But only the government can modify the rules, permit carefully sponsored anti-fascists to come in on group visas, and bring enough influence to bear on the authorities in France so that ships will be given clearance and refugees will at least be allowed to leave the country in safety. France, it is safe to assume, will agree to any reasonable demand made by the United States. We have much to offer and much to withhold, and we could well afford to bargain for the lives of the best men and women in continental Europe.

A letter just received from a responsible Spanish Republican refugee in Marseilles ends with these lines:

> One after another they come—those for whom this city represents a haven—the last!—of hope and salvation. Our inexhaustible optimism is nourished by rumors circulating among the refugees that President Roosevelt has decided to send refugee boats, for which it appears appropriations have already been voted.
>
> To President Roosevelt we send this expression of our profound gratitude. But the boats must not delay! With each passing day our situation becomes more perilous.
>
> Only the young American nation can save us.

I command these words of hope and challenge to the conscience of all Americans, including, above all, the President of the United States. To act with courage would not only save valuable lives; it would serve as a token of democratic solidarity which the world would recognize and applaud.

CONTENTS

THE SHAPE OF THINGS 121

EDITORIALS:

PROFITS ABOVE PATRIOTISM 123
GROUP HEALTH IS CHEAPER 124
NIGHTMARE IN FRANCE by Freda Kirchwey 124
AVIATION'S SITDOWN STRIKE by I. F. Stone 126

THE WAR AS REVOLUTION

III. AMERICA AND THE NEW WORLD by Max Lerner 129
FINAL WARNING TO AMERICA 132
IN THE WIND 134
A NATIVE AT LARGE by Jonathan Daniels 135

BOOKS AND THE ARTS:

LEADERSHIP AND DEMOCRACY by Lindsay Rogers 136
THE FAITH OF THE FATHERS by Morton Dauwen Zabel 137
IN BRIEF 139
RECORDS by B. H. Haggin 139

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Aviation's Sitdown Strike

BY I. F. STONE

I

THE aviation industry is still engaged in a sitdown strike against the national defense program. The purpose of this strike is to squeeze every possible financial concession out of the federal government. "This is no time," Congressman Barden of North Carolina lectured shipyard workers in Kearny's quickly quashed strike last June, "for labor to try and grab off 10 cents an hour more." No such petty stakes are involved in the aviation companies' sitdown. Their strike has forced the Administration and Congress to lift the profit limitations imposed on airplane contracts only a few weeks ago by the revised Vinson-Trammell Act, and is obtaining amortization privileges that will give aviation greatly expanded cost-free plants when the emergency or the war is over. But these concessions do not satisfy the industry. It is also seeking to block or postpone the enactment of an excess-profits tax. A huge backlog of British orders obtained on the juiciest terms the companies could exact from England's desperate need has provided the funds necessary to feed the industry during its sitdown against our defense program.

"Treason" was the cry of Congressman Cox of Georgia when United States Steel's shipyard employees at Kearny asked a raise of 10 cents an hour. No such harsh accusation has been made against the aviation companies, though plane contracts to the value of $85,000,000 have been held up by their recalcitrance. Instead, the blame is being placed upon the Administration in a propaganda campaign that is mounting in intensity. The sitdown strike may yet play a part in the coming election, and aviation hopes that its resistance may help to bring in a new President who can be depended upon to grant it everything instead of *almost* everything. It need hardly be added that in all these objectives the aviation strikers are being helped by sympathetic picketing from the other defense industries, notably steel, which is staging a sitdown of its own on armorplate.

Last May the financial editor of the New York *Sun*, appalled by the British excess-profits tax, thought it "difficult for many Americans to understand how Britain can expect anyone to make the tremendous extra productive effort required by war without some stimulus other than the vague one that it is necessary to save the country." Aviation has demonstrated that it agrees with him that a national emergency is too vague a stimulus to call forth its best efforts. The companies which the Nye committee found were helping to build up Hitler's air fleet in violation of the treaty of peace with Germany are in no hurry to build up our own. Pratt and Whitney, Curtiss-Wright, and Douglas Aircraft were the companies named in the Nye report of April 20, 1936. Pratt and Whitney, Curtiss-Wright, and Douglas Aircraft are among the leaders of aviation's sitdown strike.

The *Wall Street Journal*, which knows its big business men, smelled a scandal of this kind coming a month ago and sent out a staff man to do a series of articles on industry and its relation to defense. It reported "with pleasure" that "these extensive investigations reveal that the armament program is progressing without undue delay and without sound basis for criticism." Its investigator, surely a descendant of Voltaire's Candide, found that "American industry is operating with its typical efficiency. If, in the future, delays inherent in the very size and scope of the program come to light, they certainly cannot be laid at the door of a fully cooperating private industry." On the contrary, the *Wall Street Journal* placed the blame on the War and Navy departments, in spite of their readiness to speak for big business before Congressional committees. "The difficulty of getting action out of the government and particularly the Army and Navy departments" was cited as a principal cause for delay. But $85,000,000 worth of plane contracts cleared by army, navy, and Defense Commission are still waiting for the aviation industry to get into action. Since the President's call in May for 50,000 planes a year the industry has accepted contracts for only $900,378 worth of trainer planes. *Barron's Financial Weekly*, which cannot be accused of taking too implacable an attitude toward Wall Street, reported in its issue of July 29: "The attitude of some defense industries that they must be assured of a profit is souring many Washington dispositions, even in the pro-business War and Navy departments."

The phrase "assured of a profit" is something of an understatement. No one expects the aviation industry to serve for $21 a month. The Administration has been more than tender with it. When the National Defense Tax bill was rushed through the House on June 11, a gag rule was imposed to prevent amendments that would tax war profits or excess profits. "The most inequitable tax bill enacted by Congress in the last decade"—the words are Senator La Follette's—lowered income-tax exemptions, imposed a 10 per cent supertax, enacted a long list of special sales and nuisance taxes, but added only 1 per cent to the corporation tax and imposed none on the mounting profits that industry will soon be drawing from defense. Trouble began when the Senate Naval Affairs Committee on June 18 discovered that the navy, without competitive bidding, had let a billion dollars' worth of shipbuilding contracts on the old World War basis of cost plus 10 per cent. The result was that Congress, just before the convention recess, revised the Vinson-Trammell Act of 1934 to lower profit limits on plane and ship contracts. The limit on the former had been 12 per cent; on the latter, 10 per cent. By the act of June 28 Congress reduced the profit limitation to 8 per cent on the cost of competitively bid contracts and 7 per cent on those negotiated privately. It was at that point that aviation's strike began.

These limitations governed, not the return on capital, but the margin of profit on the contract, and the profit allowed was clear profit. The government agreed to pay the cost not only of the work done but of any additional plant necessary to do the work. If by some chance the contractor failed to make his full 8 or 7 per cent he was to be allowed to make up the deficiency on other contracts during the succeeding four years. These conditions hardly seem confiscatory. The entire industry, nevertheless, lined up at the wailing wall. The *United States News*, edited by David Lawrence, accused the Treasury of harboring "a belief that patriotism rather than a desire for profits should motivate industry." The New Deal seems to have been innocent of any such subversive intention. The *Wall Street Journal* set out to show how ruinous the profit limitations could be: they might affect the raising of funds for expansion; research work would be cut. It applied the profit limits to the year 1939, admitting that the comparison was not quite fair because in that year production was not continuous or at capacity. Even on this basis the figures in the *Wall Street Journal* seemed less than disastrous. On the 7 per cent basis the return on capital for eight major aviation companies would have ranged from 4.3 per cent for Consolidated Aircraft to 28 per cent for Lockheed. Lockheed's high return was due to its high capital turnover in 1939, but all the companies will show a vastly increased capital turnover with the defense program under way. Here are the *Wall Street Journal's* estimates:

Boeing	21.5 per cent
Consolidated	4.3 " "
Curtiss-Wright	9.8 " "
Douglas	18.3 " "
Lockheed	28.0 " "
G. L. Martin	9.4 " "
North American	20.2 " "
United Aircraft	11.2 " "

These rates of profit seem adequate, particularly in a national emergency, to "preserve and strengthen"—we quote from the National City Bank's July bulletin—"the system of private enterprise." Men in the trenches manage to sustain morale on a lower profit margin.

The bill embodying the new profit limits was signed by the President on June 28. On July 10 he surrendered to the sitdowners. The Administration agreed to drop the profit limits. In addition it promised to enact legislation that would permit companies building new plant or installing new equipment to amortize these additions in five years. This means that 20 per cent of the cost of this new plant or equipment may be deducted by the companies from their income before arriving at the net on which income taxes and excess-profits taxes must be paid. At the end of the five-year period the companies would have plants completely paid off out of the sums received from the government for planes. William S. Knudsen, head of the National Defense Advisory Commission, was jubilant. He emerged from the July 10 conference with the President to say that the tax-and-amortization agreement "would expedite many defense contracts with companies which have been reluctant to undertake such work." The commission announced "the placing of contracts totaling approximately $100,000,000 since July 1 in a program under which negotiations have been conducted looking to the supply of 25,000 airplanes for our national defense." Louis Johnson, at that time Assistant Secretary of War, sent out a letter asking all plane manufacturers to begin work immediately on the contracts ready for them. He pointed out that the entire program would be delayed at least sixty days if they waited for Congress to enact the Administration agreement into law. It was reported that the letter offered the protection of price revisions later if anything occurred to change the situation.

That the Administration had the power to make good on its promise cannot be doubted. Any Congressman who refused to back the agreement could be accused of sabotaging the defense program. The companies decided to wait. "Although contracts for some 4,000 planes have been drawn and are awaiting signature," the *Wall Street Journal* reported, "it is understood that the industry has declined to accept the business until definite regulations are forthcoming on amortizing new plants. It was generally felt by government officials—after an agreement between Administration officials and Congressional tax leaders that new plants would be amortized over a five-year period and the 8 per cent profit limitation removed in favor of a new excess-profits tax—that contracts could be entered into immediately. However, the industry is reported to feel that it would be unwise to accept new business until exact regulations under whatever new law is passed are made known." The President was still hopeful. On July 16 he announced that replies to Assistant Secretary Johnson's letter "indicated that arrangements are being made now by the companies for tooling their plants to fill the orders, and in some instances they are proceeding with plant-expansion plans." These indications seem to have been slightly exaggerated.

The Administration surrendered on July 10, but the strike was still on a month later. The excuse was that Congress had not yet written into law the promise made by the President and Congressional leaders to repeal the limitation on plane profits and grant five-year amortization. What really lay behind the continued strike was a struggle over the excess-profits tax. President Roosevelt coupled his announcement that he would back repeal of the profit-limit law with a pledge to impose excess-profits taxes on industry as a whole. The demand of the aviation companies for five-year amortization gave the Administration a bargaining weapon in pushing an excess-profits tax bill through Congress. Those who must pay the taxes naturally preferred a more leisurely pace—no action on excess profits at all, if that could be managed. The strategy of the aviation companies, acting in this respect as a spearhead for a drive by big business, was to sit tight, refuse to build planes, continue the cry for protection on amortization. If amortization could be rushed through Congress in a separate bill, it would be easier to delay or defeat an excess-profits tax.

Closely examined, the amortization issue itself is not a very real one. Under the Vinson-Trammell profit-limitation law, the cost of any additional plant or equipment is included in the contract costs before the profit margin is figured. Without any change in the tax law a measure of protection exists for companies which, for defense purposes, build plants that will be of no use to them in peace time. The Treasury may allow for obsolescence, and a plant can become obsolete because there is no market for its products. Or an allowance can be obtained for the cost of turning it to peace-time uses. There will be a peace-time market for airplanes, perhaps a greater market than ever. If the companies are allowed five-year amortization, they will have cost-free plants with which to build planes when the war is over.

Unless they obtain five-year amortization the risk for the plane companies is that if at the end of the emergency they have no use for the plants, they may have no net income against which to take an obsolescence allowance. The allowance, of course, is an allowance against income or profits taxes. This risk is not very serious, particularly in view of the prices the companies are charging for planes. These should cover at least part of their capital expenditures. But even this slight measure of risk is more theoretical than real in the light of the way in which plant expansions will probably be financed. The case of Wright Aeronautical Corporation will illustrate the financial featherbed on which the companies may be wafted through this emergency.

Any plane company that needs a government loan to finance plant expansion for defense will get it. Wright Aeronautical is the first to be offered such a loan, and the same terms are available to other companies. Engines are one of the bottlenecks in the plane program. United Aircraft and Wright are the only producers of high-powered air-cooled engines in this country. The government began negotiations last May with the Wright company for the erection of a plant in Cincinnati to build these engines. Originally the Wright company was to be given a loan of $20,000,000 by the RFC. This was raised to $55,000,000 on June 20 and on July 26 to $92,000,000. The interest rate was reported to be 4 per cent. The Wright company was to have an eight-year lease with the right to renew for another eight years. The Treasury ruled that the Wright company could amortize the plant in eight years. The government was to pay the Wright company enough on the engine contracts to repay the loan in eight years. At the end of the eight years the Wright company could renew the lease for another eight years with a cost-free plant, or it could sell the plant back to the government, in which case the government would pay for the plant twice. It cannot be said that under this arrangement the Wright company would be embarking on a speculative venture. But just to eliminate any possible risk the loan was offered as a non-recourse loan, that is, the government would have no claim against the Wright company if it failed to repay the loan. All the government could do in that case would be to take the factory. Since the plant would be financed entirely by the government, the government would really be taking back its own property if the Wright company for some reason wanted to drop it. The amount of the loan also would provide a generous margin of safety for the Wright company. The *Wall Street Journal* reported on August 2 that while the loan was for $92,000,000, "the cost of the proposed plant and its equipment is understood to be only $37,000,000 or $38,000,000." When asked by the *Journal* correspondent about "this apparent discrepancy," Jesse Jones said, "We don't believe it would be in the public interest to break down that total at this time." As this is being written, the Wright contract has yet to be signed. The company is now asking for five-year amortization instead of eight. Incidentally, a vice-president of this finicky company, T. P. Wright, was assigned to the Defense Commission on June 8 to help speed up production. The home office doesn't seem too cooperative.

At the risk of tugging at the reader's heartstrings I want to conclude with the *Wall Street Journal's* analysis of what excess-profits taxes might do to the aviation companies. The joint Congressional committee has recommended a 40 per cent tax on earnings above the average for the years 1936-39. The Treasury wants a sliding scale ranging from 25 per cent of profits over a 15 per cent return on invested capital to 50 per cent on profits over a 30 per cent return. The *Wall Street Journal* applied the Canadian excess-profits tax to six major aviation companies on the basis of their 1940 business as shown by reports for the first six months of this year. Canada takes 75 per cent of earnings over average earnings from 1936 to 1939. The net profit for the six companies, after deducting a 75 per cent excess-profits tax, would range from a low of 14.37 per cent for Curtiss-Wright to a high of 53.35 per cent for North American. These are the *Wall Street Journal's* figures, not mine, and the *Wall Street Journal* is not one to underestimate the plight to which a national emergency has reduced the 100 per cent (if they can get it) patriots of the aviation industry.

[*Part II of this article will appear next week.*]

The War as Revolution

III. AMERICA AND THE NEW WORLD

BY MAX LERNER

ONCE America was the New World. And other peoples had to adjust themselves to the new conditions we had created. But a still newer world has been in the making ever since 1917. In it the initiative was first taken by the proletarian forces of the Russian Revolution, which managed to do the right economic things for the right ends through the wrong political means. Later the initiative was taken from them by the German National Socialist revolution, which managed to do at least the partially right administrative things through the wrong political means and for catastrophically wrong ends. Meanwhile the rest of Europe and America, instead of moving on to a democratic socialism which would do the right things in the right way for the right ends, trembled and marked time. And because of what the others have done and we have failed to do, there is now a new world. America must either take the lead in organizing and transforming that new world or adjust itself to it by some process of appeasement and imitation.

Are we, therefore, part of the Old World? We need not be, fatally. Human history is a curious affair, with no straight-line advance in it and few finalities. It looked, after 1917, as if the field were clear for a revolution of the left, the world over. But a small group on the right in Europe sized up correctly how fluid the situation still was, estimated the resources of strength they could draw upon in terms both of money from above and of hatred and despair from below, gauged with an uncanny exactness the slumbrous smugness of the established order and the fatal splits on the left, and then struck with sharp successive blows at the citadels of power. They replaced a red socialism as the dynamic force in history by a black pseudo-socialism. My premise is—and I think it can scarcely be denied—that the world revolutionary situation is still as fluid now as it was in 1917 or in 1933, perhaps even more so. And my plea is that America must above all avoid sinking back into the passivity of the Old World, must once more play its part in shaping a new world.

Whether we shall ever have a chance to play that part depends to some extent upon the capacity of Hitler's empire for consolidation and advance. Western thought, in blinders, has all too long assessed Nazi strength as it once sought to assess Soviet strength—by the norms of a capitalist market economy and of a liberal-rationalist intellectual outlook. It must now shift to the cold judgment of survival capacity through a controlled economy, a confident élite, and ruthless organizing genius.

In the short view the picture is, for us, a dark one. The possession of the Low Countries and France and the recent settlement in the Balkans have placed in Hitler's hands vast economic resources that will give him for some time to come the edge in what is, in essence, a war of factories. His difficulty is that it takes time to reorganize the conquered peoples and restore their economic capacity—more time even than it took to conquer them; and time is the one thing he cannot afford to let Britain have. I do not say that there is any immediate chance of Hitler's defeat. Only a British-Soviet-American alliance could compass that, and such an alliance would be politically feasible only after it had become too late from a military standpoint. I do say that Hitler must for several years to come face economic chaos and potential famine in the territory he has occupied but been unable to organize. And he must face this in particularly acute form so long as the British keep proving that their island fortress is from a military standpoint tenable, and so long as the British navy maintains from that island fortress its blockade against continental Europe.

That is the basic reason why Hitler must, through war or peace, break British resistance. Those who argue, like Lindbergh, that America can offer honorable peace terms in Europe do not reckon with this fact. Nor do they reckon with other facts. The Nazi economy is unstable as a capitalist economy unless the surplus profits continue to be absorbed in armament production. And even if this were not so, Hitler's Napoleonic dream would keep him moving on. Unless, then, he can break the British blockade he cannot ward off famine in his territory, reach the Latin American products that his people need or the markets that his capitalists need, or fulfil his own megalomaniac vision.

The capacity of Hitler's empire to survive must therefore be assessed in long-run rather than short-run terms. And in the long perspective the picture looks, for us, not nearly so dark. Hitler has not yet won completely. If Britain, with the increasing aid of American factories, can manage to hold out against him over the span of several years, then Hitler will face problems of increasing tension within his own empire. The economic contradictions the world over which made his rise possible will begin to operate against him. Unless he wishes to face panic conditions among his people he will have to turn a good deal of the productive energy of his economy to food and other necessities instead of to war machines. If, as is likely, he chooses to maintain a decentralized administrative system in which France, Holland, Norway, and the rest remain as economic units rather than to attempt to weld them into a single continental economy, he faces problems of persisting nationism which may prove fatal to him at his first moment of weakness. But his crucial difficulty is that before long he must come to a reckoning with his capitalists, when they confront the question whether they will continue to allow the state to forge into armaments their mounting accumulation of profits. And then Hitler will have to face the alternative of unused capital surpluses with their attendant unemployment, or an effort at outright socialism with its attendant class struggles.

The aim of American policy should be dual: to join with others, outside the limits of actual warfare if possible, in drawing this iron circle of necessity around Hitler, so that he will face the consequences of the revolution he has started; and meanwhile to take the lead in organizing the rest of the world on the basis of a real democratic revolution of our own. In the end, even partial success in the second aim would cut the ground from under Hitler's revolution.

In this effort we must first of all know our potential allies. They are Britain (but only the new Britain of the Churchill-Labor government), the rest of the British Commonwealth (and what still untapped resources for democratic expansion are there!), the Soviet Union, China, Latin America. This offers a daring perspective, but only daring perspectives are worth anything in this hour of crisis. It means the attempt to reconcile diverse and even hostile national traditions and social systems, linked only by common danger and opportunity.

Does this present an impossible task? I can only say that if it is impossible, nothing short of it is possible. The very scope of the perspective is one of the essential things about it. Nothing will succeed now except what would formerly have been deemed grandiose. One thing that Hitler will have accomplished is to have forced us to change the scale of our international thinking and planning. We must today in America think in terms of India and Australia, of Russia and China, of Canada and Chile. Realists have laughed at Clarence Streit's plan because it covered so much ground. They were wrong. Its trouble was that it did not cover enough ground. It was Europe-centered, and within Europe it was democracy-centered; and European democracy crumbled under Streit's fingers even as he wrote. And internally it worked on too formal a level, mapping legal structures, seeking to preserve the status quo instead of to transform it.

If we abandon our piddling pragmatisms and our formal world-democracy patterns we may be able to face the central fact of America's relation to the new world. That fact is that if we do not take the lead in organizing the new social order, it will be left for Hitler to organize. I do not accept the Beard thesis, echoed now by Lindbergh, and whoever is behind him, that every effort on the part of America to play a world role must be frustrated. Beard, as a historian and a democrat, speaks out of the bitterness of disillusionment with his former Wilsonianism; Lindbergh, ignorant of both history and politics, speaks only out of a vague dislike for democracy and an even vaguer pan-Aryanism. I should not juxtapose their names if it were not that the argument against an affirmative foreign policy comes from both protagonists and enemies of democracy within America.

It is not a valid argument. If it is based on the failure of Wilsonianism in foreign affairs one might reason similarly that because of the failure of Wilson's New Freedom the New Deal, which is to a great extent patterned after it, should also be abandoned. I urge a bold American leadership in world affairs for the same reason that I urge a bold American effort toward a democratic collectivism at home—because laissez faire in both areas has proved catastrophic. But in foreign policy, as in domestic, half-measures are the very devil. It would be better to leave things alone in both than to tinker with both irresolutely. If we are to act at all, we must make it clear that America is very much on the offensive. We must make it clear that we accept, without any illusions as to its difficulties, the necessity for doing what we can to organize the phalanxes of democratic effectiveness and human dignity everywhere. Those phalanxes will not organize themselves. They need the assurance of action with what is still potentially the strongest economic unit and the freest political unit in the world.

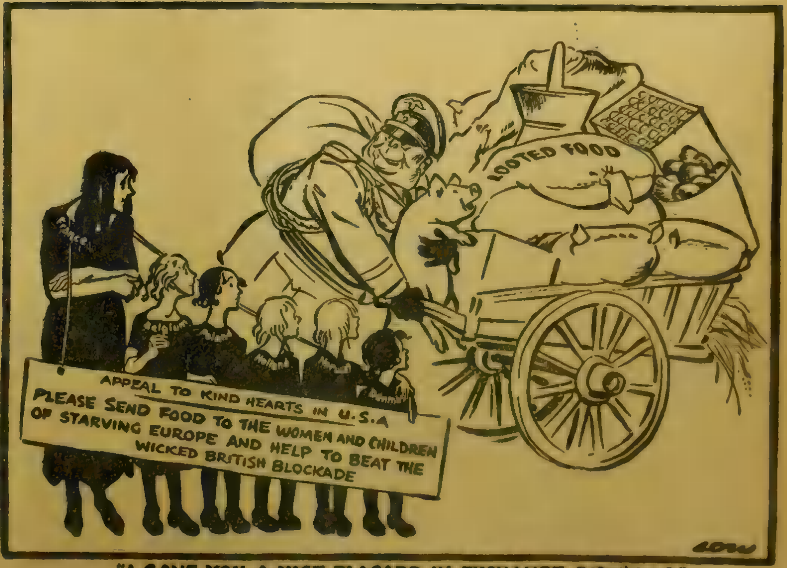
I am not talking now of a world federation or of a military alliance. Those are not the realities today, although they may become so when the world is in either a much better or a much worse state. I am talking of close economic cooperation, of friendlier cultural relations, of a unified morale. Out of these may flow eventually that common foreign policy which alone can "stop" Hitler, in the sense of forcing him to face the realities of his own economic and social system. In such a task we shall not be alone. "The peoples of Europe," declared the *New Statesman* in London, "know . . . that the French capitulation has closed an epoch of history and they ask themselves anxiously, 'Is the battle now between Hitler's New European Order and the Old British Empire?' Or is it, as they desire but hardly hope, between the lords of the Third Reich and the protagonists of European revolution? On the answer to that question hangs the issue of the war and the fate of these islands." But beyond the outcome of the war and the fate of Britain, the same question is being asked now, ever more articulately, by the peoples of the whole world about Hitler's New World Order and America as a revolutionary force.

Britain, with its back to the wall, has already carried through a more far-reaching transformation toward a revolutionary democracy than would have been thought possible a year ago. That does not mean the change has gone its full length. Labor is still on the margin of power rather than at its center. Economically the government exercises strategic controls but has not yet learned how to plan. There is still the paradox of more than three-quarters of a million unemployed when every man and woman is needed for the national effort. The forces of appeasement are still in the Cabinet. What England needs is the encouragement of our aid and the challenge of our own democratic forces to go farther. The British dominions will follow the lead of Britain and America, and we may for the present be in a better position to coordinate their economic efforts and strengthen their morale than even the British. China needs little enough aid to go on with its amazing resistance to Japan, but it needs that little very much.

The central problems are the Soviet Union and Latin America. Toward the latter we have made all manner of obeisances—although not always of the right sort, as I shall indicate later. Toward the former we have preserved a frigid hostility. I do not want to argue at this point the abstract question of whether all the totalitarianisms should be lumped together. In concrete terms every plain American and Englishman and even Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill know that the enemy of democracy today, the dangerous expansive force in the world, is not the Soviet Union but Nazi Germany. And they should know also that if they succeed in throwing Stalin completely into the arms of Hitler, the democratic effort in the rest of the world is either wholly lost or can survive only after generations of protracted war and chaos. If we make our plans without Russia we shall find it in the end against us. If we followed our vision and not our blindness there would be today in Moscow side by side with Stafford Cripps an American envoy who could talk the language the Soviet ruling group would understand, and would lead the way in sinking mutual distrust in the common danger. This is not a counsel of political cynicism. It is a plea for a perspective toward America's position in a hostile world that will recognize that hostilities are relative.

I have said that America must assume a world leadership in economic cooperation, cultural relations, humanist morale, a common anti-Nazi foreign policy. But America is an abstraction. What sort of America? And who in America?

The first question would require another series of articles for an answer. Here I can only briefly indicate the steps we must take to give leadership to the world by example. (1) Aid to Britain, to the full extent of our factories and our economic man-power. This aid should be and can be "short of war," and we need not worry about Hitler interpreting it as an act of war. He could not hate us more than he does already; and whatever we do he will wage against us the fullest war of which he is capable. (2) A vigorous prosecution of the national defense effort, but not under the slogans of business and profits as usual. A defense program can succeed only if it moves in its basic direction toward a socialized economy, and if it provides for the indispensable requisites of a planned military machine which is an organic part


LOOTED FOOD
APPEAL TO KIND HEARTS IN U.S.A
PLEASE SEND FOOD TO THE WOMEN AND CHILDREN OF STARVING EUROPE AND HELP TO BEAT THE WICKED BRITISH BLOCKADE
LOW

"I GAVE YOU A NICE PLACARD IN EXCHANGE, DIDN'T I?"

of a planned economy. (3) A management of this defense effort which provides for labor's rights by giving labor an important share in the administration, as Britain has done. (4) A realistic attitude toward the question of national unity, civil liberties, and fifth columns. (5) A heroic collective effort to grapple with the problem of unemployment and insecurity through a program of government spending for living standards as well as for armaments, and through new strategic controls of the economic system. (6) Continued progress in the administrative revolution which has already put within our grasp a better apparatus for economic control and planning than any other democracy has—if we know how to use it. (7) A policy toward Latin America which has some chance of success. Here especially much more analysis is required than space permits. I can only say that the President and the State Department do not yet seem to have recognized that we cannot move toward a hemispheric economy of the Americas unless we strengthen governments, such as those of Mexico, Chile, and Colombia, which are genuinely democratic, and put pressure upon the others to give greater scope to their internal democratic forces. The ruling groups in most Latin American countries lean toward Hitler more than toward us. It is the plain people for whom Roosevelt has become a symbol of a fighting democratic world force. And I must also add that the cartel plan is dubious and full of dynamite. (8) A vigorous fight against the groups within America who would appease Hitler, and a recognition that appeasement abroad is closely linked with reaction at home. (9) The reelection of Mr. Roosevelt, and pressure upon him to extend the New Deal effort.

There remains the question of who in America is to take the leadership and carry the burden of a program of this sort. The answer is only partly in terms of Mr. Roosevelt, Mr. Wallace, and the New Deal. We must of course start from where we are if we are to move forward. But move forward we must to the creation of a new administrative group in our economy, our government, our labor movement, even our defense forces. If the present leaders will make the start they will get the necessary accessions of strength from those whom Ralph Ingersoll, in a brilliant *PM* editorial, has called "the Kids." Out of them—the young workers, farm boys, college boys, journalists, youngsters in business and politics—we can create a new democratic governing group who will be as ready for sacrifice as the Germans are, and who will be more effective because they will be working in a new context of the career open to talent. Only we must make it clear to them that while the job will tax their every energy, they have a world to win.

And that world, as I have said in an earlier article, is one of collectivism in economics, democracy in politics, planning in administration, and humanism in culture.

[*This article is the last in Mr. Lerner's series.*]

Final Warning to America

THERE is no need to despair of our present position, however hopeless it may seem. For that which is worst in the days that are past is just what affords the best assurance for the future. And what is that? It is that your affairs are in this evil plight just because you, men of America, utterly failed to do your duty; since, surely, were you so placed in spite of every effort on your part it would be hopeless to look for improvement.

Alliance and respect are willingly offered by all men to those whom they see ready and prompt to take action. And you too, if you are willing to adopt this principle, now if never before, if each citizen is willing to throw off his diffidence and serve the state as he ought and as he best may, if, briefly and plainly, you will consent to become your own masters, and if each man will cease to expect that while he does nothing himself his neighbor will do everything for him, then, God willing, you will recover your own and you will be able to turn the tables upon Hitler.

Do not believe that his present power is fixed and unchangeable. No, he is a mark for the hatred and fear and envy even of those who now seem devoted to him. One must assume that even his adherents are subject to the same passions as any other men. At present, however, all these feelings are repressed and have no outlet, thanks to your indolence and apathy.

For observe the height to which the fellow's insolence has soared: he leaves you no choice of action or inaction; he blusters and talks big; he cannot rest content with what he has conquered; he is always taking in more, everywhere casting his net round us while we sit idle and do nothing. When, Americans, will you take the necessary action? What are you waiting for? Until you are compelled, I presume. Even if something happens to him, you will soon raise up a second Hitler if that is the way you attend to your affairs; for even this Hitler has not grown great through his own unaided strength so much as through our carelessness.

If anyone mistakes for peace an arrangement which will enable Hitler, when he has seized everything else, to march upon us, he has taken leave of his senses, and the peace that he talks of is one that you observe toward Hitler but not Hitler toward you. That is the advantage which he is purchasing by all his expenditure of money—that he should be at war with you, but that you should not be at war with him. If we are going to wait for him to acknowledge a state of war with us, we are indeed the simplest of mortals.

We have no choice in the matter, but there remains the most righteous and most necessary task of all: to defend ourselves against the aggressor. Or perhaps the advocates of appeasement mean that if Hitler keeps his hands off the United States and the Caribbean, he is neither injuring us nor provoking hostilities. But if they ground their plea upon this principle, if this is their interpretation of peace, it is obvious to all that their argument is assuredly impious and intolerable and dangerous. I need not tell you that Hitler owes his successes to nothing in the world more than to his being the first in the field. For the man who always keeps a standing army by him, and who knows beforehand what he wants to do, is ready in an instant for anyone that he chooses to attack, while it is only after we have heard of something happening that we begin to bustle about and make our preparations. Hence, I believe, it results that Hitler quite at his leisure keeps whatever he assails, while we are too late, and whatever we have spent has been lavished in vain; we have succeeded in showing our enmity and our will to thwart him, but by being too late for action we only incur additional ignominy.

What, then, ought we to do? I will give the fairest and truest answer: *not what you are doing now.* I will not, however, shrink from going carefully into details; only you must be as willing to act as you are eager to question. First, you must fix this firmly in your minds, that Hitler is at war with us and has broken the peace. He is ill-disposed and hostile to the whole country and, I will add, to every man of us, even to those who imagine that they stand highest in his good graces. If they doubt it, let them look at the fate of appeasers elsewhere who thought they were his bosom friends and then, when they had betrayed their fatherlands, met the most ignominious fate of all.

The chief object, however, of his arms and his diplomacy is our free constitution. On nothing in the world is he more bent than on its destruction. For he knows that even if he masters all else, his power will be precarious as long as you remain a democracy; and if ever he meets with one of the many mischances to which mankind is liable, all the forces that are now under restraint will be attracted to your side. Therefore he does not want to have the American tradition of liberty watching to seize every chance against himself.

Seeing that Spain and Scandinavia are ruled by dictators and that France and, I might also say, all the world are now being seduced into this form of slavery, I am surprised that none of you conceives that our constitution too is in danger, or draws the conclusion that if all other states are organized on dictatorial principles, it is impossible that they should leave your democracy alone. For they know that none but you will bring freedom back again, and of course they want to destroy the source from which they are expecting ruin to themselves. Now all other wrongdoers must be considered the enemies of those only whom they have wronged, but when men overthrow constitutions and change them to dictatorships, I urge you to regard them as the common enemies of all who love freedom. Then again, Americans, it is right that you, living under a democracy, should show the same sympathy for democracies in distress as you expect others to show for you if ever—which God forbid!—you are in the same plight.

This, then, is the first thing needful, to recognize in Hitler the inveterate enemy of constitutional government and democracy, for unless you are heartily persuaded of this you will not consent to take your politics seriously. Your second need is to convince yourselves that all his activity and all his organization is preparing the way for an attack on us, and that where any resistance is offered to him, that resistance is our gain.

But, alas, ours is the one country in the world where immunity is granted to plead on behalf of our enemies, and where a man who has been bribed can safely address you in person, even when you have been robbed of your own. Indeed, of these politicians, some who were beggars are suddenly growing rich, some unknown to name and fame are now men of honor and distinction; while you, on the contrary, have passed from honor to dishonor, from affluence to destitution. For a country's wealth I hold to be allies, credit, good-will—and of all these you are destitute. Because you are indifferent to these advantages and allow them to be taken from you, Hitler is prosperous and powerful and formidable while you are deserted and humiliated, famous for your well-stocked markets but in provision for your proper needs contemptible.

What are we to do? We must make provision for our defense. I mean with ships, funds, and men, for even if all other states succumb to slavery, we surely must fight the battle of liberty. Then having completed all these preparations and made our purpose clear, we must lose no time in calling upon the other Americas, and we must inform them by sending ambassadors so that if we win them over we may have someone to share our dangers and our expenses when the time comes, or if not, that we may at least delay the course of events. I contend that we must send supplies to the forces in Britain, and while we make preparations ourselves, we must summon, collect, instruct, and exhort the rest of the Americas. That is the duty of a country with a reputation such as yours enjoys. But if you imagine that the United States will be saved by Britons or Brazilians while you run away from the task, you are wrong. For they may think themselves lucky if they can save themselves separately. *This is a task for you.* It was for you that your ancestors won this proud privilege and bequeathed it to you at great and manifold risk. But if every man sits idle, consulting his own pleasure and careful to avoid his own duty, not only will he find no one to do it for him, but I fear that those duties that we wish to shirk may finally all be forced upon us at once.

At present our system is a mockery, and I do not believe that even Hitler himself would pray that America might act otherwise than she is doing. You are behind your times and waste your money; you look round for someone to manage the business and then quarrel with him; you throw the blame on one another. Never yet have you instituted or organized a single plan of action properly at the start, but you always follow in the track of each event, and then, when you find yourselves too late, you give up the pursuit; when the next event occurs, you are again in a bustle of preparation. But that is not the way. If anyone thinks that a different course means great expense and much toil and worry, he is quite correct, but if he reckons up what will hereafter be the result to America if she refuses to act, he will conclude that it is to our interest to perform our duty willingly. For even if you have the guaranty of God—since nothing less could be a satisfactory surety for such an event—that if you remain inactive and abandon everything, Hitler will not in the end march against you, it would still be disgraceful and unworthy of you and of the resources of your country and the record of your ancestors to abandon all others to enslavement for the sake of your own ease, and I for one would rather die than be guilty of proposing such a policy. If you prefer a different course you must needs bear in mind that this will be a life-and-death struggle, and the men who have sold themselves to Hitler must be crushed; for it is impossible to quell the foes without until you have punished the foes *within your gates,* for if you let these stand as stumbling-blocks in your path you must fail against the others.

[*These words were spoken to the Athenians in a series of addresses between 351 and 340* B. C. *by Demosthenes in warning against Philip of Macedon. The translation is that of J. H. Vince (The Loeb Classical Library, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1930). The excerpts are taken from the First, Second, and Third Philippics, and from the orations "On the Affairs of the Chersonese" and "For the Rhodians," all of which merit rereading* in toto. *Nothing has been changed in the phraseology save the names of persons and places. The Athenians failed to heed Demosthenes until it was too late. Athenian democracy and the entire Greek state system were destroyed by the Macedonian conquerors.*—FREDERICK L. SCHUMAN.]

In the Wind

A NEW YORK PLAYWRIGHT recently called the Columbia University Placement Bureau. She wanted a typist to copy a play she had just completed on religious tolerance. The voice at the placement bureau inquired cheerily, "And I suppose you want a Christian?"

WINSTON'S SIMPLIFIED DICTIONARY carries this definition and example for the adjective "substantive": "Independent; existing independently and separately; self-sufficient; having its own individuality; as, France is a substantive state."

A GERMAN JEW, so the story goes, recently met an American Nazi. The Nazi didn't know that he was speaking to a refugee and complained freely: "I'm a German, I've been here twenty-one years, and now I'm thrown out of my job just because I'm German." The refugee answered: "We were thrown out of our positions after two thousand years—just because we were Jews."

A GROUP OF Wall Street bigwigs held a private "moral rearmament" dinner not long ago. About sixty were present. All the Buchmanite trimmings were there, plus, this department learns, a pronounced pro-fascist undercurrent.

IT DIDN'T GET much notice, but there was a baseball strike recently. It occurred in the "Class C" Salisbury League. Players refused to budge from their rooms unless their stipends for meals were increased. They won.

THE CONSERVATIVE San Francisco *Argonaut* recently reported (inadvertently): "Tom Rolph has filed on both the Republican and Democratic tickets . . . he is president of the Rotary Club and has served as financial chairman of the Communist chest."

BISHOP KARL J. ALTER of the Toledo diocese a few weeks ago urged the establishment of "Christian corporationism," modeled after "Portugal and Spain and now the new France." Shortly afterward the A. F. of L. picketed the Toledo cathedral in protest against the employment of non-union men on interior decorations. A. F. of L. officials pleaded with Bishop Alter to employ union labor, but he refused to yield.

CATECHISM FROM *Facts in Review,* Nazi propaganda organ: "*Q.* Does the German press follow uniform lines, suppressing the personality of the reporter? *A.* Nonsense The German journalist is not a commercial employee and is not obliged to hunt for spot news. He serves his nation. At daily government press conferences he receives all the news necessary for his work. There is no journalist in the world better informed on his country's policies."

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind—either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. A prize of $5 will be awarded each month for the best item.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

A Native at Large

BY JONATHAN DANIELS

FOR the very good reason that it is almost impossible to see anything else, the travel agencies are saying that this is the year to see America. And it may be as good a year as any other. All sorts of trips are available, from those you can get for a thumb uplifted on the roadside to the most elaborate peregrinations in the most protected opulence. I think I would rather have gone with the boys and girls from Antioch College, and I know I should be more interested in their seeing than in what they saw. It is very serious business with them. They are to get college credits for the ride. They went by truck from Yellow Springs, Ohio, to Lewiston in Maine, to New York and Washington—where they talked to the experts—then to Anniston in Alabama.

I know what they saw. I have been over those roads. I have watched French Canadians put shoes together in Lewiston-Auburn, and I have seen old-stock Alabamians making chemicals and iron pipe in Anniston. What I should like to know is what the big triangular trip—Ohio to Maine and Alabama—added up to for such students, and what were the processes which made the picture in their heads of the North-South they saw. On such a journey what they took with them was probably more important than what they found. One thing I hope they took is a respect for higher standards in human life.

I hope the professors who planned the tour will pardon me for saying so, but I doubt that Lewiston is what the North means in this land, and I would seriously question that Anniston (Annie's town) is entirely representative of the South. Between them undoubtedly, however, much of America lies. I question not the journey but the destinations. Maine may not like it any more than Alabama, but both of them have a part in the same pull of poor states on the rich industrial areas—of low standards on higher ones.

The Mason-Dixon is not the only line which runs across the older regions of America. Below it is an old agricultural region crowded with people who in this time are increasingly in need of industrial jobs. Another line like it runs straight across the northern border of Massachusetts to split little New England into littler sections, one-half crowded with factories and the other seeking in the increasingly difficult agricultural economies of Maine, New Hampshire, and Vermont for a share of the jobs factories provide. A little investigation will show that while New England has been crying aloud at the South's grabbing for industries with promises of cheap labor and low standards, there has been perhaps more grabbing right in the middle of the family of the six little states. If Mississippi at this moment has been practically abandoned by the labor movement, so far as advance is concerned, it was not long ago that an important Maine voice cried, "It ought to be as impossible to fine and imprison Maine employers under a federal law as to send in a German army to take Maine over."

That is not all. Though Lewiston-Auburn—the towns are actually one with only the Androscoggin River between them—had a native industry of its own long before Anniston was founded by an iron company, today important absentee interests are factors in both of them. The United Shoe Machinery Corporation, as far as I know, owns no shoe factories, but under its leasing system it has facilitated the flight of little shoemaking companies from the strongly unionized shoe towns of Massachusetts, a process which was involved in the angry strikes of 1937. Anniston has had more peace, but "the soil-pipe capital of the world" also has large absentee control in the big Monsanto chemical works.

Close to Lewiston is old Maine, and Calhoun County around Anniston is old-time cotton country. Back of both of them, too, are people on difficult lands who need jobs and cannot get them. Down in black counties below Anniston and up in worn white Washington County in Maine—where Passamaquoddy was a promise which at last only added to pain—are the same Americans in the same tragedy, both pressing on what seem to be the much richer lands between. The young people from Antioch undoubtedly have seen differences in the people in the high North and the deep South. A blind man can see them. But there are tragic similarities also.

Sometimes it seems that, North and South, the oldest Americans are in the deepest difficulties. Both of them are pressing on a new changed America in the greater richness of which both mean to share. Until they do, no standards of security in the lands between will be safe. What all of us must learn from riding those American roads is that Maine and Mississippi both mean to eat. Maybe they should have more respect for the standards of the safer states. Maybe, as union leaders and industrialists say together, they are backward. I think they are determined to be backward until they get a chance to be forward, not merely as a moral position, but as an economic fact. I hope the Antioch children will not blame them for that.

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

Leadership and Democracy

THE AMERICAN PRESIDENCY: AN INTERPRETATION. By Harold J. Laski. Harper and Brothers. $2.50.

IT IS difficult to imagine circumstances that would make Mr. Laski's book more timely. What previous campaign for the Presidency fell in a year that had witnessed and was due to witness more fateful events? Popular government has almost vanished from Western Europe. England has its back to the wall. Our country faces an uncertain but on the most hopeful view an exceedingly grim future, and our plans for action are shadowed by the approaching assembly of the electorate to make a free choice to the most powerful elective office in the world.

Mr Laski's interpretation of the Presidency is worthy of the importance of his subject. He takes a large view of the role of the President and does not subdivide powers and functions in the botanical fashion of academic treatises. The President and his Cabinet, the President and Congress, and foreign relations are the only divisions of his analysis. He has full sweep to demonstrate his amazingly wide acquaintance not only with the literature of American history and politics but also with the illustrative detail that can be acquired only by observation over a considerable period—in Mr. Laski's case nearly a quarter of a century. He thus is able to see our politics alive. His vision is never myopic. On the contrary he sometimes seems too farsighted as when, for example, referring to President Roosevelt's appointments, he speaks of his "ability almost intuitively to recognize the efficient human instrument for his purpose."

The underlying thesis of Mr. Laski's interpretation is not novel, but it cannot be restated too frequently, and he puts it epigrammatically and convincingly. A great democracy needs leadership which can come only from the executive. "An assembly as miscellaneous as the legislature is bound to be cannot organize itself for creative action." If the President is a genuine leader, Congress is forced to play a minor role and resents its subordination. If the President is weak, Congress is dominant but only in a negative way. There is a sedative on thought, and action lags. The elected representatives of the people should be content to have the President a real leader, let him have the power he needs, and then devote themselves to scrutinizing the way in which the power is used and by criticism taming its possessors.

Who challenges this analysis? Few other than certain members of Congress and the political opponents of any virile occupant of the White House. But even they do not dare to issue their challenge when the times are really critical. Woodrow Wilson's "Presidential dictatorship" was not an issue until the war was won. Franklin Roosevelt's enormous powers were not inveighed against until the hundred days were over. In the latter case, at least, the reaction came not only because the emergency was less acute but because of inattentiveness to administration which gave Congress grounds for believing that those to whom great powers had been transferred were not sufficiently mindful of the fact that they had great responsibilities as well. Too few in Washington heeded Sir Henry Taylor's profound remark, which Mr. Laski has long known and frequently quoted: "Wise men have always perceived that the execution of political measures is in reality the essence of them."

Nowhere does Mr. Laski conceal his great admiration for President Roosevelt. It is an admiration rarely tinctured by the suggestion of any imperfection. If the country had a President who came from the right, who was a real leader, and if Congress followed him in undoing much that has been accomplished under Mr. Roosevelt, Mr. Laski should —and I think would—still maintain his thesis. This prevents his brilliant book from being simply a tract for the times—a political pamphlet arguing for the prolongation of the New Deal. It is at bottom a sound piece of political analysis and will be cited long after present politics have become history.

An important corollary of Mr. Laski's thesis is that, separated from the legislature and unable to rely on the instrument of party discipline, a President, to get his way, has to devote an excessive amount of attention to "the politics of maneuver" instead of confining himself to "the politics of policy." In this respect the British and American systems of government seem to present sharp contrasts, which, however, are greatly softened as Premiers and Presidents decide how they wish to play their roles. No one would maintain, for example, that the antepenultimate and the penultimate occupants of the British Premiership—Lord Baldwin of Bewdley and Neville Chamberlain—had not frequently put maneuver above policy. Indeed, Stanley Baldwin admitted to the House of Commons that he had been unwilling to tell the British people the truth because he was afraid that he might lose an election. During his first six years Woodrow Wilson was little given to maneuver, and his first important mistake was the call for the election of a Democratic Congress in November, 1918. Nor would all President Roosevelt's admirers argue that he had profited greatly from some of his maneuvers—for example, the involved concealment of the policy of the court proposals, and perhaps also the transparent coyness of the reluctant candidate who was to be "drafted" for a third term by delegates following orders that he was transmitting. In short, the politics of maneuver may not infrequently be most successful when no attention is paid to maneuvering, when, instead, the President takes a line for which he seeks popular support and boldly and frankly insists upon it.

Great works on political institutions have been written by men who were not citizens of the governments which they describe. Mr. Bodley's volumes on France were for some years classic, although they suffered from the fact that the author saw everything French through the colored prism of a belief that the British parliamentary system was perfect. Lord Bryce's "The American Commonwealth" was greeted with acclaim fifty years ago and is still read, although it now seems stodgy and reportorial and indifferent to factors not within the experience of a Victorian Liberal. President Lowell, endeavoring with considerable success to be an American Bryce, gave us his analysis of the government of England a decade before Mr. Laski became one of President Lowell's colleagues at Harvard. But Mr. Lowell's book expounded and explained and did not attempt to throw problems in bold relief and tell us frankly what the author thought of them.

Mr. Laski does. Hence he will be quoted more frequently, and his judgments will be more vehemently argued about, than was the case with the other authors whom I have mentioned and in whose galaxy Mr. Laski now belongs. The American Presidency faces tests as serious as those faced by the First Lordship of the Treasury in Great Britain or the Presidency of the Council in France. In constitutional arrangements those offices were much more advantaged than the American Presidency is. Some of their recent incumbents did dissservice to their countries. The American Constitution does not advantage the Presidency. Its holder, Mr. Laski concludes, "must be given power commensurate to the function he has to perform. It must be given democratically; it must be exercised democratically; but if he is to be a great President, let us be clear that it must be given. . . . For great power alone makes great leadership possible; it provides the unique chance of restoring America to its people."

LINDSAY ROGERS

The Faith of the Fathers

NEW ENGLAND: INDIAN SUMMER. 1865-1915. By Van Wyck Brooks. E. P. Dutton and Company. $3.75.

IN THE early spring of 1866 a young man named William Dean Howells slips quietly into Boston from the West to receive the laying on of hands from Holmes and Lowell. The curtain rises on the second volume of Mr. Brooks's history of American literature, and for over five hundred pages the long waning of New England's golden day is chronicled with the fullest resources of his affection and research, now enhanced by a drama of decline and melancholy attenuation even more expressly suited to his gifts and sympathies than the story of "The Flowering." Howells becomes the token of the new energies that inherited, administered, and distributed to the nation and the world the legacy of the New England fathers, but he is not the hero of the book. That hero wears a composite mask. Its features still gleam dimly with the rugged inspiration of Emerson, Whittier, and Holmes, but they are clouded by subtler and more complicated emotions—by the graceful disgust of Henry Adams and the alienating curiosity of Henry James, by the homeless sophistication of LaFarge, Norton, Crawford, Perry, and Berenson, by the tough obsessions of Miss Peabody, Mrs. Howe, and Mrs. Eddy and the worldly ardors of Mrs. Gardiner and Mrs. Whitman (for the hero is uncomfortably epicene), by the mockery of Cummings and by the tragic judgments of Robinson, Eliot, and O'Neill. The brow is fretted by secret doubts and unfathomed agonies. The fatal mark of knowledge has touched it. An autumn of disillusion and skepticism chills the surrounding air. The hero, changing his name and

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personality decade by decade, moves through a huge swarm of minor characters, as varied in zealotry and obsession, in fanaticism and charm, in world-reforming ambition and missionary zeal as those in "The Flowering," but his confidence is shaken and his purposes murky. We leave him wearing the stoic cloak of Robert Frost, but he stands at last at the edge of the contemporary wilderness, desperately clutching such shreds of his old defiant spirit, fortitude, and patriotic self-assurance as may give him courage in the grim struggles that lie ahead—beyond 1915.

Mr. Brooks has capitalized to the utmost the pathos and melancholy dignity of this drama. He has lovingly resurrected his hosts of authors and brought the warmth of his intense antiquarian zeal to all their acts and works. His scenes show his superb felicity in genre and milieu. He disinters moldering reputations and brings to light exquisite artists long and unworthily forgotten. His quotations and footnotes alone make his book unrivaled, a trove of discoveries and recognitions. He practices no partisan or critical exclusiveness. He has perfected a new mode in literary ethnology and written one of the richest accounts of the American folk mind in its prodigious cultural manifestations that have ever been attempted. His dramatis personae—writers, editors, scholars, art-collectors, music critics, teachers, painters, historians, reformers, cultists, and missionaries—display the New England temperament in its incredible and preposterous fertility, and if that temperament is here pictured in a condition of slow dissipation and surrender, that fact conforms all the more closely to Mr. Brooks's personal sense of where the true strength of the New England heritage lies, and of what causes brought about its decay or alienation in the expanding energies of a baffled modern world.

When criticism makes a partner of history, its specific virtue tends to degenerate, and when history is coerced by an argument or an artistic effect, its objective value diminishes and often disappears. Mr. Brooks writes as an artist, and he argues as an apologist. His latest books maintain the theme of his earlier essays in Americanization; his thesis descends from "America's Coming of Age" and "Letters and Leadership." He regards literature as rooted in social life and communal purpose, in the local, realistic, and external conditions that shaped the American national consciousness. He is concerned only secondarily with the forces of character and craftsmanship that determine the specific validity of the written word. His art is that of a realist and a memorialist. His pages are suffused not only with extraordinary beauties of evocation, of delicate verbal and atmospheric synthesis, but with a sentiment of heroic pathos and moral limitations. He suspects the inner life of weakening both civic responsibility and creative endurance, and from this suspicion ensues the pathetic and idealizing sympathy that blurs his discriminations and levels his judgments. It sometimes results in his finely balanced appraisals of clouded talents like those of Twain, Howells, Holmes, and Santayana and in his excellent judgments on minor artists like Rose Terry Cooke, Mrs. Stowe, T. B. Aldrich, Elizabeth Phelps, Celia Thaxter, John de Forest, T. S. Perry, and Amy Lowell, but it also results in his deft misreadings of talents permanently alien to his own, like James, Adams, and Eliot. His achievement is thus limited by the recession of his critical imagination in the sympathies of the historian and of the historian's acumen in the personal strategy of a patriot and an artist.

Yet the virtues by which he redeems his right to these two titles are virtues in which he is rivaled by no one else now writing history in the United States. His equipment of local sympathies, selective acumen, and omnivorous reading makes his pages teem with the realities of American personality and expression. No chronicler has brought a more sensitive instinct for dramatic contrasts and sequences to play on New England life. Mr. Brooks has not inherited the exhaustive aesthetic intelligence of James; he has little of the analytical penetration of Eliot; his tastes are too comprehensive to give him the embarrassed human appeal of Adams; and he is accordingly excluded from exact sympathy with any of these men. He stems rather from an older line of artist historians—from Prescott, Motley, and Parkman. He has inherited their exploring curiosity, their dramatic sensibility, their sense of historic moments and forces, and it is these strong virtues that surmount the admixture of modern fashions in psychological formulation and sentimentalized nationalism in his books. It is impossible to read his present chapter on Parkman without detecting Mr. Brooks's sense of descending from this line, and it is impossible to read his beautiful book without gratitude for the felicity with which he has revived its traditions and made his projected history of American literature one of the certain privileges and landmarks of the American culture he has so nobly defended.

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IN BRIEF

TO THE INDIES. By C. S. Forester. Little, Brown and Company. $2.50.

A full-blooded adventure story, whose setting is the third expedition of Columbus and whose central figure is Don Narciso Rich, legal emissary of King Ferdinand to the New World. Exploration, intrigue, fights with men and beasts, the salt tang of the sea and the steamy fragrance of tropical isles—a smooth summer cocktail, blended with a skilful hand.

COUNTRY GROWTH. By August Derleth. Charles Scribner's Sons. $2.50.

Two novellas and eighteen short stories by the author of the various novels of rural Wisconsin life known collectively as the "Sac Prairie Saga." The shorter pieces are the best: earthy, nostalgic, vigorous, good-humored, many of them featuring the headstrong ventures of Great-Uncle Joe Stoll and his testy neighbor Gus Elker, whose shrewdness and blunt tenacity bamboozle even the official representative of the AAA when he tries to interfere in the running of their farms.

ROSSCOMMON. By Charles Allen Smart. Random House. $2.

A small-scale "Utopia," with a novel formula for presenting its thesis, a scheme for an ideal cooperative agricultural community. Mr. Smart, author of "R. F. D.," invents an idealistic but ineffectual farmer-writer who outlines to him his dreams of what the now dilapidated estate of Rosscommon might have become if its resources had been intelligently husbanded and developed for human needs. Like Granville Hicks's recent "First to Awaken," this is more essay than fiction.

THE BREWERS' BIG HORSES. By Mildred Walker. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $2.50.

A competent, refreshing novel with a Midwestern setting, an aggressive, thoroughly American heroine, and an all-pervading perfume of malt, hops, and yeast. Sara Bolster, who as a child went for a ride on a brewer's dray, grows up to marry the brewer's son despite the opposition of her own snobbish family, courageously manages the business after her husband's death, bucking competition, class prejudice, even Prohibition, and ends happily and conveniently in the arms of a childhood beau.

RECORDS

IN *The Nation* of April 13 I regretted the fact that despite the success of the New York *Post's* small-price-large-quantity sale of records Victor and Columbia still preferred the profits from large-price-small-quantity production—that not only was Victor maintaining its Red Seal prices but Columbia was stepping its Masterworks prices up to the Victor level. Since then Victor has dipped one toe into the water with its Black Label Classics at 75 cents for ten-inch and $1 for twelve-inch, and now Columbia has taken the complete plunge: where Victor, for the lower prices, offers old recordings previously withdrawn from its catalogue, with a sprinkling of previously unissued recent recordings of its $1.50 category, Columbia for the same prices now offers everything in its catalogue. Columbia is to be congratulated—and I hope suitably rewarded—for its enlightenment in trying to make more money by enabling more people to buy at lower prices things as superb as Beecham's performances of Haydn and Mozart, the Busch Chamber Players' performances of Bach's Brandenburg Concertos, the performances of Szigeti and Gieseking.

For the lower price one may have Columbia's outstanding August release, its set (M-411, $4.50) of Beethoven's Piano Concerto No. 4, recorded by Gieseking with the Saxon State Orchestra under Karl Böhm (for the present none of the royalties paid to English Columbia go to Germany). This is a fine set at any price; and that is as much as most people—and certainly those with limited budgets—will want to know. But some will undoubtedly want to know how it compares with the older Victor set, which is one of the great things in the Victor catalogue. The orchestral part is clearer in the Columbia version; but on Victor Malcolm Sargeant achieved one of his better performances with the London Philharmonic; this is recorded with adequate clarity and fidelity, particularly if one can emphasize the treble—which, curiously enough, one has to do also with the Columbia version; also, with the greater fidelity and spaciousness of the new version one gets a little of the sharp, nasal quality of some present-day orchestral recording; and there is occasional overcutting of Gieseking's piano. But what gives the Victor set its distinction is Schnabel's performance of the piano part—one of his finest achievements; and its superiority over Gieseking's is evident from the first phrase of the piano that opens the work —that phrase which Schnabel makes so quietly and spaciously meditative, whereas Gieseking makes it brisk, brittle, almost flippant. There are other such passages in the first movement—for example, the one just before the end of the second side, or the one that is heard the last time immediately after the cadenza—in which one notes the subtle tensions and momentums of Schnabel's phrasing as compared with the swift smoothness of Gieseking's, and then notes the difference in the effect, the significance of the music. And in these passages one hears the differences that distinguish the styles of the two pianists throughout the first two movements: the one swift, smooth, plastically rounded and finished, remaining on the surface of the music; the other deliberately, subtly, powerfully detailed in phrasing, in the process of probing deeply into the work (and it is significant that in the first movement Schnabel chooses the longer and musically more impressive cadenza, which he plays in a way that makes this side itself worth the price of the set). In the third movement Gieseking's pace is the more leisurely, and the music has grace and charm, as against the sharpness and sparkle and humor that Schnabel gives it.

Postscripts: Comparing the new Royale set of Schubert's Quartet Opus 161 with the old Columbia version movement by movement, I did not play the last Royale side of the last movement, and therefore did not discover a large cut which eliminates some very fine music and which was not necessary to get the movement on to the two sides. Also, concerning the Lehmann set of Hugo Wolf songs I should have mentioned that one has to reduce the treble a great deal, since the skilful recording job that was done with Povla Frijsh's voice was not done with Lehmann's, and the excessive fidelity does to the signs of age in her voice what glaring lights do to signs of age in a face. And finally an inquiry from a reader reminds me to speak of Oscar Levant's use of the English language, which is sheer massacre.

B. H. HAGGIN

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THE *Nation*

MERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

LUME 151 · NEW YORK · SATURDAY · AUGUST 24, 1940 · NUMBER 8

The Shape of Things

REMARK BY THE WIFE OF A LONDON BUS river after the German mass air raid on the capital's uthwestern suburbs is an indication of the spirit with hich the British people are taking the intensified attack pon them. A bomb splinter came through the roof of is woman's kitchen and knocked a bowl of eggs from e shelf. "It was a very unfortunate experience," said rs. Parker, "because eggs are so scarce these days." ggs will be scarcer before the Nazi onslaught on Eng-nd is over, but a people so annoyingly calm are not asily terrorized. Vincent Sheean in this issue suggests at an attempt may be made to land German troops in reland as the back door to England. "Air infantry" may e used against Britain itself. Warnings similar to those sued in the Lowlands and French campaigns have been rved on the British to treat parachute troops "according to international law." These warnings are intended terrorize, but they are unlikely to accomplish what ctual air raids have been unable to do. The gap between nglish and German claims in scoring this terrible game f war over Britain is wide. But the ease with which the ritish seem able to stage their reprisal raids within the eich suggests that German air power is not so overhelming as Goebbels would like us to believe. The eclaration of a German blockade against Britain in etaliation for the British blockade of Germany is good ropaganda for home consumption in the Reich, but it akes more than a declaration to make a blockade.

*

TALY CONTINUES TO PULL STRAY HAIRS rom the besieged lion's tail. London admits the evacua-ion of Berbera and the loss of Somaliland to superior talian forces striking down the mountain passes from thiopia into the arid coastal plain. With characteristic raggadocio—it is not strange that one must go to the talian to find the word for it—Rome compares this igmy triumph to Dunkerque. More important than he loss to the British Empire of Somaliland's resin is he strategic value of the territory. British supplies from India for the troops and ships in the eastern Mediterranean will now be subject to Italian attack along 1,000 miles of the route. Haile Selassie may find painful satisfaction in the spectacle, for an independent and pro-British Ethiopia would have made the attack on Somaliland far more difficult, if not impossible. While Il Duce is now undisputed master of the Somalis and their flocks, he seems to be losing control of the air over northern Italy. For the third time in a week British planes have bombed aircraft plants at Milan and Turin, making a 1,600-mile round trip.

*

BENITO MUSSOLINI'S NEWEST ROLE IN THE Balkans must be giving rise to bitter gaiety in the mountains above Tirana. Il Duce has cast himself as Protector of the Albanians and demands that Greece restore Albania's lost province of Ciamuria. This benevolent interest in the aspirations of the Albanian people has not kept him from sending troops across the Otranto Straits to put down a rebellion of mountaineers. No doubt these mountaineers would like to see Ciamuria recovered from Greece, but they are more concerned at the moment with recovering the rest of Albania from Italy. Il Duce is prepared to restore anything to the Albanians except Albania. Ciamuria is the pretext for the current Italian campaign to frighten Greece into giving up as much of its territory as possible. The brave Duce knows the art of the stab in the back and the swift retreat into the shadows. A few days after his campaign began, "an unidentified submarine" sank the Greek cruiser Helle while it was participating in a national religious festival, the celebration of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin. Later in the same day unidentified planes bombed a Greek pleasure steamer crowded with holiday makers. The Italian government blames the British, and implies that if Greece does not soon surrender to Italian demands "the British" may strike again. The Rome press protests that Catholic Italy would never dream of committing such a crime on a holy occasion, but the Greeks recall that Corfu was bombed by Il Duce on a holiday in 1922, and the Albanians remember that Mussolini seized Albania on Good Friday.

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MR. BULLITT'S ADDRESS IN PHILADELPHIA last Sunday was the most startling and impressive warning heard since the war began. Speaking with the authority of his position as Ambassador to France and with the knowledge and consent of the State Department, Mr. Bullitt in effect issued a declaration of war against the United States by Germany. He said flatly that if the Nazis conquered Britain they would attack this country, and he urged the United States to speed help to Britain and itself prepare without delay to defend its independence and its democracy. Drawing upon his day-by-day experience of the conquest and collapse of the French republic, he uttered a stern warning to an America which, he believes, is drifting in a fog of unreality, as the French drifted—to their destruction. Not one word in his speech suggests the rather complacent attitude conveyed by his assertions on his return from France that the Pétain government was doing a good job and enjoyed the confidence of the people. One can only assume that those remarks were intended to quiet speculation. They accomplished just the opposite effect and helped to weaken further Mr. Bullitt's influence in important circles where it was already weak. As a result, his latest speech may be discounted when it should be given most serious attention.

* * *

TWO OF MR. BULLITT'S DIRECT STATEMENTS are particularly disturbing. He says that Communists worked with fascists to bring about the downfall of France and that "more than one-half the spies captured doing actual military spy work against the French army were refugees from Germany." Coming from a person so highly informed, these charges cannot be casually dismissed. If true, their significance for this country is apparent. But both assertions are directly contrary to information that has been received by *The Nation* and by responsible refugee agencies. Correspondents in Britain and France have testified over and over to the remarkably clean record of the German refugees who fled from the Nazi terror. Hitler has had better ways to conceal his agents than in the guise of refugees, watched by the police, herded into internment camps, and surrounded by genuine anti-fascists alert to report suspicious words or acts. We think Mr. Bullitt is under obligation to issue an expanded statement, buttressed by proof, on this particular point. As to the Communists, we have had no doubt that their influence in France was anti-war and defeatist and, as a consequence, helpful to Hitler. So it is in this country. The charge that the Communists acted "as spies and agents of the dictators" and deliberately sabotaged France's war efforts calls for careful and public substantiation. The continued toleration of the Communist Party as a legal organization in the United States may hang on the accuracy of Mr. Bullit's report.

CONTROL OF THE RICH CITY OF SHANGHAI remains wholly unsettled as we go to press. Although the Shanghai Defense Council voted two to one to intrust the business districts of the city to the American marines in place of the retiring British troops, Japan has refused thus far to accept the decision. Japan has long controlled the Chinese areas surrounding the city, but the Settlement itself with its hundreds of thousands of Chinese and foreign residents has constituted a stronghold of resistance against Japanese economic and political penetration. The 2,000 American marines who remain in the Settlement are hardly more than a symbol of declining Western influence in the face of vigorous Japanese expansion. But behind those 2,000 marines lies the power of the United States. The recent action of the President in making the export of scrap iron and petroleum products subject to license means more to the United States in this crisis than five divisions of troops at Shanghai. If the appeasement clique in the State Department can be held in check, there is every reason to believe that the United States can withstand Japan's challenge.

* * *

THE LOBBY AGAINST THE EXCESS-PROFITS tax is giving a nimble performance. Having managed to whittle the rate and the basis of taxation down to the point where the yield this year will be only about $165,000,000—a flyspeck of revenue against an expected deficit of $5,700,000,000—it has shifted its attack and is urging that passage of an excess-profits tax be postponed altogether. K. T. Norris, of the Norris Stamping and Manufacturing Company of Los Angeles, told the House Ways and Means Committee that "the amount of revenue from the proposed excess-profits tax is hardly enough to justify holding back the defense program." Fortunately the rumble of protest rising from the country makes it politically unwise to put the excess-profits tax on the shelf. The Farm Bureau Federation is asking that the rates be raised and making embarrassing comments on the contrast between $21 a month for conscripts and the profits being paid on tanks, planes, and guns. The Farm Bureau Federation, usually friendly to big business, must be hearing from the folks back home to take so strong a position.

* * *

NEWSPAPER REFERENCES TO AN "EMBARGO" on steel scrap are misleading. Exports of No. 1 heavy-melting scrap are the only ones affected by the recent Presidential order on scrap, and that was a licensing, not an embargo, order. The State Department is giving out no figures to show how many licenses are being granted, but the New York *Journal of Commerce*, one of the most reliable sources of news on commodities, reports that "export tonnage of scrap has continued at a high rate despite the recent proclamation of the President."

The National Defense Advisory Commission is said to be considering making a request that the Presidential order be extended to all grades of scrap. It should be done at once.

* * *

UNDER PRESSURE FROM THE RANK AND FILE of the A. F. of L. William Green has decided not to support the Smith committee's amendments to the Wagner Act, and as a result their passage has probably been blocked. Until now the National Association of Manufacturers has been able to use the A. F. of L. leadership as its stooge in the fight to emasculate the Wagner Act. But Mr. Green has just informed an executive session of the Senate Labor Committee that he would rather have the Wagner Act remain unchanged than see the committee amendments adopted. Mr. Girdler will be displeased at the news that Mr. Green objects to the amendment limiting back-pay awards under the act. The Associated Farmers and the packers will be shocked to learn that he has expressed opposition to the one that exempts some 400,000 cannery and cotton-gin employees from the protection of the act. The N. A. M. will be heartbroken to hear that he is dead set against permitting the courts to review facts as well as law in NLRB cases. It is a pleasure to note that Mr. Green is acting like a labor leader again.

* * *

OF IMPORTANCE TO THE DEFENSE PROGRAM is the anti-trust trial of the Aluminum Company of America, now entering its final stage after more than two years of testimony. The Aluminum Company claims that it is not a complete monopoly because its product must compete with scrap, European imports, and other metals. A meat packers' trust might similarly argue that it wasn't a complete monopoly because it didn't control pickings from garbage cans, couldn't shut off all imports of meat, and had no way to prevent people from using other foods instead of meat. Despite the absence, under this curious definition, of a complete monopoly, the Aluminum Company manages to get along. Gross profits last year from sales of aluminum sheets of the kind used in military aircraft ranged from 99 to 229 per cent on production costs—military planes are more than 80 per cent aluminum. Walter L. Rice, special assistant in charge of the trial for the Attorney General, charged that the aluminum monopoly was a defense bottleneck. The taxpayer who will foot the bill will also be interested to learn that raw aluminum is 18 cents a pound, although according to the government's estimate it is produced at a cost of only 9.6 cents a pound. But as the Aluminum Company points out, it is no monopoly; if the government doesn't want to pay 18 cents a pound for aluminum for planes, it is free to build them of iron, tin, or porcelain.

New Defense Frontiers

THE President's action in arranging with Prime Minister King of Canada for the establishment of a permanent joint defense board has gained popular approval on both sides of the border. A few of our isolationists have expressed misgivings at a step which binds the United States in a military pact with a country which is an active belligerent in the European war, but it is generally recognized even in isolationist circles that the United States dare not stand by and allow Canada to fall into the hands of a hostile power. And the tragic collapse of Belgian and Dutch defenses because of lack of coordination with the Allied General Staff has brought home the folly of postponing military consultations until an attack is actually begun.

The American people, however, should recognize the full significance of the step that has just been taken. If England is successfully invaded, the British government may retreat to Canada and carry on the war from this hemisphere. The act of setting up a joint defense board does not in itself commit the United States to defend Canada under any and all circumstances, but, from a realistic standpoint, what other choice exists? To allow Canada to fall under Nazi rule would be an invitation to an invasion of the United States along the one frontier which, at present, cannot be defended. The President has already made it clear on several occasions that we will defend Canada. The creation of the joint defense board indicates that we mean business.

Of scarcely less importance are the negotiations now under way for the leasing of naval and air bases in Britain's insular possessions in this hemisphere. Military men have long been saying that effective defense must start some distance from our shores. Their insistence, however, was relatively academic as long as the islands nearest the United States belonged to a friendly and unthreatened nation. The new Puerto Rican naval and military base afforded adequate protection for the Panama Canal against any but a first-rank naval power. Today, however, we face a drastically altered situation. Control of the British and French fleets would make it possible for Hitler with his tremendous air force to strike an effective blow at the canal defenses. This threat would be minimized if the United States had air and naval bases at Trinidad and Bermuda. In recent months there has been a good deal of jingoistic talk about demanding these British possessions either in payment of the war debt or as a price for supplying Britain with the fifty over-age destroyers which it so sorely needs. But no such imperialistic designs appear to have entered into the President's negotiations. The bases, if obtained, will be leased, and there will be no question of change of sovereignty.

The sale of America's surplus destroyers to Great Britain is obviously a related issue, but the relationship is of a different character from that suggested. Our real frontier for purposes of defense today lies in the British Isles. If Britain's defense can be bolstered sufficiently, it will not be necessary for us to expend hundreds of millions of dollars on new naval bases. The American people have gradually come to recognize this fact. A recent Gallup poll shows that more than 60 per cent of those who expressed an opinion on the issue favored sale of the destroyers without any strings attached. To be sure, Germany may choose to interpret the sale as an act of war, though the chances are heavily against such an interpretation. Any action today in defense of our rights involves risks. In facing the new world created by Hitler's successes the President has the delicate task of showing firmness without being reckless or provocative, of building a hemisphere defense without being imperialistic, of creating a strong army without yielding to militarism.

Wendell Willkie's Speech

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

WENDELL WILLKIE started the campaign off with a dud. The speech at Elwood contained no spark and no material a spark could ignite. The huge crowd assembled under the Indiana sun to hear it displayed nothing more than conventional polite enthusiasm. Only once did they stop Willkie with cheers. He gave them nothing to cheer about. The homely, native-son touches were somehow flat rather than appealing; the vigor sounded pumped-up. The contradictions in his argument were glaring and should have been edited out by one of his experienced advisers. All in all, the speech lacked power, persuasion, and eloquence.

It might have sounded better if its build-up had been less elaborate. Having been fed for weeks on hints of its contents and reports of its progress, the public was led to expect something momentous if not memorable. And this brings up a question as to the technique of the Willkie campaign. The moribund Republican machine has been pushed into the shed and its job taken over by as slick and shiny a mechanical "job" as the country has seen. Superficially there is no comparison between the two. The old machine was clumsy, creaking, and it smelled. The new machine performs several operations at once with smooth precision. It whips up public excitement without letting the public know where the emotion starts from; it dresses the candidate from top to toe in homespun glamour; it grinds out spontaneity and amateur enthusiasms that look almost authentic. It puts on, in short, the sort of advertising campaign that has proved in dollars its ability to sell the American public almost anything. Can it sell us Wendell Willkie? The flat after-taste of his acceptance speech makes me wonder. A little less advance publicity, a little less build-up, and that speech might have sounded like an adequate run-of-the-campaign talk. Before he has finished, Mr. Willkie may wish he had that old-model machine back again, with bosses instead of advertising copywriters in the driver's seat.

Wendell Willkie, as everyone expected, pronounced himself totally opposed to the New Deal and then swallowed it almost whole. The parts he rejected are the parts that penalize business, particularly the Administration's tax measures. But he favors regulation of "the forces of free enterprise." He is opposed to monopoly. He believes in collective bargaining protected by law, and in minimum-wage and maximum-hour requirements which should "constantly rise." He believes in federal regulation of interstate utilities, stock markets, and banks. He supports federal pensions and adequate old-age and unemployment benefits. He believes in relief for the farmer, through "parity of prices" if possible. He believes in encouraging cooperative enterprises and in rural electrification. He believes that "those whom private industry cannot support must be supported by government agency, whether federal or state." And he doesn't stop there. He also favors the Administration's foreign policy. He recognizes that the loss of the British fleet would be a "calamity" and explicitly supports the President's announced determination to "extend to the opponents of force the material resources of this nation." He accepts the principle of selective service and of increased defense.

But a Republican candidate cannot run for office exclusively on the Democratic record and platform; and Mr. Willkie expressed as much divergence from the New Deal as his basic agreement permitted. In the first place, he would do what the New Deal has done without spending so much money. How, he didn't say, but perhaps he will before the campaign is over. In the second place, he is for increased employment in private industry. In fact, he favors prosperity. This is to be achieved by two rather simple devices: he will not attack business men, and he will not levy taxes for political purposes but only to raise money.

Now, since these points about sum up Mr. Willkie's differences from Mr. Roosevelt, it is worth while examining them. First, as to his attitude toward business, I think we can assume that Mr. Willkie, if he becomes President, will be more consistently friendly than Mr. Roosevelt has been. If this produces the confidence which in turn produces prosperity, Mr. Willkie will deserve credit. But let's not forget that this friendliness is not to be demonstrated by concessions in matters of wage-and-hour regulations, collective-bargaining requirements, or anti-monopoly actions. On the contrary; such safeguards are to be maintained and built even more stoutly. Business confidence has to be won by an amiability which operates across those barricades. That's what Mr. Willkie has promised.

Second, as to taxes: Let us assume that Mr. Willkie, having been elected, draws up a schedule of federal taxation for revenue only, based strictly on ability to pay. Does he really believe such a tax bill will ease the burdens on business in a period when government costs must be geared to a swiftly expanding program of rearmament, especially if social services are fully maintained? I am sure he knows better. Business faces more, not less, control by government; heavier, not lighter, taxation. He knows that the social protections built up during the past seven years—mostly in the face of Republican opposition—can be maintained, if at all, only by the toughest sort of resistance to business pressure. He knows that the country is heading into a period when business expansion will be conditioned not by tax laws but by the demands of a growing war economy. "Candor," he said, "is the hope of democracy. We must not kid ourselves any longer." If Mr. Willkie had taken his precept to heart, he would have discussed some of these glaringly obvious facts.

In his remarks on foreign affairs Wendell Willkie performed a valuable service. He joined the President in support of the most crucially necessary policies: prompt measures of internal defense and help for Britain. His speech should end delays in Congress in both directions. But when Mr. Willkie coupled this forthright position with general and unsubstantiated criticisms of the President's conduct of foreign policy, he descended to cheap partisanship. "There have been occasions when many of us have wondered if he is deliberately inciting us to war." "He has dabbled in inflammatory statements and manufactured panics." "The President's attacks on foreign powers have been useless and dangerous." "He has secretly meddled in the affairs of Europe." I believe the American people will decide that this is an exaggerated and unfair description of the President's acts. He has, to be sure, attacked Hitler and expressed his belief that fascist aggression, triumphant in Europe, will threaten the Americas. He has tried to rally democratic resistance to this threat.

But isn't Mr. Willkie guilty of like indiscretions? Only a paragraph or so removed from his attack on Mr. Roosevelt we find these words: "If the British fleet were lost or captured, the Atlantic might be dominated by Germany, a power hostile to our way of life, controlling . . . most of the ships and the shipbuilding facilities of Europe. This would be a calamity for us. We might be exposed to an attack on the Atlantic." In those lines the only weasel words are two "mights." And in a later paragraph Mr. Willkie pretty nearly dares Hitler to attack us.. "We must face," he says, "a brutal but [*sic*] a terrible fact. Our way of life is in competition with Hitler's way of life." "I promise, by returning to those same American principles that overcame German autocracy once before, to outdistance Hitler in any contest he chooses in 1940 or after. And I promise you that, when we beat him, we shall beat him on our own terms and in the American way." Those words sound belligerent, and I'm not sure that Mr. Willkie is not "deliberately inciting us to war" and "dabbling in inflammatory statements."

The wide area of agreement between the leading Presidential candidates should not be taken as a sign that the campaign will be a tame one. Willkie's appeal is necessarily directed to the millions of independent voters who in the past two elections supported Roosevelt; he has the Republican reactionaries in his pocket to start with and need not waste ammunition on them. He must win liberals; to do so he must tackle forthwith the knotty problems that emerge when social reform and national defense and economy are compressed into the same program. He has challenged the President to debate the major issues of the campaign. I hope Mr. Roosevelt will find the time and the will to do so—at least once. That proposal was the best thing in Mr. Willkie's speech.

CONTENTS

THE SHAPE OF THINGS 141
EDITORIALS:
- NEW DEFENSE FRONTIERS 143
- WENDELL WILLKIE'S SPEECH by Freda Kirchwey 144

IRELAND: BACK DOOR TO INVASION by Vincent Sheean 146
AVIATION'S SITDOWN STRIKE
- II. HITLER'S MADE-IN-AMERICA PLANES by I. F. Stone 148

CAN ART SUSTAIN THE ARTIST? by Charmion von Wiegand 150
WITHIN THE GATES 153
IN THE WIND 154
A NATIVE AT LARGE by Jonathan Daniels 155
BOOKS AND THE ARTS:
- FREEDOM SQUARE by John Chamberlain 156
- THE FORGOTTEN ISSUE by Eliot Janeway 157
- IN BRIEF 158
- DANCE: BENNINGTON FESTIVAL, 1940 by Sherman Conrad 158
- RECORDS by B. H. Haggin 159

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Ireland: Back Door to Invasion

BY VINCENT SHEEAN

London, August 1

IRELAND today presents one of the most curious pictures of its strange, unhappy history. With the German assault on Britain mounting to its climax, those who govern Eire still cling to a doctrine of absolute neutrality whatever may happen.

The parallel to the cases of Holland, Belgium, and Norway in previous phases of this war has been pointed out repeatedly but makes little impression on the ordinary Irish people. They are the heirs of a seven hundred years' struggle against England, and until the actual moment when they face the German invader, if that moment ever comes, they will continue to think the British more dangerous to them than any other race.

When war started, De Valera proclaimed the neutrality of the Free State in clearest terms. In the debate in the Dail Eirann which followed he was criticized not so much for proclaiming neutrality as for being half-hearted in it. The fact that cities were advised to black-out lights at night was used by some opposition critics to suggest that De Valera's government was not, in reality, neutral. De Valera replied by referring to the example of Switzerland, which, although a determinedly neutral country, had enforced blackouts.

As the war went on without approaching any nearer to Irish shores, there was a general relaxation of tension in Eire. Blackouts were not enforced—are still not enforced—and people in general took to making jokes about the war, often at the expense of the ancient enemy, Britain. It is a typical Irish contradiction that although the Irish people hope, or think they hope, that England may suffer reverses, at the same time they have a simple childlike faith that this will never happen. There are probably no people in the world who have a greater instinctive belief in British courage, skill, and perseverance than the Irish. But apparently it used to be the usual thing last winter in Irish pubs for one man to say to another, "Let's have a drink to Hitler," and often any passing reverse to Britain was mentioned as "one in the eye for old England." Such merriment was in no way dampened by the fact that there are thousands of Irish serving in various regiments of the British army.

After the Norway campaign a general uneasiness began throughout the Emerald Isle. It rose sharply after May 10, when Hitler invaded the Low Countries, and by the beginning of June, when the French army was in full flight, Ireland at last awoke with a start to the reality of its geographical position. De Valera spoke several times in June and July about the immediate desperate danger for the nation. The National Defense Council was formed, with three representatives of Cosgrave's party and the leader of the Labor Party included in its membership, along with De Valera's Defense and Supply Ministers. Every effort was made toward the semblance of unity between all parties, and late in June all three leaders—De Valera, Cosgrave, and Norton, the head of the Labor Party—spoke from the same platform on the College Green in Dublin, calling the nation to awareness of its danger.

In my opinion nothing brought home to the Irish the real gravity of the situation like this temporary appearance of unity. It must be remembered that the two leading parties, Fianna Fail and Fine Gael, were busily engaged in shooting at each other not many years ago in the Irish civil war. De Valera, head of Fianna Fail, and Cosgrave, head of Fine Gael, have not addressed one word to each other for eighteen years. Even when they spoke recently from the same platform calling the nation to defend itself against possible invasion, they did not greet each other. Under such circumstances—all of which are well known and well understood among the people—any form of political union shows the man in the street that the danger is real and no longer a subject for jokes.

The semblance of union is perhaps deceptive. My impression in Dublin was that all authority is still firmly in the hands of the De Valera government. Opposition parties are indeed represented in the National Defense Council, which meets once a week, but my information is that no decisions are taken by this body. What happens is that De Valera's government decides its course and then confronts the National Defense Council with certain recommendations, to which scarcely any alternative is offered. Cosgrave's party, Fine Gael, which accepted the peace treaty in 1921 and governed Ireland during the first ten years of freedom, is almost as large as De Valera's Fianna Fail but is not genuinely consulted.

The main question is naturally defense against possible aggression, but what might have been relatively simple is immensely complicated by Ireland's political history, tradition, and essential nature. It seems impossible that any party or leader would ask British help to defend the country against invasion from overseas. This is due to something so fundamental in the Irish people themselves that it sometimes seems instinctive, like fear, hunger, or sex. In private conversations Irish leaders say quite frankly that they have no doubt that British intentions are good—that is, Britain does not aim at the destruction of Irish freedom and independence. It is well understood by educated Irishmen that this is a defense problem pure and simple both for England and for Ireland. Nevertheless, what might have been and should have been a purely military question is transformed into a political tangle by the traditions of Irish life.

The simplest form of the instinctive Irish resistance to British help is this: "It took us seven hundred years to get the British out of here last time. If we let them in now, how long will it take to get them out?" It was almost exactly in these words that one Irish leader stated the problem to me. In the very next sentence he admitted that he did not think the British wished now to rule Ireland, but he thought the risk was too great to take.

Under these circumstances it has proved almost useless for the British to make conciliatory offers. The problem of partition—that is, the existence of the six northern counties as a separate commonwealth within the British Empire—might have been solved in this emergency if that haunting Irish fear of the British could have been exorcised. The leaders know better, but apparently they are helpless. I was repeatedly told in Dublin that any leader who invited the British in to help Ireland defend itself, under no matter what conditions, could never hold office or enjoy public respect again.

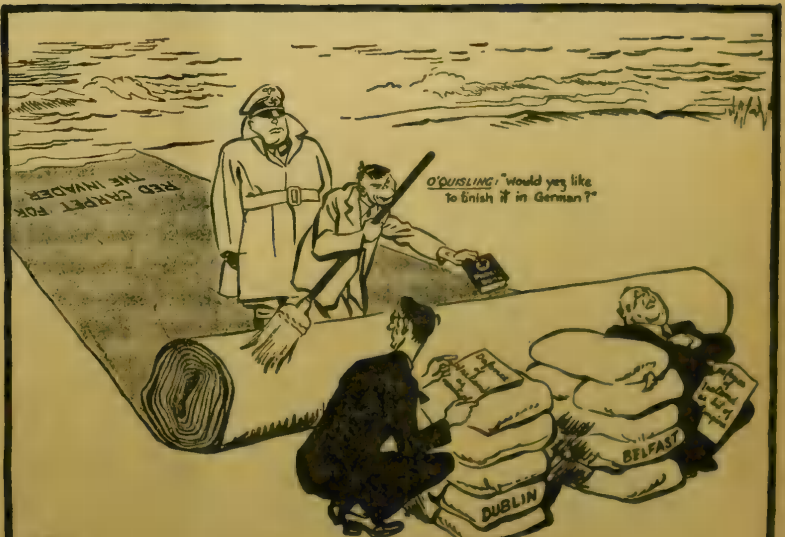
The military situation is clear but difficult to explain under censorship rules. The Irish Free State army contains one good, well-equipped division but is without mechanized force or heavy artillery. There are twelve airplanes, no tanks, and no fortifications. The regular army of roughly twenty thousand men has been augmented in the past few weeks by recruits amounting to some seventy thousand, distributed among the National Army—still untrained and unequipped—the local Security Force, and the Red Cross. All this and much more is abundantly known to the Germans, who maintain a large legation in Dublin and have friendly agents throughout the country with free code communication with Berlin.

The geographical situation is also painfully clear. The island would be invaluable to the Germans in case they wished to establish a siege all around England and to paralyze or attempt to paralyze the western ports. There are many open, relatively flat fields in southern and southeastern Ireland, suitable for landing fields. In addition there is scarcely a place on the island where gliders could not land easily. The Irish seem to be under the delusion that the Germans can land only at airports, of which there are only two in Ireland. The fact that gliders can land practically anywhere has not yet penetrated. Most Irishmen say, "Planes cannot land in a bog or on hills, and most of Ireland is bog or hill." The fact is that a glider lands at twenty miles per hour and can quite comfortably come to rest on a bog or a hillside.

Under these military and geographical conditions it is amazing to an observer to see how little ordinary Irishmen realize their position. Many of them refer to the troubled times twenty years ago—as if those minor guerrilla actions bore any resemblance to modern warfare. Another unreal factor in the situation is Irish confidence in Irish courage. Nobody doubts the Irish are a very brave people. But in contemporary warfare courage is by no means a decisive factor. Reflecting upon events of the past two years all over the world, one finds it downright pathetic that the Irish should place such faith in their own courage when it is, practically speaking, weaponless.

The political dangers of "neutrality" are also very great. Activity in the German legation in Dublin is great. Its protests to the Irish government are numerous and arrive almost daily. Practically anything is accounted a violation of "neutrality" and forms a basis for German protest. It seems to me the Germans in Dublin are acting just as a criminal lawyer acts in piling up objections which, although overruled, nevertheless serve to make out a case later on for appeal.

It is difficult to estimate the activity of the German agents and their sympathizers in Ireland, but it is undoubtedly considerable. Some Irish Republicans have engaged in work with the Germans. One of them, Mrs. Francis Stewart, who is the daughter of the celebrated Maud Gonne, was sentenced to five years' imprisonment this week for harboring a German spy. Three years each were given to some alleged Dutchmen, presumably Ger-


RED CARPET FOR THE INVADER
O'QUISLING: "Would yez like to finish it in German?"
BELFAST
DUBLIN
Low

IRISH ARGUMENT

mans, who landed on the coast of Kerry. Rumors concerning Counties Kerry and Cork are more persistent than any others, and some people in Dublin believe that the activity of German spies there is approaching the maximum.

One of the main anxieties of the Irish leaders at present is to avoid any "excuse" for German invasion. They seem unaware that no excuse will be necessary if the invasion of Ireland seems strategically desirable to the German High Command. If its plan includes Ireland, it will invade Ireland no matter what steps the Irish politicians take to make their neutrality beyond suspicion.

If the worst comes to the worst, my belief is that the Irish will resist the German invader and will not resist any possible British attempt to help them which comes subsequently. Even this is uncertain, however, and there can be little doubt that there would be two fifth columns in Ireland, one pro-British and one pro-German. I doubt whether De Valera could openly appeal for British help even if the Germans came. He is more likely to acquiesce —meanwhile sending eloquent messages to the Pope and to Roosevelt protesting that he wished nothing but peace.

Aviation's Sitdown Strike

BY I. F. STONE

II. Hitler's American Planes

DURING the last war our defense industries were not allowed to write off their new plants at the expense of the Treasury. They paid excess-profits taxes far higher than those now being enacted by Congress. To judge by present-day spokesmen for aviation, this should have been ruinous, especially since the whole period of preparedness and participation lasted less than half the five-year period they seem to consider desirable. Yet the balance sheets of steel, arms, ship, plane, and munitions companies emerged without having been seriously maimed.

Were aviation one of those rugged-individualist industries that neither give nor ask any quarter from government, its insistence on driving a hard bargain at whatever cost to the defense program might evoke the admiration we all have for the bolder forms of piracy. But aviation has been leaning on the government for many years. The Black investigation of air-mail contracts and the Nye committee findings have been too quickly forgotten. It is well to recall that government aid made the development of aviation possible and that the aviation industry in turn played an important part in giving Hitler the world's greatest air fleet. The companies are now intent on cashing in at our government's expense on the menace they helped to create.

Aviation did well last time. Elsbeth E. Freudenthal, a security analyst, presented a vivid summary of aviation's war record in her book "The Aviation Business: From Kitty Hawk to Wall Street." From April, 1917, to November, 1918, the government appropriated a billion and a quarter dollars and actually spent a billion dollars on army planes. But on November 11, 1918, only 196 planes had finally reached the battle front, and 602 were available behind the lines. Charles Evans Hughes, who recommended a court martial for the leading business man on the Aircraft Production Board, investigated aviation's record at the request of Woodrow Wilson. His pre-Armistice report indicated that while there was a lag in production there was no lag in profits. He estimated that Fisher Body, now part of General Motors, would make $5,500,000, that Packard's aircraft investment of $5,500,000 would yield a profit of about $8,000,000, that Ford would make a total of $5,375,000 on 5,000 engines, or a little more than $1,000 profit per engine. On this basis, Ford's boast that he can now turn out 1,000 engines a day may well add insomnia to Mr. Morgenthau's other troubles.

After the war, in the seductive language of a current big-business public-relations campaign, aviation was one of our "new frontiers." But government agencies rather than private enterprise played the major role in clearing that frontier; the Curtisses and Boeings who helped to develop aviation, like the free-lance fliers of the Lindbergh type, received little encouragement from finance. A United States navy plane achieved the first crossing of the Atlantic. United States army fliers made the first round-the-world flight. The army and the Post Office established the first day-and-night air mail and developed it into a regular transcontinental service. Private companies did not take over until after 1925, when air-mail subsidies were established. The air-mail subsidies, the experimental work of the army and navy, and government orders for planes were the basis for aviation's expansion in the latter half of the twenties. More than a billion dollars was given the companies for carrying the mails from 1925 to 1933. The army and navy five-year aviation programs of 1926 and the programs of the succeeding years provided from half to two-thirds of the orders which made the expansion of aircraft manufacture possible from 1927 to 1933.

Thus the government fed both flying and manufacturing, and its aid was requited in characteristic fashion. Holding-company devices were used to milk the air-mail routes, and in the almost complete absence of competitive bidding on army and navy planes the manufacturing companies made huge profits. Pratt and Whitney Aircraft made 73 per cent in one year on army orders, and in 1933, not a boom year, Grumman made a 70 per cent profit. The Nye committee showed that an original $1,000 investment in Pratt and Whitney Aircraft had earned a total of $11,437,250 by 1932, or a total return —I blush for the astronomical figure—of 1,143,725 per cent. By far the largest part of this came from government contracts. An industry so generously fed at the public trough is not in the best moral position to wage a sitdown strike against the defense program.

Aviation, like other arms industries, is not inclined toward pacifism. Berlin and Tokyo have been the main sources whence the blessings of rearmament flow, and both have had the aid of American aviation. This does not mean that American builders of aircraft are sympathetic to the Axis. A strict impartiality has generally characterized the armament business. If our aviation industry sold more than $15,000,000 worth of aircraft to Japan from 1935 to 1938, it sold $20,000,000 worth to China. In Europe, during that period, the Soviet Union was the largest purchaser of American aircraft. Like the Red Cross, armament knows no barrier of blood, class, color, or ideology. But since the defense program against which American aviation is waging its sitdown strike arises largely from the threat of German air power, it is not untimely to survey the part played by American aviation in the creation of this threat.

Three American aviation companies extended aid to Hitler in building up his air fleet: Pratt and Whitney, Curtiss-Wright, and Douglas Aircraft. Equally valuable help was rendered by Sperry Gyroscope, maker of automatic pilots, gyro compasses, and other aviation instruments. At the time of the Nye committee investigation in 1935 the du Ponts, through General Motors, had a sizable interest in all these companies and were of substantial aid to Hitler rearmament in the field of chemicals and munitions as well. In the field of aviation the four companies named gave their aid by direct exports of aircraft in violation of our separate treaty of peace with Germany and by licensing contracts under which American patents were used to manufacture planes, engines, and parts within the Reich. The Nye committee found that our own War and Navy departments permitted this trade to go on in violation of the treaty despite the fact that as early as May, 1931, the policy of the government, as laid down by Stimson when Secretary of State under Hoover, opposed arms exports to Germany.

Not all aviation representatives found the Third Reich as pleasant as Lindbergh did. "I have just returned from Berlin," a United Aircraft emissary reported to the home office in March, 1933, "and was indeed glad to get away from there on account of the Nazi situation at the moment." Nevertheless, he did not overlook business possibilities. "Germany's determination to have an air force," he noted, "is now taking definite form rather rapidly. One of the large bank buildings has been taken over by the aviation bureau. My friend, Dr. Milch, technical director of Lufthansa, has been made state secretary for air 'traffic.' *My conversations with the various departments indicate that their interests extend far beyond matters of traffic . . .*" (my italics). Prior to 1933 United's engine-making subsidiary, Pratt and Whitney, had granted a manufacturing license to the Bavarian Motor Works, but this contract was unsatisfactory. "Our returns from royalties," one United official complained, "were next to nothing." The new Nazi government was anxious to obtain a reliable high-powered, air-cooled engine. (The air-cooled engine, developed with the aid and encouragement of the United States navy after the war by Charles Lawrance, later president of Wright Aeronautical, is lighter and less vulnerable than the water-cooled engine.) In March, 1933, Pratt and Whitney made a new agreement with the Bavarian Motor Works for the manufacture of air-cooled engines. Pratt and Whitney received $200 for each engine manufactured by the Bavarian company and paid $200 to the Bavarian company on each engine sold by Pratt and Whitney to Germany. Ordinarily a licensing agreement of this kind would have given the Bavarian Motor Works a monopoly on the sale of air-cooled engines within the Reich. This agreement envisaged both the manufacture of the Pratt and Whitney engine in Germany and exports of that engine to Germany. Monopoly was not to stand in the way of the Third Reich's aviation expansion.

The exchange of military secrets is common under international arms agreements, but the Nazi government did not like the Pratt and Whitney contract because under it the American company was to get semi-annual statements showing the number of engines manufactured in Germany on the Pratt and Whitney license. No reports were ever made under this agreement, and a year later it was modified in mutually advantageous ways. In place of the royalty the Bavarian works agreed to pay Pratt and Whitney $50,000 a year, and it waived its right to a $200 royalty on each engine Pratt and Whitney exported to the Reich. The principal reason for the change, according to a letter unearthed by the Nye committee, was because "they [the Germans] did not want to reveal the number of engines manufactured." The $50,000 a year flat sum was the equivalent of the royalty which would have been paid under the old agreement for the manufacture of 250 engines. Obviously the new arrangement was profitable to the Nazis only if they intended to manufacture more than 250 a year. As Senator Vandenberg pointed out during the Nye committee hearings in September, 1934, 250 engines were as many as the United States navy then used in a year.

Pratt and Whitney engine exports enjoyed a Hitler boom. In 1932 the American company sold the Reich only $6,000 worth of aircraft; in 1933 the total was $272,000; in the first six months of 1934, $1,445,000. From 1935 to 1938 Germany purchased only $2,225,000 worth of aircraft in this country, but there was a striking increase in aircraft exports from this country to the Netherlands. Holland bought more than $9,000,000 worth of aircraft here, or only $500,000 less than the Soviet Union, our largest European customer in that period. Senator Nye felt that a large part of the shipments to Holland were really destined for the Reich. In 1933 Pratt and Whitney also licensed Fiat of Italy to make the same air-cooled engine.

"Information from an official source, not disclosed in the record" enabled the Nye committee to report that Curtiss-Wright and Douglas Aircraft were also helping to build an air fleet for Germany. The same source informed the committee that Sperry Gyroscope was supplying equipment to the new German air fleet. Sperry Gyroscope also sold manufacturing rights to the Askania Works in Berlin under an agreement calling for exchange of technical information. It is sometimes hard to draw the line between technical information and military secrets. It would be interesting to find out, and perhaps Thurman Arnold is trying to do so now in his grand-jury investigation of international armament agreements, how many American licenses are still being used in German factories under these contracts. International cross-licensing pacts often include price-fixing and sometimes production-control provisions. Royalties from licenses make up a sizable share of aviation-company income.

One also wonders to what extent American aviation companies helped Germany copy the dive bomber developed by the United States navy, now so terrifying a feature of the Nazi air force. "We have been nosing around in the bureau in Washington," the president of Curtiss-Wright Export Corporation wrote in January, 1934, to a sales agent abroad, "and find that they hold as most strictly confidential their dive-bombing tactics and procedure, and they frown upon our even mentioning dive bombing in connection with the Hawks or any other airplane to any foreign powers. It is absolutely unwise and unethical at this time, and probably for some time to come, for us to indicate that we know anything about the technique and tactics of dive bombing." Yet the sales appeal of dive bombing was too much to resist altogether. "It may be all right . . . to put on a dive-bombing show to show the strength of the airplanes," the letter continued, "but to refer in contract to dive bombing or endeavor to teach dive bombing is what I am cautioning against doing." The reader may judge for himself how safe the secret of the dive bomber was under those circumstances.

[*This article will be concluded next week.*]

Can Art Sustain the Artist?

BY CHARMION VON WIEGAND

NOW and then a masterpiece by Rembrandt sells for $200,000, or one by a contemporary American painter for $10,000. You may hear of a cartoonist who has a $20,000 contract with a newspaper chain, or of an illustrator who makes $30,000 a year drawing covers for a national weekly. Yet most artists cannot make a living. Men of great plastic gifts and outstanding reputation have been glad to get the fortnightly WPA check of $43.80.

As a commodity art has a market value that is determined by the taste of the period as formed by critics, art teachers, museum officials, drawing-rooms, and art galleries. It also has immaterial values, and as these are hallowed by time, they acquire a money value which they did not have during the artist's lifetime. A painting by Van Gogh, who died in abject poverty, is today a gilt-edged security tested by the years. The work of living artists, on the other hand, is an unknown quantity, for spiritual values are hard to evaluate when they are new.

Some forms of creative art impinge directly on commercial objects of everyday use. The painter in his studio, like the research scientist in his laboratory, creates patterns and forms which the popularizer transmits to household articles. Experiments in design by modern artists which startled the world a generation ago are accepted casually today on the counters of Sears, Roebuck and Woolworth's. The painter's conceptions find their way into fabrics, china, furniture, and wallpaper, and thus art moves toward the desired integration with our industrial life. The artist, however, rarely gets a penny for this service, and his economic status remains precarious. This is partly because of the technical nature of his work.

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Painting and sculpture are essentially handicraft arts surviving in an industrial world. The pace of production is slow in an age of swift machines; the necessary skill can be acquired only after long, arduous study. The mature artist's financial reward is very small for the time and labor he has spent, quite apart from those intangible qualities which render his product a work of art.

Economic handicaps, however, do not discourage gifted people from taking up art as a profession. The 1930 census of occupations listed some 57,000 painters, sculptors, and art teachers in the United States, and the past ten years have increased this number considerably. A survey now being made by the Young American Artists estimates that there are more than 20,000 art students in the country, of whom about 8,000 are in and around New York City. Most young art students want to practice the fine arts—easel and mural painting, sculpture, and the graphic arts—but they do not expect to make money from them; in this respect, art differs from other professions. The genuine artist does not work in order to make money; he makes money in order to work. Art is for him not a means of livelihood but a mode of life. Yet a livelihood must be made, and except in rare cases this means a severe struggle. Art teachers still repeat the old story about Corot, who said to a pupil: "You have talent, but have you an independent income?"

We can follow the economic career of the artist by starting with him, for example, at the Art Students' League in New York, which has about 1,200 students a year and is considered one of the best schools in America. More than half the students at the League are partially or wholly self-supporting. About 15 per cent of them have working scholarships, paying their tuition by doing various jobs for the school. Others work outside as waiters, laundrymen, factory hands, secretaries, salesmen. The *vie de Bohème* may be mere amusement for the rich eccentric, but it is an economic solution for the art student, who makes a virtue of necessity and accepts the cold-water loft or slum studio as part of the fun.

After the student is out of school, the need to keep his talent alive leads him to self-directed study whose aim is insight into men, places, objects, society, and the laws of plastics. He associates with other artists, attends exhibits, hears lectures; he discusses theories of painting, ancient and modern masters, the technical details of paint, brush, and canvas. When he can, he travels, even if only in a Model T. Most of the older artists have spent some time in Europe, but since the depression, the rise of regional painting, and now the war, artists roam around the United States or go to Mexico.

On such experiences the artist's talent thrives. Keeping the body alive is another story. The beginner without an independent income or social connections of one kind or another cannot hope to live by his creative art. His first one-man show—which gives him, as a rule, only prestige—is a long way off. Often he manages to survive by working in the periphery arts—drawing cartoons or illustrations, designing furniture or fabrics, making advertising layouts, fashion plates, or posters, or planning window displays for department stores. He may be lucky enough to get a fellowship for a year, or he may find a private patron willing to invest in his future; but he cannot count on such breaks. Many artists, therefore, try to obtain an income by teaching art. Often this remains for them throughout their life the economic base from which they can continue to grow as artists and to sell their work. The list of Art Students' League teachers reads like a roster of American art. Among the outstanding artists who in the past supplemented their income by teaching at the League one recalls Kenyon Cox, Childe Hassam, Boardman Robinson, Robert Henri, George Luks, Max Weber, Kenneth Hayes Miller, Frederick MacMonnies, Augustus St. Gaudens, and John Sloan.

A teacher at the League receives on an average about $1,000 a year. In some colleges and universities the art teacher's pay is higher, but in order to obtain a good teaching post the artist must already have some reputation or influential connections. He may be thankful to have the work, but as a rule he feels that teaching takes something from his creative energies which should go directly into his art. The persistent dream of every artist is to liberate himself from periphery activities and earn his living through his creative work alone.

The artist usually brings his work to the attention of the public by showing in non-jury or jury-chosen group exhibitions. Here the dealer may find the new painter or sculptor he wants to sponsor. A one-man show at some gallery is the artist's official debut. The economic center of the art world lies along East Fifty-seventh Street and Fifth Avenue in New York. Large houses like Brummer, Durand-Ruel, Knoedler, Bignou, or Wildenstein deal for the most part in European masters. Their canvases are displayed like rare jewels in an atmosphere of taste and luxury and are priced accordingly. At one time this type of gallery dominated the field, and it very seldom handled living American artists. But the Armory Show of 1913 marked a sharp break in taste which affected art patrons and eventually the public at large. The Independents, organized in 1917, continued the fight for modern art, and the galleries of Stieglitz, Montross, Daniels, and Bourgeois were the first to exhibit it. Since then there have come into existence many new galleries which handle chiefly living American and European artists. A few are devoted exclusively to American art. A new type of gallery addressed particularly to the middle class emphasizes American scenes and traditions as against the French tradition and uses modern methods of publicity, advertising, and distribution. Such firms have a mail-order business ranging from framed five-dollar prints to $10,000 oil paintings.

The average dealer takes 33⅓ per cent of every work sold through him. Some dealers claim they cannot make a profit on this basis because of their high overhead—rent, catalogues, and publicity—and urge a 50 per cent commission, as in the jewelry trade. Very few American dealers buy an artist's work outright or give him a yearly contract, as was formerly often done by Paris dealers. The artist's overhead on a single painting based on the cost of his studio, materials, and models, may range from $10 to $150. In sculpture the costs are even higher, and in the crowded conditions of modern living the potential buying public is even more limited.

No complete survey has ever been made of the economic status of artists, and since they are as apt to conceal or exaggerate their incomes as any other class, one is compelled to rely chiefly upon hearsay. It is said that some portrait and mural painters have reached the dizzy heights of $100,000 a year, but to judge the economics of art by these standards would be like judging the economics of newspaper work by Walter Winchell's income. Publicized painters—possibly Grant Wood or Thomas Benton—may earn through all their varied activities in art and its periphery fields from $15,000 to $20,000 a year. But the average successful painter earns through sales of pictures and teaching from $2,000 to $6,000 a year. Much depends on the personality of the artist, on complex social and publicity factors, and on the readiness of the public to grasp the artist's vision. Max Weber, acknowledged as one of America's greatest living artists, and an important pioneer of modernism, has known both bitter struggle and monetary success; at best his income cannot remotely touch that of a fashionable portrait painter like Sert. The more profound the artist's insight the longer he may be compelled to wait for widespread recognition and a lucrative market.

This description of the artist's situation has so far been based chiefly on the careers of a small number of men operating within the framework of the traditional patron-dealer-museum system. Until the thirties that system was the only outlet for the artist, and his customers were rich collectors and the museums. The economic depression dealt the patronage system a severe blow. Art markets collapsed, and artists who had been earning a fair living were reduced to poverty. There were sidewalk sales of art in New York and Chicago; artists became "socially conscious," joined labor and radical protest groups, changed the contents of their pictures to reflect the life around them, and like other affected trades and professions demanded economic relief from the government. This movement had far-reaching results. Artists ceased to be isolated craftsmen and began to organize into social and economic groups. At the same time the general public was made aware of the real status of art and artists in the communi [illegible] t poverty, is today a

The response of the New Deal to this movement was the creation of the Federal Art Project as part of the WPA. At the peak (1936) more than 5,000 persons were on the project's pay roll, the majority of these in New York. At that time plastic artists received $23.89 a week. Since then the pay has been cut to $87.60 a month, work hours have been lengthened, and the number of persons on the project in New York has been brought down to 1,000, with threats of further reductions.

The Art Project has not only given a minimum of subsistence to the artist on the basis of his work, but has also been a vital force bringing art to the community and stimulating popular interest in the arts. It has decorated public buildings, sent traveling art exhibits through the country, created hundreds of free art classes for children and adults, serviced hospitals, orphanages, and penal institutions with various forms of art, art teaching, and art therapeutics, and created the largest public that art has ever had in this country. Through the WPA art has ceased to be individual production and become mass production. In four years the four creative divisions of the Art Project have completed 63,007 works. These include 136 murals, 2 stained glass windows, 9,766 easel paintings, 1,909 sculptural figures and architectural works, 48,816 lithographs, etchings, and woodblocks, and 2,387 designs for graphic prints.

When artists became employees working for wages, they organized a trade union to protect their economic interests. The original Artists' Union later merged with the United American Artists, and has now become a national organization affiliated with the C. I. O. It has about 2,000 members throughout the country, most of them being on the WPA rolls. The Sculptors' Guild and the Mural Artists' Guild are affiliated with the A. F. of L. as part of the United Scenic Artists. These trade unions have been carrying on a courageous fight for the maintenance of the Art Project and a decent wage scale.

When the artist is dropped from WPA, he has no certain way of earning a living. Only a very small percentage of the money spent by our museums is used for living American art, and the general public is not yet accustomed to buying pictures. People who freely purchase radios, automobiles, and books have a queer attitude toward the plastic arts. Either they know an artist personally and feel he should dash off something for them free of charge, or they imagine that all paintings are in the $10,000 class. Both public and artist would benefit if it were more widely realized that good living American art can be bought at reasonable prices. Today as never before many factors are combining for the development of a great American art. The urgent problem is to keep the artist alive while he creates this art.

[*This article will be followed from time to time by discussions of the economic status of other groups of professional workers.*]

Within the Gates

HITLER'S most trusted lieutenant in the Western Hemisphere today is Fritz Wiedemann, consul general for the western district of the United States. The work of a consul general, according to accepted international definition, is limited to the supervision of "the commercial interests of citizens of the appointing government," but there is more than circumstantial evidence to show that Captain Wiedemann, who during the World War was Hitler's immediate superior, is the most important Nazi agent in the Americas.

The most recent proof that his activities are something more than consular was provided a few weeks ago by the arrest in Los Angeles of Dr. Herbert Höhne, a German national who had been acting as a representative of a German drug firm. At the time of his arrest, which was ordered after he had booked passage for Buenos Aires by way of the Canal Zone, Dr. Höhne had in his possession dispatches from the German Foreign Office to three German agents in Mexico and Central America, a new secret code admittedly given him by Wiedemann, and a letter on consulate stationery certifying that he carried diplomatic communications which "according to internationally accepted rules and customs . . . are exempt from inspections."

Dr. Höhne was indicted on two counts—for "feloniously acting as a courier" between the consul general and agents in Latin America, and for failure to register with the State Department as a foreign agent. Although he admitted that Dr. Höhne was acting under his instructions, Captain Wiedemann refused to post bail for his courier. However, the required $15,000 was eventually provided by a surety company which refused to make public the identity of the guarantor. That Captain Wiedemann's authority is at least equal to that of Acting Ambassador Hans Thomsen is indicated by his admission to the grand jury that all Berlin-Latin American dispatches clear through his office.

But perhaps the most conclusive evidence to support the charge that Wiedemann is the ranking German agent in the Americas is to be found in the records of the famous spy trials of October, 1938. Testifying in his own behalf, one of the defendants, Günther Gustav Rumrich, swore that his immediate superior, Theodor Weigand, received his instructions direct from Wiedemann. Rumrich was found guilty, but Wiedemann, protected by "diplomatic immunity," emerged unscathed.

Currently more widely discussed than Captain Wiedemann, at least in the New York newspapers, is Dr. Gerhardt Alois Westrick, commercial counselor for the German embassy. The publicity Dr. Westrick has received will probably result in his recall to Germany, for a Nazi agent ceases to be effective when his every move is spotlighted in the press. His recall is practically assured by the disclosure that he is a law partner of Dr. Heinrich Albert, who served as an espionage agent in the United States during the World War.

Dr. Westrick's official mission, which apparently was to establish or renew amicable relations between American industrialists and a victorious Germany, may have been perfectly legitimate, but his conduct has been irregular, to say the least. His use of an alias, "Mr. A. Webster," his falsification of an application for a driver's license, his deposit of $5,000,000 in a San Francisco bank, his furtive behavior in his Scarsdale retreat, where he entertained a variety of guests ranging from the chairman of the board of the Texas Company to an obscure mechanic in an iron foundry—these were not the acts, it is believed, of a diplomat whose sole mission was to promote better trade relations.

The curiosity of the press concerning Dr. Westrick has resulted in the resignation of Torkild Rieber as chairman of the board of the Texas Company. It was Rieber who carried a "peace" message from Göring to Administration officials in Washington in February of this year, and it was Rieber who supplied Franco with oil during the Spanish civil war. Mr. Rieber used the funds of his company to purchase an automobile for the German agent, claiming later that he considered this a loan to Westrick. At the time of his resignation he asserted that the Texas Company had not shipped its products to Germany since the beginning of the war. Yet Mrs. Harold Stephen Kuhn, wife of the Paris representative of the company, on her recent arrival in New York, said Texas oil was still being sold in Germany.

Another German official repeatedly guilty of irregular practices is Consul General Baron Edgar von Spiegel, whose district includes eight Southern states. Early in 1939 Baron von Spiegel, in the name of his government, offered the University of Tampa a gift of German books on condition that he choose both the books and the head of the university's German Department. He assured Dr. John Harvey Sherman, president of the university, that it was the regular practice of his government to provide books to universities—but only on those conditions. It may be noted that the head of the German Department at that time was Otto P. Kraus, a Viennese and an eloquent anti-Nazi. After Dr. Sherman heard the condition, he declined the gift and ordered the consul general from his office. Later von Spiegel boasted he had sent books to twenty-five Southern universities.

Baron von Spiegel will probably not be giving away books here much longer. In June he made the public statement that "Germany will not forget that, when she was fighting bitterly for her very life, the United States gave every material aid to her enemies." In response to a protest by Governor Jones of Louisiana, Secretary of State Hull ordered an investigation, after which he notified the German embassy that diplomatic and consular officials must refrain from public discussions of this country's policies and attitudes. Baron von Spiegel was summoned to Washington, where, significantly, he was not met at the airport by his superiors.

The New York consulate, under the direction of Consul General Johannes Borchers and Vice-Consul Friedhelm Dräger, has done an effective job in the field of propaganda. It is no coincidence that the German Library of Information, spearhead of Nazi propaganda in the United States, is located next door to the consulate. During the latter days of the Weimar Republic the consul general had a staff of thirty-three. Today Dr. Borchers has a staff of more than one hundred. The Library of Information employs another twenty-five. The latest addition to the consular staff is Dr. Friedrich Ried, whose extra-consular activities in Brazil caused the Vargas government to demand his recall.

QUESTION: What has happened to "classical" economics since the 1930's? Why are the so-called "immutable" laws unable to explain this new economic world? If we, as a nation, have so much money that millions of us are close to the starvation line, what is the answer to our dilemma?

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In the Wind

THE PRESS RECENTLY reported the temporary settlement of the labor dispute in the Boeing aircraft factories in Seattle. The company, though jammed with war orders, was trying to slash wages, and a strike threatened. On the day negotiations over the wage cut broke off, the wires carried this dispatch from Saratoga Springs: "The highest price for a yearling at the 1940 thoroughbred sales—$15,000—was paid last night by W. E. Boeing, Seattle airplane manufacturer, for a bay son of Pharamond II."

A STORM IS brewing among Negro groups over the army's rejection of Negro applicants for the United States air corps. Numbers of Negroes have kept applying, though they are always rejected in accordance with the army's long-standing Jim Crow policy. The conscription debate has given new life to the campaign against the ban.

NEWSPAPER ACCOUNTS of the close connection between Torkild Rieber, chairman of the board of the Texas Company, and Gerhardt Westrick, Hitler's commercial envoy, resulted in an immediate sharp drop in sales of Texaco products. This spontaneous boycott was the real reason for Rieber's resignation. (See Within the Gates for comment on Westrick's mission.)

OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD has not quite come out for Willkie. In a letter to the *New Republic* criticizing that journal's support of Roosevelt, Mr. Villard says: "I hold no brief for Mr. Willkie. . . ." But he adds: "I am willing to run the risk, if necessary, of a period of social reaction rather than the certain prospect that four years more of Roosevelt inefficiency and headless groping will lead . . . etc."

D. HIDEN RAMSEY, general manager of the Asheville (North Carolina) *Times,* was recently named president of the state-controlled North Carolina Railroad. The *Times* published this A. P. dispatch on the appointment: "Each year the governor has named a newspaperman as either president or secretary of the railroad. The jobs are regarded as exceedingly choice 'political plums' as there is very little work involved in earning the $1,000 salary."

IN THE "*Vanity Fair* Book of 1931" appeared this sentence about Winston Churchill: "He is a leader of lost causes and when England becomes lost he will again be called to leadership."

WHEN THE FILM "The Man I Married," based on the story "I Married a Nazi," opened in Des Moines recently, publicity men hired two youths to walk down the street wearing Storm Troop uniforms. They were nearly mobbed.

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind—either clippings with source and date of stories that can be clearly authenticated. A prize of $5 will be awarded each month for the best item.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

A Native at Large

BY JONATHAN DANIELS

IN MR. WILLKIE'S case life began at forty-one—that is, the big life along the American way. It began in October, 1933, when the boy from Elwood, Indiana, who had been for only ten months a big holding-company executive, met another Indiana college graduate, seven years his junior, who had even more recently gone beyond big-city law practice into the federal government's expanding power operations. When Wendell Willkie met David Lilienthal in the Cosmos Club in Washington that October day, both were at the beginnings of new worlds in new times.

America at that moment was being very confidently transformed. Even brokers blessed Roosevelt. Hugh Johnson was noisily and joyously laying lamb down by lion and lion down by lamb. The President chatted to the people, and the people purred to the President. But some fingers were crossed. The politicians had not entirely disappeared. Indeed, the day called for a new strange mixture of politicians in big corporations and business men in the spreading functions of government.

Mr. Willkie's record as candidate nearly eight years later remains almost entirely based on his dealings with Lilienthal from October, 1933, until the transfer of the properties of his Commonwealth and Southern's Tennessee Electric Power Company to TVA on August 15, 1939. His magazine articles, his book reviews, his speeches, all drew their importance from those dealings. No other activities pushed him up to the nomination for the Presidency. America's knowledge of his ability and charm depends on his part in the Tennessee war with the other charming, able man from the same Middle West.

In their accomplishments and in themselves these men illustrate the change which has taken place in business and government in our times. They are the opposites of each other and yet strangely alike. Both were Hoosier boy orators. Both loved—and still love—to spout ideas. Both followed the local-boy-who-made-good-in-the-big-city pattern. Both have been out of the active private practice of the law about the same length of time. The similarity stops there, and the striking new difference begins.

Lilienthal is a new kind of business man in government. He is running a business with a sixteen million gross and a half-billion investment. That tremendous job is a government job, and for it he gets only $10,000 a year. But it is more business than government. As business man in government he deserves more credit than anybody else for the new theory of volume sale of power at low rates which at last even the most hard-boiled utility men are pushing—and with profit.

Willkie was a new kind of politician in business. He was active in politics in Akron. He was tempted to run for Congress before he headed for New York. He was sufficiently prominent in politics to be a delegate to Democratic conventions. His job, he said, was to "stave off the wolves." Such a politician in business was born of the new importance of government in carrying out business policies. His nomination indicates that, as far as he himself is concerned, he succeeded at that job.

The rest is not quite so clear. There is the story that Willkie was something new in the utility world sweeping out the old wickednesses, bringing new imagination and new service to free enterprise's service of the people. There is the story that Willkie won a great triumph for free enterprise over the destroying TVA. Undoubtedly these stories will be both pressed and challenged by campaign orators. There will be plenty of dust to stir about newspaper subsidies, election methods, dollar-a-year vacation sites for politicians on company lakes.

But slickness has not been so significant as stubbornness. The major blunders of Commonwealth and Southern under the man from Elwood were probably due to honest bad judgment and lack of creative administrative imagination. One of Willkie's chief difficulties as propagandist for private power in the Valley was explaining away the increasing earnings that followed rate reductions forced on his companies by TVA, reductions which he insisted, as they were forced upon him, were destroying private enterprise. Some of his private enterprise has been sold. But if Willkie's companies had followed the TVA pattern of selling much power at low rates in 1934 instead of stubbornly waiting until 1939, he never would have had to sell properties, for public ownership would have had no advantages.

Mr. Willkie is a long way from the Tennessee Valley now, but things are still happening there. Edward R. Stettinius, Jr., head of United States Steel, in his capacity as member of the National Defense Advisory Commission recently sternly criticized Congressmen who blocked quick action on a $25,000,000 TVA appropriation for a new dam to make more power. As a part of American security now, he said, additional TVA power was "absolutely essential." Willkie, who had said that TVA was creating a dangerous "surplus" of power, was out in Colorado working on his acceptance speech.

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

Freedom Square

THE DEFENDERS. By Franz Hoellering. Translated from the German by Ludwig Lewisohn. Little, Brown and Company. $2.75.

I HAVE never been in Austria, but this warm, pulsing novel about the collapse of democracy in Vienna in 1934 rekindles a dead event in such a way that I can truly say, "Yes, this is a story of *my* past." It brings back memories of midnight hours on lower Seventh Avenue in New York, when many of us haunted the newsstands, waiting for the *Times* with Birchall's latest dispatch from Vienna—hours when it seemed possible, though scarcely probable, that the Austrian working class would make the stand which German workers, Communists and Social Democrats alike, had failed to make in Berlin in 1933. The Austrian workers did fight after a fashion, some of them bravely, but it was not enough; and I remember reading Birchall's elegiac "Socialism has again missed the boat." It seemed a prefiguration of all the defeats that were to come—as, indeed, it was.

Franz Hoellering, who knows what it is to flee with the breath of Nazism hot on his neck, has caught the feeling of 1934 with all of its foreboding, and in so doing he has written a novel that is history with a difference. Most novels of pregnant historical events have a chilly spectatorial quality: Upton Sinclair's recent "World's End" is a case in point. But "The Defenders"—like Malraux's "Man's Fate"—is warm with a sense of participation. Where a Sinclair presents everything through the eyes of an onlooker, a method which almost invariably results in a diminished intensity, Hoellering lets his story come to you through the nerve ends of a score of vital protagonists. At first Hoellering seems rather elusive; his aim is not clear. The Hoellering technique is the old Victorian wheel-technique; and while the author is busy setting his spokes into the hub, preparatory to giving the wheel its whirl, the novel seems scattered and random. The cafe intellectuals talk (mostly about who is sleeping with whom), and a bomb explodes in the cloakroom. The Herr Baron Wiesner decides to quit the diplomatic service; he wants to marry Maria Steiger, the daughter of the famous Professor Steiger, and begin life all over again at his mountain estate of Langenbruck. Meanwhile, as Wiesner is scoffing at the universal compulsion to be "with history," a contagious neurosis which the Nazis have picked up from the Marxists of all sects, the various homes of Vienna react to "history" in characteristic ways. In his house on Freedom Square Professor Steiger refuses to submit his scientific pursuits to the "test" of politics; for him, there is no such thing as a "patriotic" mathematics. His daughter, Maria, plays the piano and dreams; she is titillated by the respectful courtship of Wiesner, but at bottom she is dubious about a future in an Alpine ivory tower. Although she scarcely realizes it as yet, the ardor of Karl Merk, a young engineer (and Marxist), appeals to her more. She has met Merk while skiing in the mountains. In the home of the Socialist Councilor Birkmeier, son Joseph—a figure out of a Clifford Odets drama—rails against the "petty-bourgeois" flavor of his father's radicalism, while daughter Pepitta dreams of her engagement to sing at the party of the old Count Uexcuell. (Count Uexcuell is the famous "red" general who once refused to shoot down strikers; his son, whom he hates, is a leader of the Heimwehr, stooge organization for Mussolini.)

And so it goes, as Hoellering fits his spokes into the hub. There are many more spokes than I have indicated; for the Nazis are busy "penetrating" Austria even as the Heimwehr hopes to clear the streets of Vienna for itself. And in the working-class districts some of the Socialists, in revolt against old leaders like Birkmeier and the tired Deputy Hippmann, are busy turning to the exacting work of underground organization. Hoellering introduces a few fantastic characters as pure commentary: there is Ott, who is always learning the "lesson" of history on the morning after, and there is Robinson, an actor who has quit the stage to study the details of old military campaigns. At a crucial moment in the story Robinson remarks that "force is still decisive." And, to give contemporary meaning to Robinson's philosophizing, there is Wiesner's old friend, the World War veteran Bodo Kleist. Kleist makes his appearance merely to say, "We must win the next war." It is that conviction, strongest of all the jostling convictions in the German communities of central Europe, that is ultimately to determine the issue that lies just beyond the last page of Hoellering's story.

Suddenly, after much work in a static dimension, Hoellering gives his wheel a whirl. Faster and faster it goes. It is a wheel of many colors, and as it turns, the colors blend with the illusion of quick-paced life. The day of the "final conflict" prophesied in the Internationale approaches; then almost without warning, the conflict bursts upon Karl Merk and his comrades. Everything issues in action: Maria quits Wiesner for Merk, people are jailed and killed. Merk himself is wounded; later he is discovered by the Heimwehr and dragged off to his death. And at the close of the story, as the wheel slows down, the Nazis burn a fiery cross on one of the foothills of the Vienna Forest. Everything subsides into commentary once more: the cafe intellectuals speculate on the meaning of history, the Baron Wiesner is bored, Robinson laughs and shouts "Heil," and, in the working-class districts, Mother Merk—Karl's mother—nourishes her secret. She still knows where some arms are cached.

There is no explicit analysis in "The Defenders," no "dialectical materialism" long drawn out, no theorizing about the sad position of Vienna, the capital without a hinterland. Neither Dollfuss nor Starhemberg is mentioned—or, if they are, I have forgotten it. Yet the novel is history in the three dimensions of space and the one dimension of time; it lives, it moves. In another setting the heroics of Karl Merk and his mother, and of Maria Steiger, would seem like hokum; here, in the charged atmosphere which Hoellering creates, the heroism seems plausible and right. I judge that this is Hoellering's first novel; but the work is finished and mature. He knows how to put you under a spell, which is the final test of any creative artist.

JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

The Forgotten Issue

IDLE MONEY, IDLE MEN. By Stuart Chase. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $2.

ABOUT the time Mr. Chase must have been reading proof on this book, Wendell Willkie was publishing the last of his pre-convention articles in the *Saturday Evening Post*. In that article Mr. Willkie was talking about something which, in June, seemed very important—the debt. In order to drive his point home he conjured up the image of a town which instead of paying its bills financed itself as "prodigal Uncle Sam" has under Roosevelt. Clearly, he argued, it would not be long before bankruptcy crushed this town, forcing its inhabitants to drift to more prosperous places. The moral of this illustration was, of course, its application to the national economy. We could not help envisaging the spectacle of millions of pauperized Americans, their backs broken under an unbearable burden of government debt, slowly filing out of the United States.

But as Mr. Willkie and all other practical men must agree today, Hitler has made the budget America's forgotten issue. To promise that spontaneous economic combustion would result from balancing the budget (while simultaneously taxes would be lowered!) is no longer simply irrational; it is irrelevant. And to argue that we must gamble on the chance that balancing the budget will produce prosperity before we can afford to pay for the defense program now under way would be treason if anyone took it seriously. The fact is that the United States is now going into the biggest boom in history: its budget should reach the level of something like $25,000,000,000 a year; federal taxes which have come to about $6,000,000,000 a year, can be expected only to double—to about $12,000,000,000; this will leave a yearly deficit of something like $13,000,000,000—enough to double the present national debt in about three and one-half years; and everybody will be too frightened of Hitler and too busy working to worry much about the debt. As a matter of fact, it is not too much to say that if Mr. Willkie should happen to be elected, his success might be due to the popular belief that he would unbalance the budget—for defense—faster and more efficiently than Mr. Roosevelt.

All of which is the point of Mr. Chase's conclusion. Popular pressure for peaceful prosperity during the last eight years has not been great enough to permit the New Deal to go ahead with its program for expanding the economy to new dimensions. Only the present crisis, which raises the question of our survival as a nation, has been a powerful enough lever to set in motion the activity needed to provide full employment at higher than the present limit of full production. What makes Mr. Chase's book so timely and valuable is the fact that until last month he was simply talking sense, and there was not a chance of his getting what he wanted. Today his objectives belong in the same political dead-file as the Golden Rule; and yet the very fiscal program—for plenty—which he advocated in the antediluvian days when Mr. Willkie was balancing the budget has become the country's No. 1 must—for defense. And no one seems to be worrying about the cost.

Mr. Chase's first chapter, Back of the Budget, is a masterpiece of primer writing. It should be of great service to the many anti-New Dealers who have never had to have any reason for anticipating calamity as a result of unbalanced budgets, but who must now advocate bigger and better deficits for defense. And it may persuade many business men that the function of an unbalanced budget is to offset the unbalance between oversaving and underinvestment which, when uninterfered with, causes depressions. As Mr. Chase says, you can take your choice between an unbalanced budget and an unbalanced economy.

Unfortunately, the rest of the book is not by any means up to the standard set by the first chapter. Several light essays, which contribute nothing to the problem posed, are reproduced from various magazines. Toward the end, when Mr. Chase should be amplifying his first chapter by explaining *why* we may be grateful that we don't have to worry about the budget, he gets into trouble. The definitive answer is to be found in Laughlin Currie's testimony before the TNEC, the New Deal's leading contribution to current economic analysis. Currie's testimony is indeed summarized, but it is not made to stand out. What does emerge instead as *the* argument for government spending is an unfortunate statistical error on the part of the junior staff men with whom Mr. Chase was associated in the TNEC. This, briefly, consists in identifying total corporate allowances for depreciation with their actual cash appropriations for new equipment, and in concluding from this that the depreciation allowance of United States business accounts for most of its investment, so that there is no need for it to draw on the vast reservoir of idle savings—which must be invested if our idle men are to go to work. The fact is that depreciation account is just a bookkeeping affair. As I have shown in *The Nation*, the railroads have made handsome allowances for depreciation and then used the cash for other purposes. Only the most efficient and profitable corporations are in the habit of investing their paper depreciation in new plant, and they constitute only a fraction of the total. Since Mr. Chase is in general so right, it is unfortunate that he should leave himself vulnerable by using wrong arguments. The retailer of merchandise should not, however, bear all the blame for the errors of the manufacturers. And Mr. Chase's great usefulness is due to his supreme talent as an intellectual retailer. It is to be hoped that in the future he will receive a more uniform quality of merchandise.

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IN BRIEF

THE POOL OF VISHNU. By L. H. Myers. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $2.75.

An exotic, philosophical novel of sixteenth-century India; a continuation of "The Root and the Flower." For a very special audience, in spite of a highly complex plot woven of intrigue and insurrection under the Emperor Akbar. Mr. Myers's polished prose, with its almost Biblical serenity, underlines the book's remoteness from our bomb-scented atmosphere.

GEORGE CALEB BINGHAM OF MISSOURI. By Albert Christ-Janer. Dodd, Mead and Company. $5.

In spite of new detail and obviously sincere intentions this biography remains unsatisfactory. Backgrounds are essential for an understanding of Bingham, but here they are only haltingly touched upon and never evoked. The main characters fail to come alive, and Bingham's work is untested by historical or aesthetic standards. Yet the book supersedes the earlier slight studies of this early painter of the pioneer West, and since the writer maps out the field with care and accuracy, it will be useful to the student until a richer study is produced. There are numerous reproductions in black and white of Bingham's paintings, with seven in color.

ALEXANDER THE GREAT. By Lewis V. Cummings. Houghton Mifflin Company. $3.75.

This painstaking study of the first world conqueror is made noteworthy by an unusual talent for historical geography and a vivid realization of military strategy. These qualities are not matched, however, by psychological insight or narrative gift. The style is pedestrian and repetitious; and although the author has consulted all the best scholars and carefully weighs his statements, he is capable of spelling classical proper names in several different ways within two or three pages.

A HISTORY OF STONE & KIMBALL AND HERBERT S. STONE & CO. With a Bibliography of Their Publications, 1893-1905. By Sidney Kramer. Preface by Frederic G. Melcher. University of Chicago Press. $4.

The story of how two Chicago boys, just out of Harvard, brought out Eugene Field, George Ade, and Hamlin Garland, originated the *Chap Book,* and became the American publishers of Ibsen, Shaw, and Verlaine is more than a volume for collectors and professional bookmen. It is an interesting chapter in the story of the intellectual origins of the recent past in America.

THE PEOPLE TALK. By Benjamin Appel. E. P. Dutton and Company. $3.

This is a report of the author's extended automobile trip through the country, made to learn and record what Americans are thinking these days, especially about their jobs, if any. Considering his approach, which seems to have been that of the inexperienced reporter with pencil and notebook, people showed unusual responsiveness. What they have to say is not always interesting or significant, but Mr. Appel puts down their remarks just the same. One feels that there are supposed to be serious implications, but it is hard to discover them. Almost the only element common to these hundreds of people seems to be dissatisfaction with their lot. And even this feeling has widely divergent causes —one blames the President, another the Jews, or the machine, or the union, or the open shop. If the book says anything, it says that capitalist democracy has been pretty good, but not nearly good enough.

DANCE

Bennington Festival, 1940

LAST week it became apparent that the search for "theater-poetry" which distinguished the work of Yeats at the Abbey Theater, of Copeau and the Compagnie des Quinze, of Cocteau and Eliot, had found a new base for operations at Bennington College, Vermont. The School of the Dance has added music and drama to its curriculum this summer. By so doing it has set up a stage where the three arts may complement each other and combine, and thus move toward that working heaven we recognize in the theater of the Greeks and the Noh play; a combination which Cocteau has named for our century "theater-poetry."

Those parts of the threefold cycle of programs where one art functioned alone were, as might have been expected, the most professional and achieved. The recital of contemporary music under Otto Luening offered proficient performances of the work of Marc Blitzstein, Charles Ives, Ernst Bacon, Paul Bowles, Robert McBride. The concert of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century music directed by Ralph Kirkpatrick, though it presented beautiful and seldom-heard music, seemed somewhat irrelevant to the contemporary tone of the festival, but reflected, one hopes, no deep confusion in purpose. In music, as formerly in dance, Bennington finds distinction in being "completely modern."

Also at a high level of artistic realization were Martha Graham's "Every Soul Is a Circus" and a new work, "El Penitente." The former, seen in New York last winter, remains one of those delightful virtuosities a very great artist can afford: when the serious pattern is so securely caught that the harlequin thread only enriches with its caprice. "El Penitente," told in the manner of a Mystery play, is built on Southwestern purification rituals. It is so simple that some of its significance eludes one; it is a dance that will deepen with the repeated seeing that its humble beauty deserves. The massive agility and Aztec mask that Erick Hawkins has brought to Miss Graham's group find here their most effective use thus far.

Less successful as performance but of greater value to the discovery of theater-poetry were the two offerings in which music, dance, and drama (rhythm, movement, words) worked together. These were a play by Francis Fergusson, "The King and the Duke," and "Letter to the World," a collaboration of Martha Graham and Arch Lauterer.

Fergusson took his story from "Huckleberry Finn," using the words of the original introduced by and interspersed with dancing and musical speech. Floatin' down the River, Huck and the two tramps go ashore to impersonate a dead man's heirs, are discovered, run away, are swallowed up again by the River. In this Americana Fergusson has revealed a deeper "cynical fable," which is mostly suggested by the dances designed by Martha Hill and the folk tunes imitated in the music of Gregory Tucker. Static scenes interrupted by rhythmic interludes give it the jerky effect of a Broadway musical, and in this way it fails for the most part to weld drama and dance into a whole. In a few scenes, such as the lynching, it does get a fused depth of meaning and movement that nothing since "Murder in the Cathedral" has approached.

Miss Graham has built her "Letter to the World" on the tradition of Emily Dickinson's life. The libretto consists of lines from her poetry spoken by The One in White, who is the external New England woman. Coming from her, returning to her, through love, death, ecstasy, dances The One in Red, the inner self of the poet. Miss Graham in this last role suggests again the purity of her "Primitive Mysteries," the puritan agony of "Act of Piety," and becomes, as is characteristic of her genius, the embodiment of the life she plays. As is apparent, the work lacks almost all dramatic structure; it is thematic, rather. Its achievement is that the words—so rightly spoken by Margaret Meredith—and the consequent movement flow in one line; they both seem to come from an antecedent buoyancy on which the inner and the outer lives alike ride.

Comparing the play with the dance, it would appear that music, drama, dance find their true relationships when some theme is discovered which naturally engenders all three, and which needs all three for its fullest expression. Specific events and their sum, a story, must be preserved, as Fergusson knows; and there also must be the fluent world of inner life that Miss Graham uses. The problems are many and will only be solved in practice such as this expanded Bennington School of the Arts makes possible. The new direction taken this year began to be apparent in the Dance School a few years back. With attendant fumbling, risk, and difficulties, the planners and performers have gone forward. Today they represent the advance guard of theater experimentation, in a world where the opportunities for such artistic growth become less each day. SHERMAN CONRAD

RECORDS

THE Victor set of Mozart's Symphony K. 504 ("Prague") two years ago offered an excellent performance of this beautiful work by Bruno Walter and the Vienna Philharmonic, but recording that enveloped the performance in a cloud of noisy reverberation—recording similar, in fact, to some that Columbia has done recently with the Chicago Symphony. The new Columbia set of the work made by Stock with the Chicago Symphony (M-410, $3.50) offers a performance in which Stock does less than usually to disturb one's enjoyment of the music—in which, that is, he plays it quite simply, with very few of his usual inept or tasteless changes of pace; and though the recording is reverberant it allows the music to be heard clearly and agreeably. This, then, would be the set to choose even if it were not cheaper than the Victor.

Several hearings of the C minor Fantasia and Fugue for organ (Peters Book III, No. 6) well recorded for Columbia by Commette (70087-D, $1) have not altered my first impression that this is an instance of Bach's architectonics not adding up to an affecting piece of music. Wagner's Overture to "Rienzi" is something I am willing to listen to only when I have to report to readers who may be interested that it is excellently recorded by Weingartner with the Paris Conservatory Orchestra (X-169, $2.50). But the Andante and Rondo from a trumpet concerto of Haydn, brilliantly played by George Eskdale with an orchestra under Goehr (70106-D, $1), are charming.

Among Victor's delayed December sets was the one of Strauss's "Ein Heldenleben," with some of Strauss's best writing along with some of his worst, effectively performed by Ormandy with the Philadelphia Orchestra, and superbly recorded (M-610, $10).

Additional Victor Black Label Classics include two recent recordings now issued for the first time. The two records (36322/3, $2) of the Dances from Borodin's "Prince Igor" made by Eugene Goossens with the London Philharmonic I would recommend to someone who wanted only an excellent performance excellently recorded—Stokowski's Red Seal version being for the person who cares to pay twice as much for the unique tonal qualities and excitement of the Philadelphia Orchestra's playing under this conductor. The Goossens records are in one album (G-14, $3.25) with a good record (36324, $1) of the equally enjoyable March from "Prince Igor" and Polonaise from Tschaikovsky's "Eugen Onegin" made by Boult with the B. B. C. Symphony. On the other hand a warmly affectionate performance of Wagner's "Siegfried Idyl" by Bruno Walter and the Vienna Philharmonic sounds a little acidulous on a high-fidelity machine and a little muffled with treble reduced. The two records (36319/20, $2) are in one album (G-12, $3.25) with an old Coates record of Wagner's early Overture to "The Fairies."

Coppola's set of Debussy's "Ibéria," which offers a more effective performance than Barbirolli's, recorded with the adequate clarity and fidelity of four years ago, has been withdrawn from the Red Seal list and reissued as a Black Label Classic (G-10, $3.25)—but with a markedly inferior second side which must have been taken from the earlier Coppola set which the four-year-old one replaced. As a result there is now no completely satisfactory version of the work to be had. The early Coates performance of Strauss's "Death and Transfiguration" (G-11, $3.25) is adequate, and the recording is surprisingly good, especially when the treble can be emphasized by the phonograph. This is true also of the early recording of Brahms's Variations on a Theme of Haydn in a set (G-16, $3.25) which encounters the difficulty Columbia's price reduction has created for Victor—that a record buyer offered this old recording of Casals's interesting performance for $3.25 can have Columbia's modern recording of Weingartner's fine performance for $2.50; and for myself Casals's unusual tempos are not worth the poorer recording and additional cost—though I would pay the $4.50 for the marvelous Toscanini version. (Each hearing of the work, incidentally, confirms my belief that it is Brahms's finest achievement in large forms.)

Correction: The May issue of the Vesey Music Shop's monthly review of records published the rumor that has been current all year—that the Budapest String Quartet was negotiating with Columbia. The July issue published the statement that "a sharp denial from Mr. O'Connell at R. C. A. Victor stamps this rumor as utterly false. The Budapest Quartet has just signed a long-term contract with the Victor company and is going to be kept quite busy at their studios." Mr. O'Connell did not say that negotiations were going on between the Budapest Quartet and Victor, or that a contract was about to be signed; he said that a contract actually had been signed. And I must ask indulgence for the naivete which led me to assume that this was a statement which even an executive of a record company would not make unless it were true, and on this assumption to write in my column that the Budapest Quartet had signed with Victor. It has signed with Columbia; and there is now a good chance of our getting the recordings of the Budapest performances of Beethoven, Mozart, Schubert, and Haydn that there should be. I hope that Columbia will rise to the occasion with better quartet recording than it has done recently; and that the Budapest group will be stubborn about it.

B. H. HAGGIN

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Letters to the Editors

Men and Dividends

Dear Sirs: Does not the contrast between recruiting methods proposed for individuals needed for the defense program and procurement methods used to obtain equipment and supplies for the same program raise some crucial questions of human rights as opposed to property rights?

Congressmen and columnists alike, in discussing the proposed conscription bill, advance arguments which are the direct opposite of the considerations they find persuasive in the case of industrial contracts for defense purposes. In the case of industry, restraints must be removed, more than normal profits must be assured, protection from possible losses from all sources must be provided in the contract, funds must be advanced for plant extensions, tax procedures must be revised, social legislation must be repealed, labor must be bullied, and finally, at long last, a contract gets signed, after industry is satisfied that no more can be squeezed out at this time. For industry the only inducement to produce for defense is the promise of profits—more profits than could be had from devoting the same resources to peace-time production.

The delays in executing a contract are enormous as a result of all this higgling for the most advantageous conceivable terms. (How long, by the way, would a labor leader last if he higgled an equal length of time?) But any suggestion that a little compulsion on industry might speed up, or cheapen, defense production is ascribed to base motives.

The country needs men, as well as equipment. How are the men to be obtained? They are to be conscripted. They will receive as compensation the munificent sum of $21 per month. Why don't we obtain the needed million and a half men by bidding for them on the open market? Because we can't afford it, and besides, that would be undemocratic. Let's see. One and a half million men at $150 a month (does any one doubt that we could get them at that price?) would cost 2.7 billion dollars for the year. Congress has appropriated, to date, some 14 billion for extraordinary defense, of which over 13 billion is for equipment and supplies. Yet 20 per cent of this sum for one of the best years in the lives of one and a half million citizens is so prohibitive it cannot be considered.

As to the other argument, why is it democratic to force men to give one year to the country but un-American to suggest that General Motors make a similar sacrifice? On behalf of myself and all other potential conscripts, I do most vehemently protest against being regarded as of less consequence than a dividend.

M. T. A.

Washington, August 15

In Re the Third Term

Dear Sirs: Discussions of the danger of dictatorship inherent in a third Presidential term invariably omit two important considerations: (1) The country possesses the same safeguards against dictatorship, and in equal potency, at the end of twelve years as at the end of four. (2) A man with the desire and the capacity to become dictator can do so quite as well during the first year as during the ninth.

IRVING F. MORROW

San Francisco, Cal., August 5

For Armistice and Peace

Dear Sirs: I feel that the withdrawal of Oswald Garrison Villard from *The Nation* was a war catastrophe of first magnitude. To use *your* word regarding Mr. Villard's articles, I am more "frightened" by the emotionalism and hysteria in Washington for vast war preparedness, which you support, than I am by his pacifist articles. The outlook is bleak indeed when our leading intellectual journals are apparently swayed by such slogans as "arm against the totalitarian states," "every aid to the Allies short of war," and "the British fleet our defense against Hitler." The journal that was not hoodwinked by Wilson's war slogans—"make the world safe for democracy" and "this war against Kaiserism"—is today led astray by "make our world safe against Hitlerism." It is a blow that you are giving *The Nation* over to the war machine, even as Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt and other feminist and pacifist leaders "gave" the Woman Suffrage Association over to the war machine in 1917, when Jane Addams and others continued to steer straight and true.

I hope and pray that Washington may recover from its hysteria and build as its chief war industry an open channel for the discussion of peace terms. Let us be "realistic" in a mad world and become the persistent mediator for armistice and peace. If our government spent only a fraction of the energy and emotion and money now being spent on war objectives for peace objectives, the suffering peoples of the world would rise up and bless us, eventually, at least. Could anything be more worth trying?

ANNE MARTIN

Carmel, Cal., August 10

The Enemy Within

Dear Sirs: Your decision to put the spotlight on the enemies in our midst who may be plotting against us in the interest of a foreign power is most timely and desirable. *The Nation* is particularly well suited for this task by reason of its reputation for broad liberalism, which will preclude the charge of witch-hunting.

The most insidious plotters are those who masquerade as defenders of our democracy, and they deserve the special attention of your investigators.

JULIUS MARCUS

Alhambra, Cal., August 13

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THE *Nation*

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

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The Shape of Things

BOMBING OF LONDON AND BIRMINGHAM, as well as of scattered industrial towns throughout the country, and the sudden intensification of activity along the southeast coast mark a new phase of the attack on Britain. From both Berlin and London come warnings that the "real" battle is now under way. Much worse days undoubtedly lie ahead. Although bombs falling near St. Paul's and knocking a wall out of the ancient church of St. Giles may do little harm from a military point of view, they prove the difficulty of protecting even the nerve centers of the country from assault. But in spite of the increased pressure on Britain, we suggest that our readers exercise a little more than their customary skepticism in reading Mr. Malcolmson's dispatch from Washington this week. The opinion he reports is mainly that of military men, one of whose chief functions is to convince reluctant legislators of the immediate necessity for large defense appropriations. Their instinct is inevitably to magnify omens of disaster. That such opinion is general is news of first importance; but as Mr. Malcolmson suggests, it should not be taken as a literal prognosis of developments abroad. Britain is engaged in mortal combat, but so far it shows no signs of weakening, nor do the experts in Washington report any such signs. It is fighting a battle in which the security of the United States is one of the chief stakes. How American officials and legislators can longer delay sending the destroyers Churchill has asked for is beyond understanding.

*

HOW SERIOUS IS THE AVIATION SITDOWN strike discussed by I. F. Stone in two recent issues of *The Nation?* A resolution introduced by Senator Walsh, if adopted, would provide the answer, at least for members of the United States Senate. The resolution directs the Secretary of War to submit a report to an executive session of the Senate giving the actual number of useful combat planes on hand and on order and the probable date when those on order will be completed. It is time the nation's lawmakers had the facts about the aviation situation. C. E. Allen, Washington correspondent of the New York *Herald Tribune,* revealed in a dispatch dated August 24 that the United States today actually has eighty fewer combat planes than it had on the first of the year. For reasons of space *The Nation* has had to postpone publication of Mr. Stone's final article until next week. We note in the meantime that despite optimistic headlines the sitdown strike is not yet over. A new plan has been put forward by the Defense Commission and approved by the Comptroller General which would give the plane companies even more protection than the pending five-year amortization legislation. The government would obligate itself to pay the cost of additional facilities over the life of any contract for planes, whether five years or shorter, and the company would have the option of taking over the additional facilities from the government for "fair value," which would be the estimated earning power irrespective of cost. No more riskless contract could be drawn.

*

THE POLL TAKEN BY *EDITOR AND PUBLISHER* is bad news for Wendell Willkie. It shows that the nation's newspapers are even more strongly for Willkie than they were for Landon or Hoover; 683 papers are for Willkie today as compared with 623 for Landon in 1936 and 537 for Hoover in 1932. Democratic newspaper number only 208 today as against 356 in 1936 and 399 in 1932. In those years the press proved to be an excellent barometer of what the ordinary people of the country were not thinking, and our guess is that this will be as true in 1940 as it was in 1936 and in 1932. So far Willkie has yet to strike "pay dirt" in the campaign. His unproved charge that WPA rolls are being padded will hardly win the votes of those still being laid off. His proposal for a Secretary of Aviation is good, probably sound, but too minor to stir the apathetic bleachers. College presidents, a class sensitive to the wishes of those whence endowments flow, continue to swing to Willkie, and undoubtedly he will carry Nicholas Murray Butler, no light load. Willkie's first misstep in his attempt to carry water on both shoulders is a message to the A. F. of L. upholding the "constitutional right" of every worker to

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belong *or not to belong* to a labor union. This is the old N. A. M. open-shop line, and it will help him only where he needs no help.

*

THE EXTENT TO WHICH JAPAN HAS FALLEN into the hands of extremist elements is dramatized by the shake-up in the Japanese diplomatic service involving forty high-ranking officials. Although the names of the men who are to replace these diplomats have not been announced, the suggestion of Aikawa for ambassador to the United States indicates that old-line diplomats are being shelved for active fascists. As the leader of Japan's emerging heavy industry Aikawa has been more responsible than any other one man for bringing business and financial groups into line behind the program of the army extremists. He has also been active in trying to ease Japan's foreign-exchange crisis by enlisting American capital in the development of Japanese industry in Manchoukuo. Although the shake-up appears to be primarily an effort to eliminate moderates from the Japanese governmental apparatus, it may also reflect discontent with the continued weakness of Japanese diplomacy. Japan's failure to take over Indo-China and the Dutch East Indies is attributed by Hallett Abend to a veto by Hitler to further Japanese expansion. According to this theory, Japan missed the boat in not entering the war last spring; its participation is now not required. An alternative explanation for Tokyo's passivity is that Japan is too weak to risk a conflict with the United States.

*

OIL IS AGAIN THREATENING TO UPSET American-Mexican relations at a time when they were definitely improving. The expulsion of Arthur Dietrich, press attaché of the German legation in Mexico, has been followed by the suspension of two Nazi propaganda weeklies in that country. Lombardo Toledano and the C. T. M. daily *El Popular* have become pro-United States and anti-Nazi. But Standard Oil and the Anglo-Dutch interests are now squaring off for a new battle. Two experts appointed by a Mexican court have brought in estimates of $34,500,000 (for the government) and $36,000,000 (for the companies) as the value of Standard Oil and Anglo-Dutch properties in Mexico. Standard Oil protests that it had no part in picking the expert representing its interests, and in view of his moderate estimate this may well be believed. The valuations are for property above ground. The companies insist that Mexico also buy their subsoil petroleum rights, although the 1917 constitution, and Spanish law before it, vested subsoil rights in the state. Our oil companies have made millions out of Mexico already, and we hope the State Department will not be so unwise as to endanger relations with all Latin America by trying to force Mexico to recognize Standard Oil and Anglo-Dutch claims.

ONLY WHEN A BAR ASSOCIATION BITES AN administrative agency do our great newspapers consider it news. Virtually the entire press ignored the report on the Securities Act prepared by a special committee of the American Bar Association for the annual meeting in September. Had the committee drawn the usual picture of security markets frozen into inactivity by fear of regulatory restrictions, one may be sure that its report would have been all over page one. But some of the committee's principal findings are hardly in accord with the picture Wall Street chooses to foster. Particularly embarrassing to the financial community was the verdict—"the fears seem ill founded"—which the committee passed on the biggest of all the SEC bogies. This is the civil liability imposed by the Securities Act on sellers of securities for false or misleading information. The committee points to the negligible "number of civil suits" brought under the act since its passage, compares this with the "flood of suits" expected by foes of the act, and says it "sees no special need for relaxing the civil-liability provisions." The committee does find that these provisions may constitute a "psychological" factor holding up flotation of securities. The pending Brown bill revising the Securities Act would remove that "psychological" factor—but by amending the law so drastically as to convert it from a "truth-in-securities" act to one that would again allow sellers of securities to lie with impunity.

*

THE UNITED STATES CIRCUIT COURT OF Appeals in Boston seems to share our low opinion of the Smith committee. Congressman Howard Smith has been making speeches before business men's groups in which he cites the Waumbec case as a horrible example of NLRB radicalism and hostility to business. The Circuit Court in Boston, however, has just upheld the NLRB's decision in the Waumbec case and issued an enforcement order. The Waumbec Mills of Manchester, New Hampshire, are required by the decision to pay back wages to Alphonse Chartier and Edward G. Geoffrion and to give them jobs as soon as jobs are available. Chartier and Geoffrion had been blacklisted as union leaders. "If employers," the Circuit Court said, "are free to pursue a policy of blacklisting applicants with labor-union records, then the other prohibitions of the labor act are of little worth." We feel certain that the Supreme Court, if there is an appeal, will agree. The blacklist has been one of the worst instruments of labor oppression in this country, and all the safeguards of the Wagner Act would be circumvented if the courts interpreted it to mean that an employer could still refuse to give a man a job solely because he was known as active in a labor organization. "Freedom" to blacklist is just about as socially justifiable as "freedom" to slander or steal.

In Defense of Refugees

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

I HOPE Ambassador Bullitt will answer, in these pages or elsewhere, the Open Letter on page 167 of this issue. The handling of the whole refugee problem in the United States depends upon the facts in dispute. If it can be proved that "more than one-half the spies captured doing actual military spy work against the French army were refugees from Germany," the United States will be forced to restrict much more rigidly than at present the admission of aliens from Germany and the other Nazi-dominated countries. If the statement is incorrect, as Heinz Pol insists, it should be retracted and every effort made to undo the harm it has already done the victims of Hitler's terror.

Mr. Pol discusses the situation as he knew it in France. In the paragraphs that follow I want to report on England's experience as revealed in the British press, the debates in Parliament, and the reports of newly landed arrivals from that country. The two pictures dovetail and taken together seem to refute completely the charge made by Mr. Bullitt.

When the war started, Britain sheltered some hundred thousand refugees from Austria, Germany, Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Spain. All of them had gone through a series of searching examinations: at the British consulate which granted the visa in the first place, in Britain at the hands of the immigration authorities, and later by tribunals specially appointed to examine each case and to divide the refugees into categories according to their records. Those placed in category C were considered politically above suspicion and were exempted from almost all limitations on freedom of movement or work.

Soon after war broke out, however, the more sensational newspapers began a systematic campaign to "intern the lot," ignoring, as similar organs do in this country, the obvious fact that the refugees were by their very nature enemies of Hitler, many of them bearing on their bodies the scars of physical torture and in their hearts a deadly hatred of the Nazi regime. After the collapse of Holland and Belgium, the clamor for internment became more and more insistent, and presently the careful discriminations provided for at the start of the war were abandoned. General internment was begun. Elderly professors whose career had been an open book for decades, eminent doctors, prominent anti-Nazi writers and editors, even children in schools who had come from Germany almost as babies—all alike were swept into internment camps or into prisons. Many of the camps lacked provisions for sanitation and decent shelter. Parents were taken from children, who were in many cases left to fend for themselves; wives were separated from husbands, elderly invalids were suddenly arrested and dumped into empty factories without beds or mattresses and compelled for weeks to sleep with a blanket or two on bare boards or concrete floors; the interned were cut off from all communication with relatives or friends, not allowed to receive or send letters, not allowed to see a newspaper or get any news from the outside world. Worse followed. Deportations to overseas territories began and were carried out on the same indiscriminate basis. In some cases cited in Parliament persons were shipped off to Canada or Australia with no chance even to notify members of their families.

But in spite of this record of brutal and stupid repression, Britain is not Germany. When the facts became known, the refugee problem was thrashed out in Parliament, and the responsible government officials were called on the carpet. The idiocy of persecuting men and women who wanted only a chance to help in the struggle against Hitler was pointed out by representatives of all parties—particularly by the Laborites. The press has experienced a similar reaction. For a long time the Beaverbrook papers took the lead in alien-baiting, but lately a complete and astonishing change has taken place. A recent leading article in the *Evening Standard* concludes a bitter attack on the government's policy with these words:

> It is worse than folly. It is sabotage against our war effort. It is a damnable crime against the good name of England. We want to know: Who is responsible? When will it stop? Members of Parliament who love England will make it their business to find out. And until full amends are made for this outrage we would prefer Lord Halifax to spare us his homilies on "the meaning of freedom."

Not once in this whole controversy, in the press or in Parliament, has a spokesman for the government claimed that the policy of indiscriminate internment was justified by the behavior of the refugees themselves. On the contrary. The Under Secretary of State for the Home Department, which with the War Office is jointly responsible for the handling of refugees, stated flatly in the House that "apart from one or two petty, isolated instances, such as the undergraduate, Mr. Solf, who photographed a burning aeroplane, and one or two black-out offenses, there have been no serious cases of acts hostile to the state which can be attributed to these people." The internment policy he excused on grounds of general precaution, popular clamor, fear of attack on the part of refugees themselves, and, most conclusively, the demand of the War Office that all aliens be cleared out of the coastal belt in the south and southeast of England. His long and apologetic explanation was more an indictment than a justification of the government's policy. Recently as the result of public demand the regulations have been relaxed and conditions in the camps improved.

Some interned persons have been released and certain professional and age groups exempted. But the agitation for a genuine change of policy is still going on.

England's mistakes and its painful efforts to rectify them should be studied in this country. We are not yet officially at war, though every day makes the probability of involvement seem more likely. We can use this period to develop a policy based on experience rather than panic. Our treatment of friendly aliens in the months to come will provide a revealing test of our democracy.

Hitler knows this. In every country his agents have done their best to stir hatred and fear of refugees. (Listen to Joe McWilliams any evening up in Yorkville in New York.) Anti-alien feeling is a hall-mark of reaction, a basic plank in the platform of every fascist group. Even the German and Italian and Irish fascists in this country advocate an anti-alienism which excepts only such 100-per-cent loyal, Gentile, American groups as themselves. They hate the refugees for the simple reason that the refugees form a solid focus of anti-fascist opinion; they hate them because they represent the hope of a future democratic renaissance in Europe; they hate them because they escaped the fate to which fascism has condemned freedom-loving men and women. Those in every country who seek to shut out or shut up the refugees incur themselves the suspicion of fascist sympathy.

A Year of War

IN THE early morning hours of September 1, 1939, the powerful army of Adolf Hitler launched its first *Blitzkrieg*—the invasion of Poland. Two days later, Germany having refused to withdraw its forces, Great Britain and France declared war on the Third Reich. Although a year ago many persons predicted a long and difficult war, there were few indeed—none publicly—who anticipated the catastrophic events that followed.

Poland was obliterated in even less time than was expected, although today its resistance seems remarkable when compared to that of France. Then ensued that strange interlude, now almost forgotten, when observers quarreled as to whether the war was real or a "fake." There was a succession of peace "scares," but except for Hitler's Reichstag speech of October 6, no open peace offers were made by either side. For more than six months, from late September until April 9, life in the belligerent countries differed little from peace-time existence except that the armies were fully mobilized and that each side was doing all it could to interfere with the trade of the other.

Although virtually no military action took place during this long interval, it was a period of intense and, as it seems in retrospect, largely futile diplomatic activity. Convinced that the deadlock along the western front was unbreakable, active groups within England and France began urging the democracies to seek an alternative front. Plans were made to send Allied military assistance to Finland. The collapse of Finland ended these plans; then, suddenly, while the Allied press and public were still discussing the responsibility for the Finnish fiasco, a new front was provided by the Nazi invasion of Denmark and Norway on April 9. From that moment, the war was on in earnest.

During the next three months the Allies reaped the full consequences of the years of appeasement and procrastination under Chamberlain and Daladier. Their weakness was incredible. No effective counter-measures had been devised to meet the rapidly unfolding German offensive. Denmark was occupied in a few hours. Despite its command of the seas, Britain allowed Germany to land enough troops in Norway to subjugate that country in three weeks. Then, with strong naval and air bases in the north securely in its hand, Germany on May 10 launched its major *Blitzkrieg* through the Netherlands and Belgium. Chamberlain was quickly hustled off the scene, and Churchill took over the British government—months too late. It is fair to say that until the day Churchill took over, Britain had not really entered the war. It had scarcely a million men under arms and less than half that number ready for action. Its vast industry had been only partially mobilized, and war purchases in this country had lagged inexcusably. France under Daladier had done little better. The French defense industries had fallen far behind any reasonable program of production. Traitors held high rank in the army and occupied strategic civilian posts.

The events which followed are so recent and so deeply burned into our consciousness that it is unnecessary to recall them in detail. Dutch resistance lasted but four days; Belgium capitulated in less than three weeks, sealing the fate of the French and British armies which had come to its assistance. Weakened by the disaster to its left wing, the main French army put up feeble resistance against the great German offensive launched on June 5. Twelve days later, with half the country in German hands, France sued for peace.

In contrast to the terrible weeks of late May and June, the past two months have been encouraging to the democratic cause. Except for the loss of British Somaliland to Mussolini, who entered the war when the collapse of France was assured, no further territory has fallen into enemy hands. Under Churchill, Britain has developed a formidable army of at least three million men prepared to resist invasion. British industries have at last been put on a war footing, and British airplane production is approximately that of Germany. Furthermore, every month now sees a material increase in the flow of vital supplies from the United States to Britain.

It need hardly be added that the first year of the

European war has had a tremendous effect on life and thought in the United States. For the first seven or eight months an Allied victory was taken for granted. While many persons thought that the United States might ultimately become involved as it was in 1917, no one foresaw an immediate threat to our shores such as that outlined by Charles Malcolmson in this issue of *The Nation*. The threat may not be so great as Mr. Malcolmson's informants suggest, but it is real enough to have spurred the Administration to unprecedented activity. Our outlay for defense in the past few weeks staggers the American imagination, and it may prove to be just a beginning. The Havana conference, the agreement with Canada, and the current negotiations for the leasing of air and sea bases in British possessions have been carried out with extraordinary haste. Although isolationists are still vociferous, the widespread approval given to the proposed sale of over-age American destroyers to Britain reflects a striking change in American public opinion. Since the collapse of France many Americans have come to recognize that our fate as a nation is closely tied with that of Britain. This conviction will doubtless deepen in the opening weeks of the war's second year.

Leon Trotsky

WITH the death of Leon Trotsky at the hands of an assassin in Mexico City the bitterest feud of our generation has been liquidated in the physical sense. The Stalin-Trotsky feud was personal, but it was also a struggle between two types of men and of thought, between the international revolutionary and the national politician, between the idealistic intellectual and the practical anti-intellectual bent on personal power. The stake was control of the October Revolution both inside and outside Russia.

Trotsky was the archetype of the revolutionary—brilliant, impersonal, almost cold, and his character explains his failures as well as his successes. When the revolutionary tide was at its flood, he functioned even more perfectly than Lenin, and his organization and leadership of the Red Army won the victory for Bolshevism. But he lost the succession which Lenin obviously hoped for because he failed to mobilize the support that would have defeated Stalin. Observers on the scene at the time testify that his following was tremendous—and that he was "above the battle." Fundamentally, he had no interest in power as personal prerogative but only as a revolutionary tool. The kind of fighting necessary to defeat a man obsessed with personal power was alien to Trotsky's temperament, his abilities, and his interest.

The much-argued question whether under Trotsky the course of events in Soviet Russia would have been basically different is almost irrelevant, for his own character and the forces at work inside and outside Russia seem in retrospect to have ruled out his ascendancy for any length of time. But his brilliance as an administrator might have mitigated the cruelties of the Soviet regime in so far as they have been due to hopelessly inefficient administration of a backward country. Faced with the insoluble contradictions of the Russian "experiment" Trotsky would certainly have resorted to opportunism, ruthlessness, and rationalization, as Lenin did, but his preoccupation with the "verdict of history" and with his own role as revolutionary hero might have prevented the complete moral and intellectual degradation of the socialist ideal which reached its nadir in the treason trials and the Nazi-Soviet pact and which stands as Stalin's greatest crime.

As a leader of the first "proletarian" revolution and as the brilliant historian of that event, Trotsky held the interest and admiration of many people; but his political following at his death was infinitesimal. He himself had come to seem remote, like a figure in an old tragedy. Though he waged unceasing war on Stalin, he defended the Soviet Union to the end, even the indefensible conquest of Finland; but he was, in reality, defending his own past.

CONTENTS

THE SHAPE OF THINGS 161
EDITORIALS:
IN DEFENSE OF REFUGEES by Freda Kirchwey 163
A YEAR OF WAR 164
LEON TROTSKY 165
WASHINGTON EXPECTS WAR
by Charles Malcolmson 166
SPIES AMONG REFUGEES?
AN OPEN LETTER TO AMBASSADOR BULLITT
by Heinz Pol 167
AMERICAN INVENTORY by Waldo Frank 169
MURRAY OF THE C. I. O. by Rose M. Stein 172
IN THE WIND 173
A NATIVE AT LARGE by Jonathan Daniels 174
BOOKS AND THE ARTS:
NOTES BY THE WAY by Margaret Marshall 175
LOTTE IN WEIMAR by Morton Dauwen Zabel 175
A PRIMER TO NAZI GERMANY by Hans Kohn 177
GROWING UP by Louis B. Salomon 177
IN BRIEF 178
RECORDS by B. H. Haggin 178

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Washington Expects War

BY CHARLES MALCOLMSON

Washington, August 26

IT IS a safe bet that the whole matter of peace-time military conscription in the United States would have been settled, one way or the other, months ago had the President, Congressional leaders, and army and navy experts taken the American people completely into their confidence. I should add, however, that had they done so, they would either have been accused of trying to scare the country out of its wits at a time when national clear-thinking was essential or they would have been laughed out of public confidence.

Today, with the collapse of France a ghastly reality, with Britain cornered and fighting for its life, and with the Americas menaced by fifth columns, trained military observers in Washington are no longer afraid of being laughed at. When they meet you now at the War College or at the Army-Navy Club or in the corner of a Congressional committee room, they tell you quite frankly that Britain is doomed, American destroyers or no American destroyers, and that the Western Hemisphere is "next"—probably in the spring of 1941—on the Nazi war agenda. You find yourself—at least I do—alternately laughing and feeling your hair stand on end as students of contemporary military history calmly lay out a blueprint of what they believe is going to happen in the next twelve months.

Military men are no closer to unanimity of opinion than politicians, but here is the blueprint of the immediate future that is finding more and more support among American officers and observers:

Britain is licked, though with British doggedness it is playing out its hand to the end. The month of September will see the end of effective military opposition in the British Isles. The final Nazi *Blitzkrieg* will take the form of a gigantic spearhead attack from the sea and the sky. While diversions are made from Norwegian and Danish bases, the main assault will be launched somewhere along the southern English coast. Barges, lighters, and similar craft will advance through a series of sea lanes, protected on each side by hundreds of swift mosquito boats and light vessels, overhead by masses of planes on a scale dwarfing recent air raids. The attack will be further protected by a heavy curtain of fire from long-range cannon on the French coast. (Artillery experts say the heavy guns of the Maginot Line probably will *not* be a factor, as their removal would take months and their range is doubtful.) The barges and lighters will carry fully equipped *Panzer* divisions, including heavy tanks, whose job will be to establish a bridgehead

Admittedly, effecting a landing on a heavily defende enemy coast is the most difficult of all military operations; and yet American observers express little doub that it can be done. Once established, a bridgehead i comparatively easy to maintain over so narrow a wate barrier as the Channel, and successive waves of the sam mechanized forces that crushed France will follow th first assault.

The British have stated that the fifty reconditioned American destroyers they have asked for will be a "crucial" factor in the defense, but many American experts believe the destroyer sale cannot affect the outcome. This opinion is largely confirmed by reports from the American military mission in England, which indicate that the Nazis have sunk or disabled far more English craft than the defenders dare admit.

The rest of the blueprint is even more discouraging. But since it assumes immobilization of the English fleet after the conquest of Britain—immobilization because technical difficulties would prevent German use of British ships even were they at the Germans' disposal —it is more open to skepticism than other parts of the forecast. With the British fleet largely or wholly tied up, the Nazis would have at their disposal the greatest armada in the history of the world—German, Italian, and French units supported by the merchant marines of Holland, Norway, and other occupied countries. This armada, some American observers assert flatly, would make actual invasion of the Western Hemisphere in the spring of 1941 not only possible but probable. On the blueprint Brazil is the spot for the establishment of a Nazi bridgehead.

It is, of course, an open military secret in Washington that army and navy officials have for months been worried about the defense of South America and frankly fear fifth-column treachery there. Army officials point out, for example, that until Italy "officially" entered the war, millions of dollars' worth of armament were sold by Germany to Brazil and other South American governments and shipped in Italian and Greek vessels. Perhaps the most amazing feature of this war trade is that the British, checking all manifests at Gibraltar, permitted the arms to go through. Presumably they took the position that each shipload of guns to South America left that much less at the disposal of Hitler, while confiscation would precipitate Italy's entrance into the war.

Nazi invasion of the Americas, as envisioned by the

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same observers, is also conditioned upon the absence of most of the United States fleet in the Pacific, where it too could be "immobilized" for weeks by the simple expedient of dropping bombs on the Panama Canal. This would tie up the Canal for at least three months and force the American fleet to sail around the Horn—weeks of delay that in a timed invasion could be fatal. Under such conditions a bridgehead could easily be established in South America and maintained there.

Needless to add, not all army and navy experts agree with this blueprint, though most of them concede it is technically possible. Of course, military talk should be taken with large doses of skepticism. Defense or attack must be mapped to meet all possibilities, which thereupon become actualities. "Could" and "will" are frequently interchangeable in the conversation of even conservative observers. Then, too, army and navy officials usually "talk tough" when promoting military objectives—in this case, conscription and an accelerated national defense program.

It would be easier to disregard this blueprint if there were not two disturbing factors. The first and most important is the unmistakable undercurrent of "appeasement" in the talk of some American military men. "We can't cope with Hitler if he really comes after us," is the way they put it, "so what we need is somebody who can deal with him." That, of course, is fifth-columning with a vengeance. The other factor is more personal. Almost a full year ago, in September, 1939, a brilliant young army strategist outlined to me the "probable course" of the European war. Today that prophecy reads like a military history of the past eleven months. With one single exception—the Finnish war—he called the turn, month by month, on the whole conflict. That officer died a few weeks ago, but before his death he laid out, with other experts, the blueprint I have just described.

Spies Among Refugees?

AN OPEN LETTER TO AMBASSADOR BULLITT

BY HEINZ POL

DEAR MR. BULLITT: Your recent speech at Philadelphia, which was devoted in large part to the conditions underlying the collapse of France, contained the following startling passage:

> The French had been more hospitable than are even we Americans to refugees from Germany. More than one-half the spies captured doing actual military spy work against the French army were refugees from Germany. Do you believe that there are no Nazi and Communist agents of this sort in America?

You did not, however, present any evidence to support this extremely grave charge against the Germans who had sought sanctuary in France. As a German refugee who lived in France from January, 1936, until just before the collapse, I emphatically declare that your assertion is unjustified.

Hitler's method of undermining the country he intends to attack is based on an extremely simple principle—to proceed openly. He has acted on the assumption that people are most easily duped by frankness and to a considerable extent owes his success to the fact that his announcements, including his plan to conquer other nations with the help of fifth columns, were nowhere taken seriously. Accordingly, in France the refugees who were sincere in their hatred of Hitler were more often suspected than persons like M. Abetz, who in his official capacity as "transmitter of German culture" proselytized for Hitler in the salons and literary circles of Paris and openly organized French sympathizers.

Shortly before the war broke out, the Austrian banker Hirsch was arrested in Paris together with a number of French accomplices, and in the spring of 1940 a military court sentenced him to ten years' hard labor. He had succeeded in bribing part of the French press to follow a pro-Nazi policy, and with the help of a French stenographer who worked in the Chamber of Deputies, had been able to acquaint the Nazis with what was said and done in the secret sessions of the government and of the military commission of the Chamber. Although of Jewish origin, Hirsch had not acted the role of refugee. On the contrary, he had begun by denouncing to the police several refugees who mistrusted him, partly to cover himself, partly to get rid of dangerous observers. For a long time many Frenchmen, among them enthusiastic and sincere nationalists, believed him to be absolutely irreproachable. He was quite willing to recognize certain weaknesses of the "new Germany," to deplore "exaggerations" of the anti-Semitic policy; and if any one objected too strenuously to Nazi methods, his reply was, "I hope you do not mix with that refugee rabble. They only give you wrong ideas." Later, the French government and press called Hirsch and his accomplices the most dangerous fifth columnists. One of his chief deputies was the Countess von Einem, who fled to Germany in her private plane when she was about to be arrested. The German spy, Elisabeth Büttner, a former secretary of Streicher's, who acquired French citizenship through a pseudo-marriage, also belonged to this circle. Both women were good friends of Foreign Minister Bonnet and his wife, to whose house bona fide German refugees would hardly have been admitted.

It goes without saying that German citizens living in France were the backbone of the Nazi espionage system. They did not have to conceal their nationality, since the French authorities tolerated a "Brown House" in the very heart of Paris, where all pro-Nazis met. The accomplices of Abetz, many of whom were connected with the Gestapo, were mostly members of the German consulates in France or employees of German tourist agencies or export houses with offices in France. The German Chamber of Commerce in Paris, the official representative of all German firms doing business with France, concerned itself chiefly with industrial espionage. It did not, of course, employ any refugees.

Only after the outbreak of the war were these headquarters of the fifth column closed down. By that time the members of the Brown House and the German Chamber of Commerce had been able to escape with all important documents. But the German refugees, who time and again had published in their press the most damaging information on the activities of the Nazi agents in France, were taken to concentration camps.

From September, 1939, until May, 1940, I was in five different camps and kept in close contact with the inmates of practically all the other camps. I can truthfully say that I did not hear of a single German refugee who had been engaged in military espionage. I may add that their records were thoroughly examined by the French authorities on numerous occasions. The investigations were carried out by three different agencies—the police, the Ministry of the Interior, and the War Ministry. In addition, a Commission Interministérielle was created in Paris for the express purpose of examining the records of every German and Austrian refugee. And finally, the local authorities in the camps went through the records once more. Even informers were placed in the camps, and sometimes those who were released were shadowed. Some refugees were suspected of sympathizing with French political extremists, particularly with those on the extreme left, but no actual case of espionage could ever be traced back to them.

It is true that some of the military spies arrested in Paris, in the neighborhood of the Maginot Line, or in the big garrison towns of North Africa, tried to pass as harmless refugees. In all these cases the authorities were able to establish the falsity of their claims, very often through the aid of the refugee organizations. If in the period preceding the war any refugees were involved in cases of military espionage, the French authorities must have regarded them as isolated cases since they did not retaliate against other immigrants, as they undoubtedly would have done if there had been any large-scale activities of this kind. The dangerous Swiss spy, Carmen Mory, and two German accomplices who pretended to be refugees were arrested shortly before the outbreak of the war as the result of a denunciation by the former Socialist leader of the Saar region, Max Braun, who was living in Paris as a refugee. Braun has now probably been turned over to the Gestapo by the Vichy government. After the war started, German refugees could not possibly have participated in espionage activities since they were all in concentration camps. Nor were they ever accused of such activities by the French government.

Anyone concerned with the problem of combating the fifth column must realize that refugees cannot effectively be used as spies. In France especially they were engaged in a continual struggle to get their residence and working permits and in consequence watched each other far more vigilantly than would the most suspicious police agent. Moreover, few refugees speak the language of the country of asylum fluently enough to avoid being recognized as foreigners. They are labeled from the start.

The first to realize that the refugees were of no use in forming fifth columns were the Nazis themselves. The men they chose to serve them did not travel third class or sneak across the border. They were not forced to ask for aid from social agencies. They did not have to look for the cheapest rooms in town or stand in line in front of employment agencies. They were well-dressed men and women, provided with perfect German, Dutch, Belgian, Swiss, or French passports. They spoke French fluently, were familiar with the economic and social conditions of the country, and easily obtained the connections which they needed to carry out their orders. Part of their mission was to throw suspicion on the refugees. Unfortunately, the French police lent a willing ear to some of these denunciations. When Ribbentrop visited Paris to sign the Franco-German friendship pact, hundreds of refugees were arrested or expelled on the strength of lists compiled by German agents.

Yes, Mr. Bullitt, the so-called refugee-spy is a mythical character, and I am surprised that he should turn up in a speech which, otherwise, depicted the causes of France's collapse in such a clear-sighted manner, and drew such logical conclusions from it. I presume that the source of your information was close to Vichy. Such information should be used with great caution.

I am willing to believe, Mr. Bullitt, that you made your statement in good faith. But you must understand that such an assertion, in times like these, constitutes a grave danger to hundreds of innocent persons in this country and also to those brave anti-fascists who today still have hopes of escaping from France.

American Inventory

BY WALDO FRANK

THE youth of America, in so far as it is aware of anything, smolders in a sullen quandary. It has received from us a schizoid world of rococo phrases and bloody facts. The words liberty, democracy still mean much, but the bloody facts are on the march against them. The young people, when they are not too confused for any judgment, oscillate between alternative responses. One is the isolationism of the Youth Congress—and of a majority in our colleges, farms, and garages—based upon the false assumption that American institutions can survive in a fascist world, or that socialism, by some miracle, will "capture" the fascist revolution when it is completed, or that the whole bloody business is hopeless anyway, so let's keep alive as long as possible. The other answer is that fifty thousand planes will solve all the problems.

There is no ground for faith in these alternatives. But there is plenty of ground for the lack of faith and insight of our young people. Education by radio, newspaper, movie, joy ride, and advertisement has made them spiritually, emotionally, intellectually, the worst-equipped of generations. Yet in so far as their intuitive powers have survived what their elders have "taught" them, they are beginning to feel truths. The civilization they have inherited, as distinct from the Christian culture they have vaguely heard about, does not deserve to be saved and is destroying itself. Fascism, they dimly feel, is the implement of this bitter justice, a kind of scavenger strength derived from the weakness and rottenness of the democracies. They see the result of 150 years of social thought and labor action: failure to solve even the simplest mechanical problems of security, of distribution—not to mention those of the good life. They know that when this war began, the men who took the lead to save the world from Hitler were the men who had helped Hitler grow; and a few see that the present knights of democracy, like Churchill and Roosevelt and Willkie, are archaic gentlemen behind whose rhetoric the business man still rules—with no evidence that the Hoovers, Chamberlains, and Bonnets who made us what we are can be efficiently superseded save by disciples of the Nazis, who, at least, are in tune with the pagan machines that command them. And they feel somehow, these young people of America, that the destruction is of the essence of the machine jungle-life which here also in the United States is worshiped. Military pomp with slavery underneath, the law of fascism: is it not also, they ask, the logic of our own duco-finish culture? If Mr. Weir or Mr. Ford spoke their true word, would it sound like Abraham Lincoln or a polite English version of Goebbels? Of course, the upper class loves the big words—justice, free speech—under whose cover they have made big money. But the girl who cannot afford to bear the child of her lover, the middle-aged man with no job, the young man with a racking one that has half unsexed him before he is thirty, the child spending the summer in a city slum—the 90 per cent of the U. S. A. who have never seen *Fortune* and cannot afford *Life* hear the golden phrases from a distance.

This knowledge of our youth makes mistakes. Because our democracy has thus far failed even to interest the people in the real problems of a good life, youth lumps imperialist Britain and capitalist America, where the great tradition of human dignity has at least not been openly revoked, with German and Italian fascism, in which slavery is exalted. It pretends to see no difference between the curable disease of our imperfect system and that Bubonic fever. Nevertheless, we shall be continuing the mistake of France and Britain if we attempt to mobilize our human forces for freedom through slogans about freedom that are belied by the facts. This is no mere war between nations; this is a war between ways of life in which the leaders of the democracies have been closer to their foes than to the needs of their own peoples. This is a war in which only the enemy has drawn the lines straight—whence his inestimable advantage. The fascists have known what they wanted.

Of course, the Americans who say, "It makes no difference who wins," are dangerously wrong. Even if fascism has sprung, like a virulent disease, from the chronic disorders, spiritual, intellectual, and only lastly economic, of our system, that disease must be stopped lest it destroy not merely our system—which is doomed—but the values of human life which persist despite the system. And of course the Communists are wrong—criminally, because they are dishonest—who dream that they are going to "take over" a fascist world bludgeoned into insensibility by a monopoly of violence such as no tyrant of the past ever conceived. But our first move, if we wish to clear ourselves from the tragic cycle of Europe, is to understand what is right in the reluctance and confusion of our youth; to see what is betraying them today as their brothers in the Weimar Republic and in the France of Blum and Daladier and in Ramsay MacDonald's England were betrayed. If we allow the latent sense of betrayal, of social treachery, to persist in our land, a thousand times fifty thousand planes and a hundred J. Edgar Hoovers on the hunt for fifth columns won't help us.

Now let us look at certain immediate factual alternatives in Europe and their results here:

A. Britain, having set its house in order too late, through its social legislation, will be forced to capitulate or to come to terms with Hitler; in which case the United States, alone or with the members of the British Commonwealth of Nations and the confused, disaffected states of America Hispana, must live in a fascist world. Either we must fight this hostile world openly or appease it.

B. Assured of our continued help and aroused at the eleventh hour to the need of bridging the abyss between its slogans and its social lies, Britain may fight on; in which case eventually we shall join the war: far-flung allies doing as much service to the cause of democracy as the contradictions of our capitalism and a colonial imperialism can manage.

Either way, we arm—to the tune of big business. Either way, we fight German, and Japanese, fascism, because it is a threat to our markets, Latin America, our system of capitalist democracy; and meanwhile at home fascism will gain friends. Nothing succeeds like success, particularly a success of "efficiency," which will be felt by more and more of our people to be a logical conclusion of our reigning values. Nor will the propaganda of success fail to win millions of our uneasy young men and women who have been trained to seek the easy short-cuts to comfort, who have been instructed by school and life neither to think nor to feel deeply, whose intuitions and sensibilities are starved, and who have lost the vital discipline, the sense of sacrifice and destiny, which alone give organic meaning to our heritage of freedom.

Whether it is war or merely armament on a huge scale to serve as a bargaining point with fascist Europe (the Republicans' unacknowledged dream), regimentation is upon us. Under any machine economy, collectivism is certain. Only the principle of human freedom, positing a strongly knit community of mature persons, can modulate collectivism away from its natural result—some form of fascism—into a true socialism. All the socialist programs of the past hundred years have failed because they were based upon doctrines which understood the nature neither of man nor of human freedom. To fathom the implications of the philosophy of our radical and liberal movements is to understand the opportunism of British Labor, the cowardice of the Social Democracies, the stupid psychology of the Communists, and the inevitable swerves from left to right of so many labor leaders. No powerful group in American trade unionism, American politics, American religion, has revealed the slightest superiority over Western Europe in its sense of what man is and what human freedom means; therefore we may put it down as a first sure thing: *our collectivism will also move toward regimentation.* It will be led by big business and bureaucracy; and labor will fall in, for the simple reason that labor lives by the same standards.

A second sure thing: while the witch hunt for fifth columns goes merrily, savagely on, our real fifth column will prosper on the fears by which it poisons the public. The smart business men of America, now solid behind Mr. Willkie, have known for years that an ultimate phase of capitalism might mean some form of fascism. They dislike Hitler's manners and his crotchety ideas about "international Jewish bankers." They may even decide to fight him, as did the more intelligent British Tories, like Churchill, years ago. But every big business man today must be a reactionary if he believes in himself, and hence either a friend or a rival of the men behind Hitler.

Big business is fifth column in the United States because it knows that some form of fascism will best accommodate collectivism to its own uses. Small business will follow because it adores strong men and success, and because it hates labor. The supine and corrupt forces in American labor will knuckle under, because our shallow doctrines of social reform, our shallow rationalized theories of man, have not nurtured it with the devotions for which men nobly die. Here, then—unless fascist Europe explodes within a year and before it can get settled—is a certainty: the steady infiltration of fascist trends in every economic class, in every stratum of our institutions, *which are already on the defensive.*

A third sure thing: we won't give up America Hispana without a struggle; and the southern republics, economically and politically undeveloped, will not be able to confederate among themselves in time to meet us in this crisis as that strong, integrated unit which alone can make a reality of Pan-America—the dream of Bolivar. Rationalized as Western Hemisphere defense, dollar diplomacy will again rear its ugly head. While we force down our labor standards to compete with Europe in the southern markets, we shall again resort to loans—perhaps to marines, if need be.

Another sure thing: we may expect a shrinkage and famine of all the fragile minority actions of our spirit. The dominant cultural strains of the past decades, corrupted by the prostrate pragmatism of Professor Dewey and by the empirical rationalism of all our liberal schools, have been militant against the creative American mind; nevertheless, its work has spread in a thousand humble places. One has but to name the "leading" writers of the twenties and thirties—adolescent minds with no intellectual discipline, from Cabell, Lewis, Mencken to Hemingway, Wolfe, and Hicks—to understand the thinness and disarray of our cultural life;

nevertheless, we have produced poets and artists. The disarray will now become a rout. Authors of books that do not measure down to the flimsy mediocrity alone visible to our average reviewers will find their works less publishable; composers, painters, creators in pure science will learn that money is an absent-minded patron. Creative schools will discover that education, as distinct from "useful instruction," is a luxury in a land where $100,000,000 battleships are a necessity. Churches in which the spirit of Jesus is at home will struggle less hopefully against unendowed pews. In a thousand places, in a hundred forms, the aesthetic, educational, scientific, religious forces of American life have survived; have even fitfully multiplied in the loose interstices of an easeful capitalist system. Now, as that system contracts and convulses, their trend will be *toward the catacombs*.

And there, at last, they may meet—artist, poet, social philosopher, and religious thinker—and come to know and nourish one another. In this threat there is the clue of a hope. As our world dies, perhaps our cultural life will find in its new trial a new passion and depth, and that knowledge of human tragedy which is the fire of creation.

I have drawn a gloomy picture? It is fact. This is a world revolution; and *until a new force transfigures it, it will continue to be a revolution downward.* It is a revolution downward because the entire proud modern period has been a period of transition which failed to generate the valid ethos with which man could go *forward* into the mature world of integrated industrial democracy that the machine and our tradition of man's high destiny make compulsory. This is a revolution of inertia, of reaction, because these are the sole alternatives to what 150 years of liberal and radical thought have not effected: a program for the organic revolution into maturity. The problem is how to *revolutionize the revolution.*

Here in the United States these words have meaning. They have no meaning at the moment in prostrate Germany, Italy, Spain, France. But they have meaning here only if we remake in modern terms the belief in human freedom; if we believe, as our forefathers believed, that man can transfigure his somatic conditions and his life through an eternal principle within him. I cannot here go into the meaning of human freedom; that would lead to metaphysics and religion—subjects for which there is small space in our magazines. The reader who will honor me with the *pro tem* assumption that I am not merely "talking" must go to my books. Here, I can say only this: human freedom means two forms of action, personal and social. The personal form will bring revolution in our emotional, aesthetic, and religious attitudes; the social form will bring social revolution: specifically, while we rearm to go to war, it will mean that we not only preserve but broaden our civil liberties *at whatever risk,* throw out our big-business politics, begin to institute that economic justice with which the *capitalist system cannot coexist.* But the point is that we cannot go toward these social ends directly unless we accept a meaning of human freedom which all our liberal and empirical creeds deny—a sense of the nature of man which must revolutionize our aesthetic and religious values. Otherwise we shall merely repeat the errors of the shallow eighteenth and the complacent nineteenth century, whose harvest is visible in Europe.

You may say: "Give us a practical program. France, having betrayed Spain's republic, has fallen below Spain. Hitler defiles Paris. Britain, our sole bastion beyond the seas, fights alone. Give us a practical program." If by that you mean an immediate solution, go to the demagogues. There are certain steps we can take, and must, unless we intend to emulate the fatal pre-war half-measures of France and Britain. We should declare a state of national emergency, help Britain till it hurts, clear out every German-consulate spy nest in the land by severing relations, conscript industry (which means getting rid of the Knudsens), and *only then* draft an army, which as a normal peace measure is a shame and a danger. But all these do not constitute a practical program for a solution; these are mere rudimentary gestures toward sanity. The one practical program for us Americans today is to forgo pragmatic conclusions. The price of human freedom is to give up the certainty of life itself. The price of our high destiny as man is to be humble before the dark we have created—which, by our humility, may become creative.

Magic, said the Hindus, is a change of attitude. With a changed attitude toward our destiny as men and as Americans in this hour which fate gives us, something like "magic" may occur. We may arm, we may go to war. These acts will surely miscarry if we fear *pari passu* to arm the people against their economic and—worse—their psychological exploitation; against our own Nazis, the exploiters in high places who mouth patriotism to play upon our fears, and their servants in the colleges, in the columns, in the arts, who continue to preach the sanctity and the sole good of "comfort." We must fight, not thinking ourselves a whit better than the Germans—this was the lie which rotted the intelligence of France and Britain, whose youth sullenly knew better—but in detached awareness of the ignobility of our civilization, of the filth under our slick culture, of *our* guilt in creating what we fight, and of our greatness because of the God that is in us.

I do not know how this changed attitude will enact its magic in American life. But this is sure: nothing less radical can swerve the present disastrous trend of the United States toward humiliation, not identical but analogous with that of Europe. The fascists have drawn the line clearly on three fronts: they war against economic justice, against political democracy, against human dignity. Their success is due to their thorough unity and to the regressive passion *in all men* to sink backward into the slime and the shadows. What we must do is to draw our line with equal clarity on the three fronts. We must fight political fascism, which means war to the hilt on Hitler. We must fight the stratified injustice of capitalism, which means social revolution. And we must recognize what most radicals and liberals ignore: that subsuming the two fronts is the third front—the upholding of the sanctity of man, the channeling of the religious energy of human growth into new democratic forms, against the dark pulls downward into infantilism which the fascists have exploited. *We can fight the totalitarian war against man only with a total war for man.*

This is sure: such a changed attitude is its own reward. If it is real enough among us, it will spread. It will kindle the trade unions and the churches, joining them at last together. It will awake response in the sodden cliques of politicians whom we have permitted too long to forget that politics which is not rooted in the intuitive and religious ethos of the folk is bad politics. It will rouse equal fires in America Hispana. If the folk of France and Britain had experienced such a change of attitude any time from 1920 to 1939, there would be no triumphant Hitler. These great peoples have created worlds. Now it is our turn.

Murray of the C.I.O.

BY ROSE M. STEIN

VIEWS and interpretations of political differences within the C. I. O. follow two lines. One camp refuses to recognize the existence of any serious cleavage and continues to sing, "Lewis is our leader, we shall not be moved." The other keeps a sharp ear cocked in the direction of Philip Murray and expects the C. I. O.'s second in command to come out any day with a blast denouncing his chief and setting himself up in his place. Both views are mainly the product of wishful thinking. Differences do exist, but they are entirely political and have no bearing on the fundamental principles upon which the C. I. O. was built and now rests.

It is undeniable that John L. Lewis has suffered a setback in prestige. When he came out with his first statement against Roosevelt at the miners' convention in Columbus last January, his lieutenants were amazed and the C. I. O. rank and file refused to believe it. So great was the disbelief that various groups were concerned only with guessing what game of strategy their leader was playing. Their confidence received a severe jolt on April 1 when in an address to a group of miners in Monongah, West Virginia, Mr. Lewis advocated the formation of a third party with such groups as the Youth Congress and the Townsendites as its base. Had he advanced the idea of a third party years earlier, and had he left out groups with which workers in the heavy industries could feel little sympathy, the suggestion might have been received more warmly. At the United Mine Workers' convention in 1936, twenty-seven locals sent in resolutions urging the convention to support a Farmer-Labor Party, only four less than the number of locals asking for the support of President Roosevelt. In 1940, however, forty-seven locals urged support of the President for a third term and none petitioned for a third party. This action of the miners, as is now known, was an accurate barometer of prevailing C. I. O. sentiment.

Still more jolting than the Monongah speech was Lewis's appearance before Republican chieftains in Philadelphia. Yet even that speech might have been accepted as part of a strategy of bargaining had it not been accompanied by the backslapping reception given him by G. O. P. leaders and followed the next day by an address in the same city before the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in which Lewis exonerated Herbert Hoover of blame for the depression. These two incidents destroyed Lewis's hold on the C. I. O. rank and file so completely that it is hard to conceive of any set of circumstances which could restore it.

Most workers, especially those in the mass-production industries, regard former President Hoover and, to a slightly less extent, the Republican Party, as symbols of low wages, unemployment, depression, company unions and police, vigilante committees, and that whole aggregate of pressures embraced in the term anti-unionism. Both are inextricably associated with E. T. Weir's and Tom Girdler's labor policies. The Democratic Party, on the other hand, has become associated with liberation from industrial autocracy. Many workers are critical of the shortcomings of this Administration, but at the same time they consider fantastic any suggestion that they should desert it in favor of a political party which they are convinced has never had the interest of labor at heart.

The worker can be loyal and credulous far beyond the intellectual's capacity either to believe or understand. But once he is convinced that his loyalty and faith have been betrayed he cannot easily be won back. Millions of C. I. O. members, including those in Mr. Lewis's own United Mine Workers, feel that their chief has blundered in his political maneuvers and thereby compromised their best interest. They are not clear as to the reasons for his maneuvers, which are certainly complicated if not obscure, but they no longer seek excuses for him. One fact stands out clearly: Mr. Lewis has praised the man whom labor regards as its arch-enemy and has condemned the one who has been "the best friend labor ever had in the White House."

The attitude of the leaders, from Philip Murray down, is quite different. They had no illusions that Mr. Lewis was attempting some mysterious strategy when he spoke at the Columbus convention. They knew he meant what he said, and they were profoundly disturbed. No one had been consulted. No explanations were given. Mr. Lewis simply made the speech and assumed that his dictum would be followed. Subsequent events have demonstrated that he was wrong. Without drumbeats or war whoops nearly all major C. I. O. unions have gone on record in support of the President. This action from those who now lead the C. I. O. should not have been a surprise. Lewis supported Hoover enthusiastically in 1928 and lukewarmly in 1932, whereas Philip Murray and lesser figures in the miners' union supported Al Smith in '28 and Roosevelt in '32. In those days, however, political differences in labor's ranks were barely noticed. Now that labor, within each major faction at any rate, functions largely as a unit, this cleavage assumes both national and organizational significance.

Nevertheless, no open break is in prospect. If Mr. Lewis decides to step down from the C. I. O. presidency, Philip Murray will be his logical successor. The office would fall to him not by default but because he has a large and enthusiastic following. Murray has a basic warmth and humanity of temperament to which persons both in and out of labor's ranks respond as they have never responded to Lewis. Murray is one of the boys, and if he has any personal ambition, it is overshadowed by his devotion and loyalty to the membership he represents. But if Lewis decides to run again he will be unopposed. Philip Murray will never run against him. Lewis and Murray have worked together more or less amicably for thirty years. They have always ironed out their many differences man to man, and there is every indication that they will continue to do so, for in the basic endeavor to build strong unions the two men see eye to eye.

The political cleavage within the C. I. O. has produced one very healthy result that has received little attention. One-man rule has been demolished. Lieutenants, sub-lieutenants, and the lowliest rank and filers know now that they may disagree with the boss and still be loyal unionists. That is a significant step in democratic unionism.

What political course Mr. Lewis will take between now and November is anyone's guess. The question, however, is of little importance. Labor will vote overwhelmingly Democratic. That fact liquidates Mr. Lewis as a political power in this campaign, and nothing can recover that power for him, not even the foolish stories about his role in nominating Henry Wallace for the vice-presidency. Incidentally, a taller story than this was never told, not even in political circles in a Presidential-election year.

In the Wind

A NEW high in Jim Crow segregation was reached recently in Dania, Florida (near Miami). Bodies of Negroes buried in the Dania cemetery were dug up—with due legal formality—and carefully transported to a new cemetery reserved for Negroes.

DEMOCRATIC CAMPAIGN headquarters are preparing to flood the country with thousands of copies of a vitriolic document attacking Willkie's record, especially his utilities record. Its author is Republican Vice-Presidential candidate McNary, who made the attack in a speech delivered two years ago.

WHEN JIMMY CAGNEY passed through New York recently on his way to testify before Martin Dies, he gave an interview to the press. It was raining hard. Just as Cagney was solemnly telling reporters he had heard that Dies was "a swell guy; all the newspapers like him," there came a terrific peal of thunder. "God was listening," cracked one of the reporters. Cagney broke down and laughed.

FREUDIAN SLIP: Under a large picture of Elwood, Indiana, the Chicago *Daily News* ran this caption: "As though attracted by a *magnate,* automobiles were drawn along the highway toward the Republican mecca—Elwood."

DOUGLAS AIRCRAFT is expected to declare a big dividend at any moment. It has been held up, Washington sources say, because of the debate on excess-profits taxation. When that's over, the dividend will be issued with a flourish.

HERE IS one theory about the stiff German warnings that the ship American Legion was in grave peril. A Washington military expert says the reason the Germans protested so loudly was that they knew the waters were not mined—and feared that safe passage by the American Legion would prove it, for the benefit of the British.

F. D. R. AND FRANK KNOX, his Republican Secretary of War, recently made a tour of defense projects together. At the first stop a huge crowd assembled. Knox looked at the President wide-eyed and asked: "Do you always draw crowds as big as this?"

THE DAY AFTER Wendell Willkie's acceptance speech the anti-isolationist Chicago *Daily News* carried the headline: "We'll Beat Hitler: Willkie." The pro-appeasement *Herald-American* headline was: "Willkie Charges FDR Policy Invites War."

FROM A PERSONAL letter written by the headmistress of a famous girls' school in England: ". . . You would laugh at the stolidity of England. One of the haymakers on a neighboring farm was heard to say, 'That 'Itler. I'll be bound 'e won't give in without a struggle!' "

[We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind —either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. A prize of $5 will be awarded each month for the best item.—EDITORS THE NATION.]

A Native at Large

BY JONATHAN DANIELS

IN A small voice which I wish were much louder I would like to say that while we move, and properly, to be ready to defend this land, we are already forgetting the land we defend. I mean the *land*—the actual earth out of which our food grows and our forests, which is at least as much America as the people on it. I know we do not mean merely to defend a geographical area, but I lack the faith that freedom for many of us could flourish in a desert. It does not flourish now in America where the land is too worn for men to farm it in security. War would mean a new wasting—an imperative, maybe patriotic wasting, a wasting nevertheless.

I was only one of those who got the recent letter from the "Friends of the Land" announcing suspension of their activities until other times. This organization of conservationists said:

> Starting with the invasion of Belgium during May, it has become increasingly hard to win attention and to gain support. . . . This is understandable. With death striking out of the sky at helpless women and children, with hunger stalking in many places, with refugees thronging the highways and seaways, it is understandable that established organizations dealing with the alleviation of such anguish should have first call. . . . [Nevertheless], we have it always to remember that during the tumult and excitement of the first World War we skinned and beat down much of our land, and inflicted permanent destruction to resources that cannot be replaced.

Do we remember? Jay N. Darling, better known as "Ding," remembered. He wrote once from Iowa:

> The thing that finished Davis County was the war. Prices said, "Plow!" The government said, "Plow!" Against their better judgment the farmers plowed those rolling hills for wheat and corn. Especially for wheat. "Food will win the war!" the posters said. More woodland was hacked away. More grass was plowed under. The hills washed. The rivers grew muddier. The water-table fell. Springs went dry. Game went dry and died. Now thousands of acres have been abandoned.

Others remembered. Dr. T. S. Buie has described how the cotton line marched uphill again in South Carolina.

Nobody expects as much excitement now over a gully as over a gun. Certainly conservation is not competing with preparedness. But it is time people began to realize that conservation is a part of preparedness. Nobody blames Herbert Hoover now for speeding the plow which cut the Iowa hills. But with famine rising again—with the possibility that food may win another war—it is a cockeyed country which does not consider, even in war terms, land use in the future in the light of land use in the past.

It is being considered less now than it was six months ago. Russell Lord, who has written with more wisdom about this American earth under us than any other living American I know, wrote me from his farm in Maryland:

> The present preoccupation, even under threat of active war, is incredible, but actual. People just don't want to hear about conservation. You'd think that with the CCC idea implanted, with our knowledge of land use much advanced, with the AAA machinery standing ready to induce a more decently measured land use, the official mind, if not the public mind, would leap the gap, and connect military mobilization or conscription with the idea of soil defense on a grand scale at home. But no; not yet. I think the idea will come to life soon; but it needs some powerful goading.

The danger is that the goading will come again as it came before in a driven, destroying, demanding cry to beat the land again, to whip wheat out of it, to slash the earth again for the corn. If that has to be done, it will be done. Once war is here we cannot stop to count the consequences of cutting down the pine trees—to weep for the washing of our hills into our rivers. But we can recognize in any intelligent program of preparedness that our strength is still in our earth. Time may not suffice for the development of any plan for the wisest use of our land even for our defense of our land. But already we are building battleships which will not be ready for years. So we admit the possibility of some future for ourselves as well as for America. No program for its protection—no program for power—will be effective which neglects the land itself.

We may come to a time when guns are more important than butter, but even in this mechanized world America will probably never fight a war in which the factories in the long run are more important than the farms. Modern war has taught us new lessons in military equipment. It must, if we are to be secure, also teach the absolute necessity of new intelligence and energy against the old waste of the land. In this crisis the friends of the land are the best friends of American security. Even more than peace, war would need the staffs and skills they have designed to protect it.

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BOOKS *and the* ARTS

Notes by the Way

IN "A Nest of Simple Folk" Seán O'Faoláin created an image of cottage life in Ireland which still glows in the mind more vividly than an actual memory. In its concentration of feeling, its singleness and simplicity of theme, it had the quality and force of lyric poetry. His new novel, bearing the ironic title "Come Back to Erin" (Viking Press, $2.50), has a complex theme and ranges a wide universe, in which "Erin" is a shifting personal symbol. To the central character of the book, Frankie Hannafey, infected with the conspiratorial virus, it is the revolution, which he is still fighting. To his older half-brother, St. John, grown rich and flabby and anchorless in New York, it is "home." "That house . . . had so often given him a belly-ache of desire in New York that he had cherished his thought of it as if it were a grail." To the ordinary Irishmen whom Frankie meets in New York bars it is a remote and sentimental tradition irrelevant to their actual American lives. For commentary, the reality of Ireland itself emerges in the touching loveliness of the countryside which Mr. O'Faoláin communicates so perfectly and the drab life of the house St. John yearns toward, where another brother Michael, clerk in the post office, weighed down with supporting his mother and sister these many years, dreams of Paris. Finally there is Jo, who loves Frankie, protects him fiercely from the police, and longs for an ordinary family life free of hopeless fixations about "the cause." She herself is a consumptive.

The principal episode is that of the affair between Frankie and St. John's American wife, Bee; and Balzac's remark, "Only the last love of a woman can satisfy the first love of a man," stands at the head of the first page of the book. But whatever the intention it remains an episode. Its theme is one of several which never fuse. This multiplicity of theme weakens the book from the point of view of form and force, but there are compensations in the richness of its characterization and observation, in the sensitive sure prose —Mr. O'Faoláin's capacity for evoking scene and atmosphere and personality in a few concentrated lines is well illustrated in his very first paragraph—and an intensity of feeling which is all the sharper for its fine edge of bitterness.

"JACKPOT" (Duell, Sloan, and Pearce, $3) contains seventy-five short stories by Erskine Caldwell, including nine not before available in book form. They range from slight to important; there are gusty tales of subhuman folk of the type set forth in "Tobacco Road" and tragic episodes in the black-and-white life of the South. Mr. Caldwell is at his best in these two categories, and his best is excellent. In such stories as Rachel he drops, as if between two stools, into sentimentality. Mr. Caldwell has prefaced each story with a comment of his own. Critics and reviewers and "Professor Horatio Perkins" are the butt of many of them; his grandfather is the subject of others, which I found the more amusing.

MISCELLANY: Scribner's has reissued the "Oracles of Nostradamus" ($2) edited by Charles A. Ward, an English scholar, and first published by Scribner's fifty years ago. It contains a chapter on the life of the great French misfortune-teller who lived four hundred years ago; an analysis by Mr. Ward—who defends his subject from the charge of being an impostor—of the meaning and fulfilment of the prophetic quatrains in which Nostradamus anticipated both names and dates by as much as 250 years; and a supplement containing a group of quatrains that might apply to our own time. Mr. Ward's scholarly decipherings are fascinating, and he himself, being very opionated and vigorous, is entertaining in his own right. Without his help the quatrains in the supplement remain obscure, though there are occasional startling lines and phrases. . . . Ben Lucian Burman's "Big River to Cross" (John Day, $3) is a pleasant book about the Mississippi today which describes the life up and down the great river. There are some good tall tales out of the mouths of shanty people and steamboat captains; an interesting account of the revival of the river's use as an important waterway as the result of a government experiment; and a description of the work and danger incurred in keeping lights going and courses charted along a stream which is forever shifting its banks and its bed. . . . "The Flying Visit" by Peter Fleming, with illustrations by David Low (Scribner's, $1.50), tells of a secret night flight over Britain, and an unexpected descent, by Adolf Hitler. It has its hilarious moments, to which its denouement doesn't quite measure up. But its light spirit and its reception in England would seem to confirm the stories of high morale. On that score, my favorite bit of evidence, for which I am indebted to *Variety*, is the quip recently sent out over the dignified B. B. C. It referred to a seaside boarding house "with large, bright rooms facing the enemy." . . . I reread "Pride and Prejudice" in the Pocket Books edition (the type is large and the price is 25 cents) before I saw the movie. I advise reversing the order. The film is very amusing in its own right, but only its plot and an occasional line are Jane Austen. I should be inclined to reproach Aldous Huxley if I knew less about the ways of Hollywood. MARGARET MARSHALL

Lotte in Weimar

THE BELOVED RETURNS. By Thomas Mann. Translated from the German by H. T. Lowe-Porter. Alfred A. Knopf. $2.50.

UNTIL its hero appears on page 281, Thomas Mann's Goethe novel threatens to become wholly bogged in the fabulous and vastly ramifying legend of its subject—in the torrents of defensive words and bungling surmises let forth by the garrulous puppets who surround the poet in his final apotheosis at Weimar. Goethe is here the poet as deity, the sage and national hero who "has got beyond the pathological and ripened into greatness" in the "West-Oestlicher

Divan." He appears as Privy Councilor, obedient to the fawning whims of Weimar society ("You can resign yourself with dignity now to being a stiff-legged Excellence and saying grace for your sycophants!") yet viewing from the serene couch of Hafiz the shattering thrones and quaking empires of 1816; a chosen intimate of Nature still, who puts final touches to his treatises on optics, crystals, and plant morphology while he pursues in his dreams his "bright vision of the depths." Mann has subjected him to a species of scientific recovery: though his novel's form obviously derives from his earlier experiments in musical structure, it suggests the methods of a paleontologist, and for half its length the fossils of Goethean legend and scholarship yield little sense of the living organism that once inhabited them.

Forty-four years after the Wetzlar idyl that gave the world "The Sorrows of Werther" and catapulted its author and its heroine into European fame, the Lotte of that novel, now Frau Councilor Charlotte Kestner of Hanover, arrives in Weimar. She has not seen Goethe since her girlhood. She comes ostensibly to visit her sister Frau Ridel, but secretly she means to win a revenge for having suffered, through half a century of virtuous bourgeois domesticity, the bondage of being involved in Goethe's "overwhelming life," a symbol who "from year to year had played an ever greater part in the thoughts and imaginations of mankind." Through six chapters of pompously ironical and deflationary dialogue (of a kind plausible in the German original but never congenial to Mann, and for which even Mrs. Lowe-Porter's scrupulous translation fails to find an English equivalent that allows genuine personality to emerge), Frau Kestner is treated to the deserts of a fame she has struggled a lifetime to evade.

She suffers the flabbergasted grovelings of her inn's major domo, the clamor of the townspeople, the imbecile gossip of a roving Irish lion-hunter called Rose Cuzzle, the shamefaced frustrations of Riemer, the great man's secretary, blighted by the proximity of greatness, the anxious conspiracy of Adele Schopenhauer, who is seeking a confederate to circumvent the marriage of Ottilie von Pogwisch to Goethe's mediocre son, and finally the pathetic self-revelation of that son himself, mere "by-blow and afterclap" of his father's Jovian love affairs, who comes to deliver Goethe's dinner invitation. These dialogues, unsustained by the dialectic tension of "The Magic Mountain" or the psychological realism contrived by James or Conrad for their interminable recitatives, describe the widening periphery of human absurdity and miscomprehension in which genius is compelled to live, but they are recorded with so thick a documentation of Goethean history, so turgid a dressing of period decorum and pontificality, that they almost succeed in laying an irremediable blight on the central fact of Goethe's character and existence. The concentrated blend of personal pathos and symbolic precision that distinguished "Tonio Kröger" and "Death in Venice" is missed, and with it is lost the tragic penetration of those shorter masterpieces, whose form Mann found, thirty years ago, to be inadequate to his Goethe theme. And for his present purpose the sheerly cumulative persistence of his prose epics proves equally amiss.

On page 281 the scene and method abruptly change. From Lotte's room at the Elephant we are transported to Goethe's bed-chamber in the Frauenplan and thus into the long interior monologue of the waking poet. The Colossus slowly rears his form, ponderous with the dignity of fame and power but still torn by the old conflict of forces: by the desire to repudiate the enslaving claims of a nation he has conquered by uttering "the most marvelously compelling matter-of-factness the world has ever seen" and so to raise to higher uses in the destiny of European man that "aesthetic autonomy" which his moral passion has brought into harmony with the "Antaean compensation" of the earth, of human fact and necessity. He despises and fears the sinister national ambitions of his "misbegotten race"; he defends the pan-European ideal of Napoleon, now exiled to St. Helena; he aspires toward "the supra-personal, supra-partisan, supra-racial standards and values" of art and humanitarianism. He stands as Mann's supreme token of the artist's mission among men, of the poet compelled out of visionary illusion and impotence by his saving manhood, of "a Titanism that has been pressed back by temporal contingency." He becomes the corrective focus of that subtle riddle of creative inspiration and defeat which has found successive embodiments in Tonio Kröger, the Bajazzo, Thomas Buddenbrooks, Hans Castorp, and finally in the transmutations of conscience and "cosmic sympathy" suffered by Joseph among the harsh realities of Egypt.

In the ninety-five pages of Goethe's reverie and in ten closing pages of farewells between the old poet and Lotte, a static novel springs into life and gives unforgettable expression to Mann's lifelong researches into the meaning of art, the role of the artist as mediator between idealism and resolution, the androgynous temper of the creative vision, the fatal nature of a sympathy for universal truth, the unremitting struggle against disillusionment that must accompany the aging man and the expanding consciousness of his conceiving mind. Here Goethe becomes the preeminent "marked man" of modern times, for he stands marked by the widest contemporary fame and suspicion ever gained by a poet. If we leave him in an aura of final ambiguity ("I am the flame . . . I am the candle too . . . And finally I am the drunken butterfly that falls to the flame—figure of the eternal sacrifice, body transmuted into soul, and life to spirit"), it is partly because Mann has not found here the clarifying allegory that distinguishes his greatest work. He has written his novel out of the devoted passion of a lifetime, but he has written it more with ideas than with words —more with historical documentation than with the dramatic and poetic reality that would crystallize its central meaning and make its characters the immediate solvents of the mysterious complex of aesthetic vision. Yet "The Beloved Returns," short as it is in imaginative grace and critical lucidity, takes its place in the unity of Mann's whole work and thought. It brings to final terms his study of the artist's role in society, and in its patent autobiographical references it brings Goethe to take his place anew in a time of confusion and violence comparable to his own and even more desperately in need of his inspired sanity and passionate defense of human destiny.

MORTON DAUWEN ZABEL

A Primer to Nazi Germany

THEY WANTED WAR. By Otto D. Tolischus. Reynal and Hitchcock. $3.

THERE are many books on National Socialist Germany, but none will prove more useful as an introduction to the subject than this volume by Mr. Tolischus; it must, indeed, be read by anyone who wishes to discuss the consequences of the Nazi revolution with intelligence. Mr. Tolischus has been a correspondent of the New York *Times* in Germany for the last eight years. He was born in Germany and knows the German language and mentality, and is therefore better qualified than most observers to grasp the true meaning of events in Germany. Some American scholars, like Professor William E. Dodd of the University of Chicago, or President George Norlin of the University of Colorado, who had the opportunity to observe the rise of the National Socialist government in Germany, immediately understood the directions and consequences of National Socialism. But many people, even today, refuse to face the truth about it and become thus its most important allies outside Germany.

Mr. Tolischus presents a picture of all phases of life in a totalitarian state. His is a sober and objective report. He has no brilliancy of style, nor does he adorn his account with any of those lively sketches which are the usual support of modern journalism. The factualness of his book makes it the more impressive. And frequently, in terse sentences, he illumines the situation to its depth. The clarity of the style makes the book easy reading, but the subject matter is of the most serious import for every human being everywhere.

The National Socialists, and with them the Fascists in Italy, in Spain, and in other countries, see in the present war not only an effort at the redistribution of power or a struggle for new social forms; for them the present war is, above all, part of "a life-and-death struggle between two cultures, two ways of living and dying, two moral concepts, and two systems of social, political, and economic organization." The outcome will not only decide the status of Germany but determine the future shape of individual and social life all over this earth. "Each conquered country has been only a base of departure for new conquests; the final goal is announced to be the world rule of the German race." This rule will regulate the life of the non-Germanic races under German command for Germany's aim, and will give them the security of hard work and subject peace instead of their former liberty.

The National Socialists have never made a secret of their aim of world domination or of the methods by which they hope to arrive at this goal, methods which they have employed successfully first in Germany, later in Europe, and now in America. In a short sentence Mr. Tolischus gives an explanation of their success: "The National Socialist aims that lie beyond the conquest of any individual country have been revealed to the world long since with a calculating frankness that won them the death-defying allegiance of German youth—a fact which precludes their abandonment—and seduced the rest of the world into not taking them seriously." The story of National Socialism owes its fascination to the very fact that it has succeeded in translating the wildest and most fantastic dreams into reality.

HANS KOHN

Growing Up

THE CANYON. By Peter Viertel. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $2.50.

WRITING from the point of view of a young man about twenty, Mr. Viertel (who is only nineteen) conjures up the nostalgic story of a California adolescence, redolent of the bitter-sweet tang that life holds more abundantly during the 'teen years than ever before or after. The book has something of the flavor of John Fante's "Wait Until Spring, Bandini" and "Ask the Dust," but Mr. Viertel's hero is neither neurotic nor hypersensitive, has no more repressions than nine out of ten lads who take death and friendship and sex and religion with mortal seriousness and are rebuffed by the incomprehensible veil of flippancy with which their elders try to conceal their own uncertainty. Take Studs Lonigan out of the squalid Chicago slums into the clean air of a California canyon, give him a little more intelligence and a few more wholesome companions, and you have some picture of George Rivers, proud of his athletic feats and his place in the "gang," pathetically eager to grapple the Present to him, to postpone the uncertain Future, which is college and new people, far places, unknown, mistrusted values. It is easy to focus on either the humorous or the sordid side of these boy-vagaries, to make either a Henry Aldrich or a Studs Lonigan; Mr. Viertel has distilled from them, rather, a poignant, unvarnished poetry.

From the small but remarkably vivid gallery of George's boyhood friends several portraits stand out boldly in the memory: Keetcheye, partly tamed half-breed Indian who lorded it like a despot over the gang; Betsy, a stunt horseback rider, George's first love and the only girl in the bunch; Perfecto, a Mexican lad whose family once owned the whole canyon but who grows up to be snubbed as a greaser by Jimmy, a born drugstore cowboy. It is hard, even in a long novel, to put one's finger on the exact tricks by which the writer has made his people live and breathe; in a short book like "The Canyon" real three-dimensional character sculpture would seem to require nothing short of black magic. If this be so, then Mr. Viertel must have waved the wand and mouthed the spell, for in less than three hundred pages he has made Keetcheye and Betsy and Jimmy and Perfecto—and, of course, the narrator, George—so solid and corporeal you could pinch them.

LOUIS B. SALOMON

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IN BRIEF

AESCHYLUS, THE CREATOR OF TRAGEDY. By Gilbert Murray. Oxford University Press. $3.

In the latest of his contributions to the understanding of Greek drama it is the author's thesis that Aeschylus was the "creator" of tragedy in that he brought to it majesty of language, a new stage technique, and the ideas of a great poet. It takes more Greek than belongs to most of "the public" to whom the book is addressed to decide how far modern ideas may have been read into the Greeks in this reinterpretation. No Greek is required to follow and enjoy the exposition and to gain vital stimulation and illumination from it.

NEUTRALITY FOR THE UNITED STATES. By Edwin Borchard and William Potter Lage. Yale University Press. $3.50.

This new edition of a well-known book, first published in 1937, has an added chapter covering events of the past three years. The authors are extremely critical of the foreign policy of the Administration, which they see as based on emotional judgments unwarranted by any American interest. Advocating a neutrality of deed, word, and heart, they appear to believe that, if this could be achieved, we could afford to be completely unperturbed about the outcome of the present war. This is isolationism of the stratospheric or "Lone Eagle" variety.

ZALAR MILLIONU. By Vojta Benes. Chicago University Press. 50 cents.

Vojta Benes is an older brother of Dr. Eduard Benes, the second President of Czechoslovakia. His book, written in Czech, bears the title "A Prison for Millions," which is only another name for the so-called Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia. The book is a somber record of German bestialities and Czech sufferings—the looting of the country, the sadist persecution of leading citizens, the mass murder of Czech students, and what is less well known here, the systematic effort of the invaders to pauperize, Germanize, and finally destroy the Czech nation. Tens of thousands of workmen have been deported to Germany; Czech industries have been taken over by Germans; the country's foreign trade, its chief source of prosperity, has been destroyed; its universities are closed. Czech farmers have not yet been driven from their lands, but their crops are under German control, and starvation threatens.

RECORDS

THE report of Victor's price reductions was relayed to me too late on August 19 for it to be inserted in last week's column. Red Seal records—including those of Toscanini, Stokowski, Flagstad, and other favorites—are now $1 for twelve-inch, 75 cents for ten-inch; for Black Label Classics the prices are 75 and 50 cents.

Not long ago I had occasion to observe that even worse than the music of our Coplands, Harrises, and Hindemiths is their talk about the music—with the ad hoc aesthetics, the misstatements and misinterpretations of history, and the other confusions that are dust in the eyes of people whose ears alone would not be fooled. And now it is Krenek who tells us of the piano pieces he has recorded for Columbia (X-171, $2): "In the fall of 1938 I had repeated occasion to discuss with piano teachers the music which they let their students play. I soon noticed that contemporary music was represented in this material by only a trifling number of pieces of secondary significance. More advanced styles and techniques of composition were practically not taken into consideration at all. I was told that it was not the lack of good will on the part of teachers that was responsible . . . but rather the lack of suitable compositions. Thus I decided to contribute to an improvement of the situation . . . and in December, 1938, I composed 'Twelve Short Piano Pieces, Written in Twelve-Tone Technique.' . . . The musical contents of the pieces as well as their performing difficulty are meant to correspond with the capacity and the interest of normally advanced students and amateurs." All as bland as though it were Chopin talking about his Etudes, and about an idiom which "normally advanced" students and amateurs would take to in the way babies take to milk. Since actually it is Krenek talking about pieces written in the twelve-tone technique I doubt that his contribution to the improvement of the situation will improve it. Thanks to Krenek, that is, there will be pieces in the "advanced styles and techniques" available; but I doubt that many "normally advanced students and amateurs" will want to play them or listen to them.

Boccherini's Quartet Opus 33 No. 5 is the sort of work which first-rate quartet-playing, with its fluidity and sensitiveness, can make delightful, but which the Roth Quartet's playing—though a little less stiff, and recorded with a little less harshness—makes only moderately charming and enjoyable (X-170, $2.50). Copland's Two Pieces for String Quartet, well played by the Dorian Quartet and well recorded (70092-D, $1), you can neglect.

The Decca version of Prokofiev's "Peter and the Wolf" (Set 130, $3.50) has one important point of superiority over the Victor: Frank Luther's informal room-size delivery of the narrative, as against Richard Hale's declamation into the reverberant space of unfilled Symphony Hall. But the music as Smallens performs it with a group of New York Philharmonic players has none of the color and brightness and wit that it has in Koussevitzky's performance with the Boston Symphony. The recording is clear, but in my set there is some bad off-center wavering in pitch.

Announcing the end of its offer, the New York *Post* also announced two additional sets: Beethoven's Eighth Symphony and Tchaikovsky's "Nutcracker" Suite. Of the symphony both performance and recording are coarse-grained; the suite is played with beautiful tone and finish, though also with occasional interpretive affectations, and the performance is one of the best recorded of the series.

Though the *Post* is no longer selling the records they are being sold throughout the country under the auspices of the National Committee for Music Appreciation by newspapers, music clubs, local committees, and so on. Some time ago I wrote to the National Committee and asked for a list of these various agencies and the various prices they were selling the records for, but received no answer. A White Plains reader wrote to ask where he could buy the records, and was informed that they were being sold by newspapers, music clubs, and so on; and his letter of further inquiry was not answered. The records were sold at one time by the Washington *Star,* Los Angeles *Times,* Buffalo *Courier-Express,* Oakland *Tribune,* Portland (Ore.) *Journal;* they can be had from the Boston Committee for Music Appreciation, 150 Federal Street; and I would welcome further information, including prices, from *Nation* readers in other cities where the records are being sold at present.

B. H. HAGGIN

Letters to the Editors

Not Labor's Fault

Dear Sirs: An article by Harold Laski entitled British Labor in Retreat in *The Nation* of October 2, 1937, answers the slander that British labor, by holding up production, was responsible for the national unpreparedness to meet Nazi aggression. I quote some pertinent passages:

> The central feature of the [Norwich Trade Union] Congress was the decision not to oppose the rearmament program. Labor has now adopted an attitude of which the London *Times* can rightly say that "there is no longer even the appearance of disagreement between the government and the opposition on the need for the rearmament that is in progress." . . . Labor assumes that fascism menaces democracy, which must be armed to meet the menace. It therefore commits itself to supporting the provision of arms. . . . That is why trade-union leaders refuse to take advantage of the present boom. That is why in almost every big union militant members are penalized, unofficial strikes vigorously suppressed, and too zealous strikers, like some in the Transport Workers' Union and the Electrical Trades' Union, are actually expelled. The leaders, in fact, have assured the government and the employers that they need not expect difficulties from the trade unions in completing the armament program.

That testimony is all the more convincing because it was given nearly three years ago and because Laski wrote disapprovingly of labor's policy. (Laski now admits the policy was correct, since he supports the war as a war against fascism, for democracy.)

British unpreparedness was not labor's fault; it was the fault of big business's economic sabotage and the Tory government's political and military misunderstanding of the Nazi menace. That was equally true in France. After the strikes in July, 1936, when the Popular Front government came to power, not a single strike occurred in the French armament industries, including aviation. Moreover, in the airplane industry labor agreed to work five hours more a week. But even if hours had been increased two or three times that much, it would still have been a drop in the bucket, because the French airplane industry had only 35,000 workers compared with Germany's 200,000. French big business made no effort to enlarge the airplane industry or to use most efficiently the industry already in existence.

Secretary of War Stimson stated recently that during the preceding seven weeks only 33 planes had been ordered, although the army had been trying to place orders for 4,000. Why? Because manufacturers refuse to accept orders before they have legislation assuring them of higher profits and favorable taxation. Yet these gentlemen and their journalistic apologists are urging longer hours for workers—while 10,000,000 are still unemployed—and the end of social reform as necessary for national defense. Shall we repeat the Anglo-French experience?

LEWIS COREY

New York, August 15

Youth and the Draft

Dear Sirs: Young men between the ages of twenty-one and thirty-one are in the news today because Messrs. Burke and Wadsworth, and others, think it necessary to draft them in order to preserve "the integrity and institutions of the United States."

We, who are among the youth to be drafted, are opposed to the compulsory-military-training bill for the following reasons: (1) It is not necessary. We see fascist bullies making gains in the world, but we believe there are ways of raising an adequate army to defend America besides this selective conscription. (2) Placing hundreds of thousands of us under army rule in peace time is a threat to our basic freedom of thought and action. Why not conscript our thinking into one mold for "efficient defense" of democracy? (3) Conscription is a temporary expedient to meet a "crisis" and not an answer to the underlying problem of unemployment, which is a real threat to American democracy.

We recognize that the problem before America is the defense of its democratic way of life. We propose the following: (1) A national program of functional education in the democratic way of life. Operated in the local community by local leadership and resources (schools, colleges, church, forum, etc.) its aim should be to rediscover the "grass roots" of democracy in everyday living. Emphasis should be placed upon the responsibilities as well as the freedom in democracy. (2) A national survey of the situation and a national and local effort to find youth a place in the present American system—a searching, scientific approach to the problem of youth's unemployment. (3) The establishment of voluntary, non-military work camps to teach young Americans skills useful in peace or war. These camps should be nation-wide but take advantage of local conditions in planning the specialized training to be offered. The wages paid should be near the union wage minimum. (4) Voluntary one-year enlistment in the army for wages of $30 a month.

If the energies and imagination of youth are freed in an expansion of the democratic way of life, then they will of themselves rally to America's defense and development.

DAVID BURGESS
LEONARD DETWEILER

Philadelphia, Pa., August 21

Political Realism

Dear Sirs: I read with interest and disappointment Charles Malcolmson's article on the Flynn appointment. It is to me a very discouraging thing to find intelligent liberals still politically so naive. Those of us who believe that Roosevelt's defeat in November would be a major disaster must wake up to the fact that it will take every Democratic vote, reactionary, machine, and New Deal, to prevent it. There aren't enough conscious enthusiastic New Deal votes to do it. There aren't enough enthusiastic Republican votes to elect Willkie either.

The election will be decided, as usual, by the way the great mass of inert, unpolitical citizens can be shoved. And that means machine organization, of whatever kind is needed in each locality. It means the organization work of all the boys Jim Farley called by their first names. This is no time for unrealistic idealistic purges. George Peek and Governor White may jump the reservation without serious loss, but if Jim Farley's boys take a walk, it's all up with the New Deal.

I don't know anything about Flynn except that he is a man who knows the value of ward organization and can probably swing New York state. Those are two vitally important assets. No brain-truster could do as much. Roosevelt has got to have somebody whose major interest is the local county and ward clubs. Corcoran and Cohen, Berle and Hopkins may be full of bright ideas, but they don't drag the voters down to register and see that Aunt Hester is called for with a car on Election Day.

The two biggest mistakes Roosevelt made, the ones that turned public opinion against him most strongly, were the attempt to purge the court and the attempt to purge certain Senators and Congressmen. I hope you won't urge him to purge the Democratic National Committee at a time like this!

PETER OLSON

Milwaukee, Wis., August 20

Monopoly Morals

Dear Sirs: Our oil monopolies continue their traditional tactics with a pertinacity worthy of a better cause. Upon the arrival in Havana, by previous agreement, of 50,000 barrels of Mexican crude to be refined, the Standard and Shell companies immediately dropped their prices in order to undersell the Mexican oil and drive it from the market (*El Nacional,* August 12). Similarly, the contract signed last April by the manager of the Mexican distributing company with the Petroleum Heat and Power Company of New York was canceled as a result of pressure brought to bear by the American oil companies (*El Nacionale,* August 6).

Will concerns known to have used such tactics consistently throughout their entire history be seriously affected by a "moral" embargo against shipping oil to Japan or other totalitarian countries?

MINA A. GILDERSLEEVE

Austin, Tex., August 22

Demand for Loyalty

Dear Sirs: A democracy is apparently unable to purge out the fifth columnists and fascist sympathizers in high posts in the armed forces. How, then, are we going to keep them from selling us out at the front? Will they do anything less in a war they do not want to win? Public opinion can force them to fight a war they do not believe in, but it cannot compel their loyalty.

We must also demand pledges of Roosevelt and Willkie that they will not appoint ambassadors and other key men who favor the Axis, a tendency that has dogged Roosevelt despite all his liberal avowals.

T. A. TENOR

Beaver Falls, Pa., August 21

CONTRIBUTORS

CHARLES MALCOLMSON, a Washington newspaperman, was formerly on the staff of the Philadelphia *Record.*

HEINZ POL, a German émigré journalist, will soon publish a book on France entitled "Suicide of a Democracy."

WALDO FRANK recently resigned as contributing editor of the *New Republic* because of his objection to that journal's policy on the war. He is the author of many books, the latest of which is "Chart for Rough Water."

ROSE STEIN is a Pittsburgh journalist who covers chiefly labor news.

MORTON DAUWEN ZABEL, a former editor of *Poetry,* has published an anthology of "Literary Opinion in America."

HANS KOHN, professor of modern European history at Smith College, is the author of "Revolution and Dictatorship" and other books.

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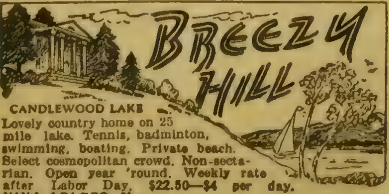

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The Shape of Things

THE SETTLEMENT BY THE AXIS OF THE Transylvanian problem is a cynical piece of opportunism which can endure only as long as its promoters possess the armed strength to maintain it. No attempt was made to seek a solution on an ethnic basis, for in the section given to Hungary a clear majority of the population is Rumanian. Economic considerations were likewise ignored, and the decisive factor appears to have been strategic. The portion allotted to Hungary gives it the entire line of the Carpathian Mountains, where its army will stand as advance guard of the Axis against any encroachments from the east. Attempts are being made in Rome and Berlin to represent the settlement as a freely accepted arbitral award, but in fact it was reluctantly agreed to by the Rumanian government under pressure amounting to an ultimatum. Widespread demonstrations have indicated popular resentment, particularly in Transylvania itself, where the peasants who obtained farms through the Rumanian agrarian reforms fear they will be ousted once again by the big landlords who dominate the Budapest government. The threat of a Nazi occupation will probably prevent any organized uprising, but on the other hand a discontented peasantry may fail to produce food in the quantities expected by Berlin. Meanwhile it is reported that German and Italian mechanized forces will shortly take over the defense of Rumania's eastern frontier in fulfilment of an absolute military guaranty which, the Rumanian Foreign Minister said in a broadcast, is "unlike that ever given any other country in the world except little Slovakia." This statement summarizes succinctly the degree of independence left to Rumania.

*

THE VICHY GOVERNMENT APPEARS TO BE losing control of the French colonies. The Lake Chad region, French Equatorial Africa, and the Cameroons have gone over to General de Gaulle's committee, as has New Caledonia, the nickel-producing island in the Pacific. In Gabon and French Indo-China the situation is more obscure, but even reports from Vichy indicate the presence of strong dissident elements. They seem to be encouraged by two factors—the stout resistance put up by Britain and the desperate economic plight of the colonies, which are practically cut off from trade with the outside world. It is reported that in the French West Indies business is at a standstill and that a large majority of the inhabitants are agitating for a repudiation of Vichy and a reentry into the fight at Britain's side.

*

"THE ROAD OF SACRIFICE" DOWN WHICH Wendell Willkie, in his acceptance speech, pledged himself to lead the American people is reserved for commoners only, and not for big business. The hysterical cry of "sovietization" raised by the Republican candidate against the Overton-Russell amendment to the conscription bill provides a measure of Willkie's liberalism. The amendment would give the President power to commandeer plants necessary for the national defense when this step is necessary to insure the cooperation of a recalcitrant industry. The measure of conscription thus provided for business is of a far milder variety than that provided for men, and we see no better reason for permitting great corporations to make the last full measure of profit out of defense under threat of strikes by capital than for allowing men to decide on what terms they will agree to fight. "Can it be true," Willkie asks, "that the people of this country are not cooperating with the government in its defense efforts? If this is the fact, we should hear about it." Where has Willkie been hiding the past few weeks? The people *are* cooperating, but a section of big business, particularly the aviation and steel companies, has been engaged in a sitdown strike against the defense program. Had this been a strike of workers, news of it might have penetrated even to Rushville, Indiana.

*

THE SITDOWN STRIKE OF THE AVIATION companies, discussed in I. F. Stone's three articles, the last of which we publish this week, is still under way. The House has passed a bill repealing profit limits on plane contracts, allowing plane manufacturers to write off their new plants and equipment by deducting the cost

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from their tax bill over a five-year period, and imposing a mild excess-profits tax. But for all the ballyhoo and the reassuring statement now issued by the President himself in defense of his Defense Commission, the plane companies will not really go to work until the Senate has passed the bill, too. Unlike the men who will ultimately fly their planes, they take no chances. The facts brought out by Mr. Stone in his article this week merit the attention of every member of Congress and should be considered by the Military Affairs committees. We are inclined to agree with Mr. Stone that we shall be unable quickly and efficiently to build up a great air force without new government factories on mass-production lines to supplement the efforts of our small-scale and greedy aviation industry.

*

THE SUPPLEMENT ON WENDELL WILLKIE put out this week by the *New Republic* is a campaign publication of unusual value. Well-documented and readable, it will provide material for a hundred election speeches. Naturally it cannot tell the whole story; Willkie's record as revealed in his own speeches and writings, for example, is touched upon but not fully exposed. But it gives in detail and convincingly the story of the candidate as utilities counsel and super-fixer, and presents a most damaging picture of the labor record of the Commonwealth and Southern affiliates. The Democratic national chairman, Edward J. Flynn, has already discovered uses for what will prove to be a very valuable little handbook.

*

THE WORST ENEMIES OF LABOR WILL FIND ammunition in the current attempt of James C. Petrillo, president of the American Federation of Musicians, to take over the soloists and conductors of the American Guild of Musical Artists. Only a last-minute restraining order obtained from Justice Pecora in New York City by Lawrence Tibbett and his fellow-artists of the guild prevented Petrillo from carrying out his threat to bar America's most famous instrumental and vocal soloists from opera, concert stage, screen, and radio. The only alternative offered them was to resign from the guild and join the Federation of Musicians by Labor Day. In the forty-five years of its existence the musicians' union has never before taken an interest in the soloists or tried to organize them. Under Joe Weber, who retired in June to make way for Petrillo, the musicians' union had been on friendly terms with the guild and had made no objection to its entrance into the A. F. of L. In an ultimatum to Tibbett, the head of the Guild, Petrillo admits that there is no competition between the members of the two unions, says frankly that he does not think the soloists need a union, but insists that if they wish to join one they will have to join his. Or else. To call the musicians' union "his" is no figurative expression. Justice Pecora expressed amazement at the union's constitution and by-laws, which permit Petrillo to change the constitution as he pleases and to impose individual fines up to $5,000 without trial. Petrillo draws a total of $46,000 a year in salaries from the union.

*

ACCORDING TO A STUDY MADE BY THE SEC and a group of WPA workers in Massachusetts, industrial insurance is the most wasteful form of insurance for the policy-holder and the most profitable to the insurance companies. Massachusetts was chosen for the survey because its regulations are stringent and because savings-bank life insurance, an inexpensive substitute for industrial insurance, is sold in that state. A WPA grant made it possible to interview 2,132 low-income families in and around Boston. Most striking of the discoveries was that savings-bank life insurance, for which Louis Brandeis pioneered before the war, has done very little for the people who need it most. The investigators found that of these 2,132 low-income families 1,666 carried regular life insurance, aggregating more than $4,000,000 while only 129 had savings-bank policies, aggregating a little less than $85,000. Eighty-eight out of every 100 insured families carried some industrial insurance, and 42 out of every 100 carried only industrial insurance. With an income averaging $300 per person a year, these poor families were spending an average of 5 per cent, and some as much as 24 per cent, of their income on insurance. Industrial insurance, paid on the weekly-instalment plan, is the most expensive kind. From 1927 to 1937 only 7.56 per cent of this insurance had matured or had been paid at death. Lapses were 53.96 per cent, and it is on the lapses that the companies make their big profits. Since policies lapse when poor families are sold more insurance than they can carry, high-pressure salesmanship is encouraged.

*

PREMIER KONOYE'S STATEMENT RULING OUT a one-party system as the basis for Japan's new national structure may indicate an increasing lack of congeniality between Tokyo and the Axis powers. But its significance probably lies chiefly in the area of domestic politics. As Konoye points out, Japan differs from the fascist states in its adherence to the theory that all power stems from the Emperor. Outright rejection of the democratic forms of the present constitution would, in effect, be disrespectful to the Throne, since the constitution was handed down as an imperial grant. The fact that this technicality has arisen to plague the new government suggests the existence of an opposition stronger than recent news reports have indicated. This would seem to be borne out by the uncertainty and hesitation which have characterized Japanese foreign policy since the advent of the

Konoye government. Although the extremists are in power, the essential strength of the commercial and financial groups which have long opposed the adventurism of the army appears to remain. Should the new government make a serious misstep, such as seeming to affront the dignity of the Emperor, the moderates might yet regain power. A decisive military setback, either in China or elsewhere in Eastern Asia, might have the same results.

*

MEXICO'S AGREEMENT WITH THE VICHY government of France constitutes the first real break for refugees since the beginning of the fascist onslaught on civilian populations. Under the agreement Mexico will not only open its gates to the 250,000 Spanish refugees remaining in France, without regard to creed or political belief, but will pay for their upkeep in France until transported and also the cost of transportation. Some of the funds, presumably, will come from the portion of the Spanish republic's gold reserve which was shipped to Mexico at the conclusion of the Spanish civil war. Mexico stands to gain financially and in other ways from the admission of 250,000 people who speak the same language and will undoubtedly bring much-needed skills to their new world. But Mexico's act is nevertheless a bold and generous one. It shows a happy contrast with the grudging policy toward refugees so far pursued by the richest country in the world. The admission of Spain's anti-fascist exiles should also make it clear that the sympathies of the Mexican government are on the democratic side. It is to be hoped that the current tension engendered by the refusal of Almazán and his followers to accept defeat will not be successfully used by anti-Mexican elements in the United States and fifth-column elements in Mexico to foster trouble below the border.

Britain and Bucharest

ANOTHER week of air raids has taken its toll of British lives and caused an unknown amount of physical damage but has left undented both the morale of the besieged island and its capacity to hit back. To the surprise and annoyance of the Nazis the Royal Air Force has been pounding Berlin and apparently with some success, for German spokesmen, who have so often boasted of their own secret devices, are now explaining that the British have found a way to render their planes invisible. This story seems hardly calculated to reassure Berliners, who according to the Hitlerian time-table should by now be celebrating the downfall of London but instead find themselves continually diving into air-raid shelters.

The schedule of the Hitlerian express has at last been upset by an obstacle on the line for which an insufficient time allowance had been made—the pig-headed refusal of the British to acknowledge that they were licked. The collapse of France ought to have reduced them to a proper state of humility. But it didn't, and today, after weeks of aerial *Blitzkrieg,* they still persist in their stupid defiance. Presumably they will refuse to be convinced until the German army actually lands in Britain and occupies London. But that plan, as long as the British navy stays afloat and the air force remains aloft, involves bigger risks than Hitler seems ready to take.

Thus as summer fades, the days shorten, and the season of fogs and gales draws near, the prospects of a winter-long stalemate in the Battle for Britain increase. But in this game stalemate is not equally distressing to both sides. For Britain it means a chance to raise its defense walls higher, to swell its numbers of trained men, to complete its mobilization of resources, and to augment them by drawing on this and other overseas countries. For Germany, on the other hand, it means a halt to a series of brilliant successes, the postponement of that final victory without which the conquest of Europe becomes naught, and the possibility of weakened morale in the course of a long winter of short rations and deferred hopes.

Under these circumstances students of Hitlerian technique would be little surprised if a diversion were attempted, and recent developments suggest that the Occidental Express may be turned round to become the Oriental Express. In the Near East events have been dramatic in the past week. Italy has made little headway toward fulfilling its boast of driving the British out of Egypt, but it has been intensifying its aerial attacks. However, its fleet is unwiling or unable to dispute the mastery of the eastern Mediterranean with Britain, and this may explain why the pressure it is exerting on Greece has not yet been brought to a head. Meanwhile, Hungary and Rumania proved totally unable to reach a compromise on Transylvania and broke up their conference with mutual accusations of frontier violations. As a result representatives of the two states were summoned to Vienna by the Axis and handed a dictated solution. According to the meager details available at the time of writing, the Vienna award gives Hungary most of what it was demanding and leaves Rumania denuded of practically all its gains from the last war. Since both countries had vied in their subservience to the dictators, some further explanation seems necessary. Perhaps it is that the Axis powers regard Hungary as a more efficient barrier than Rumania to any westward move by Russia. However, King Carol is to have a consolation prize if he accepts the shrinkage of his kingdom quietly, for what remains is to be guaranteed by Germany against all aggressors.

It appears that fear of a renewed Russian invasion played a considerable part in Rumania's submission to the Vienna ultimatum. This fear had been enhanced by reports of the massing of Soviet troops in Bessarabia and the recrudescence of violent frontier incidents along the new Russo-Rumanian border. Thus once again Germany has been able to exploit successfully the Russian peril.

Were Moscow's actions intended to have this effect, and, if so, what will be the quid pro quo? Or was the renewed display of Russian strength along the River Pruth designed as a reminder of Russia's permanent interest in the Balkans? Whatever the explanation, the result would seem to be an increase of German prestige and influence in that region which is unlikely, in the long run, to prove beneficial to Russian interests. Moreover, the high-handed settlement of the Transylvanian question may turn out to be merely a prelude to a southward thrust by Germany which would immediately confront Stalin's government with a problem insoluble by immoral bargainings. For if, as there is some reason to believe, Hitler's next move will be an attempt to outflank the British in the eastern Mediterranean, then that old bone of contention between German and Slav—the control of the Dardanelles—will be immediately exhumed. That very fact may make Hitler hesitate unless he feels that the need of a diversion from the Battle of Britain has become desperately urgent. In that case this eventful week in the Balkans will prove but a curtain-raiser to a melodrama on a much vaster stage.

The Draft Bill

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

IT IS foolish to call the Selective Training and Service Act a measure for "peace-time conscription." The United States is not waging military war, but it is only nominally at peace. Openly and officially we have identified ourselves with the nations fighting against Hitler. We are rapidly perfecting joint defense plans with Canada and agreements for the establishment of air and naval bases on Canadian and British territory in this hemisphere. Mussolini's term "non-belligerent ally" describes as accurately as any other the actual if unofficial relationship of the United States to Britain.

And so the conscription bill is in reality less exceptional and startling than its opponents insist. It is a war measure, enacted on the assumption that active participation in the struggle cannot ultimately be avoided. The virtue of the present measure is that it offers some chance that our soldiers may be sufficient in numbers and trained in the complicated techniques of modern warfare when the day of battle dawns.

The act as passed by the Senate was improved in many respects during debate. It is still far from perfect, but with all its weaknesses, it is preferable that the measure be put through rather than delayed for more weeks of debate. The chief objection to the act is a very general one which has been expressed in these pages ever since conscription was first proposed. It is too narrow. With more thought and daring a plan of collective service could have been devised which would have taken in all able-bodied young people and created not only soldiers but mechanics and nurses and home guards and conservationists and ambulance drivers and many other sorts of technicians as well. The technical courses recently started in the schools and the work of the CCC supply a part of the training I have in mind. But the inevitable tendency at present is to draw into such services the unemployed and the "underprivileged," instead of extending them to a whole age-group without regard to economic status. Perhaps a coordinated system can ultimately be built out of the fragmentary plans now being developed, but such a scheme will never emerge from the military mind. The Burke-Wadsworth bill is strictly a defense measure and must be judged in its own terms.

The House is considering, as I write, an amendment, proposed by the Military Affairs Committee, to raise the upper age limit for registrants to forty-five. This is an improvement over the twenty-one-to-thirty-one limit set by the Senate. While men for active service should be taken from the young group, it is desirable that all useful citizens be registered and their capacities tabulated. Registration should be looked upon as a census of the human resources of the nation. The broader the age limits, the wider the choice.

I don't like the provision restricting service in the land forces to the Western Hemisphere and the possessions and territories of the United States. Suppose in the course of a struggle against Germany it became necessary to occupy Iceland. Such a restriction would be promptly repealed on demand of the military authorities. It was included in the act, without doubt, to reassure the majority who oppose sending our boys to fight in "foreign wars." But Hitler's war is not a foreign war even today; it is a war against our security and our institutions, and if we enter it as an active belligerent we shall fight it where and as we must.

More serious defects appear in the provision designed to protect the jobs of men called into the armed forces. The bill says that persons who have satisfactorily completed their period of training and service, who are able to carry on their former duties, and who apply for reemployment within forty days of their discharge shall be restored to their positions or to others "of like seniority, status, and pay." But this provision is heavily qualified. If a man has been disabled in service or has lost his skill through lack of practice, the bill gives him no protection. If an employer's "circumstances have so changed as to make it impossible or unreasonable" for him to take back his former employee, the latter has no recourse. To meet the situation, the bill provides for a personnel division to help ex-service men get back their jobs or, failing that, find new ones elswhere. This is a step in the right direction. It should be reinforced by special legislation to extend unemployment insurance to all cases of unemployment resulting from service in the army and to give preference to ex-service men on public-works projects and in the WPA.

The bill provides for legal action against an employer who refuses to take back a worker after his training period is completed. But this, too, is qualified. The United States District Court is empowered to "require such employer to comply" with the provisions of the law and also to compensate the aggrieved employee for loss of wages or other benefits suffered during his period of unemployment. But nothing is said about penalties in case the employer refuses to obey the court's order.

The section of the act defining the rights of conscientious objectors has been improved, but it is still unsatisfactory. It provides for exemption from combatant service of any person who "by reason of religious training or belief" is conscientiously opposed to war. Such a person, if judged to be sincere in his objections after a hearing by the Department of Justice, may be assigned to non-combatant service or, if he rejects such service, to "work of national importance under civilian direction." He has a right of appeal to a civilian board authorized to determine finally all questions of exemption from service. This procedure offers fair protection to the religious objector. But no provision whatever is made for the objector on moral or political grounds, though his reasons for refusing may be quite as compelling.

Religious sensibilities are protected by another section of the act which seems discriminatory as well as foolish. Ministers of religion and theological students are unqualifiedly exempted from service. Why? Is the practice of theology of greater national importance than the manufacture of arms or the raising of wheat? Men engaged in such enterprises may be excused from service only if their work is considered "necessary to the maintenance of the national health, safety, or interest"; and even then their period of service is merely "deferred." It seems to me that able-bodied young theologians should undergo military training along with their lay brothers.

The bill has other defects. Some of them may be ironed out during this week's debate; some will have to be corrected later by amendments or new legislation. They should not, in any case, be viewed as major objections to a system of selective service. The building of a democratic army depends in the end, not on detailed safeguards, but on the will of a democratic people.

On Labor Day John L. Lewis demanded that labor be given full participation in the defense program, including "adequate representation upon the policy-making agencies of government." But at the same time he denounced war "hysteria" and attacked the conscription bill as an instrument of reaction. Mr. Lewis cannot have it both ways. If labor in this country, as in the fated democracies of Europe, refuses to recognize the dangers that face us and continues to oppose defense efforts, it cannot at the same time expect "full participation." Only by accepting the need for a defense program can labor throw its weight on the side of democratic methods in carrying out that program. At Newfound Gap on Labor Day the President said what Lewis lacked the imagination to say:

> The greatest attack that has ever been launched against freedom of the individual is nearer the Americas than ever before. To meet that attack we must prepare beforehand, for preparing later may and probably would be too late.
>
> We must prepare in a thousand ways. Men are not enough. They must have arms. They must learn how to use those arms. They must have skilled leaders, who must be trained. New bases must be established to enable our fleet to defend our shores. Men and women must be taught to create the supplies that we need. And we must counter the agents of the dictators within the country.

If these words had been spoken by one of our labor leaders, the hope of a strong and democratic defense program would be greater than it is today.

CONTENTS

THE SHAPE OF THINGS 181

EDITORIALS:

BRITAIN AND BUCHAREST 183
THE DRAFT BILL by Freda Kirchwey 184
WILL THE FARMER VOTE FOR WILLKIE? by Charles Curtis Munz 186

AVIATION'S SITDOWN STRIKE

III. HOW TO BUILD 50,000 PLANES by I. F. Stone 188
TROTSKY AND STALIN by Louis Fischer 191
SCHACHT'S NEW PLAN 192
WITHIN THE GATES 193
IN THE WIND 194
A NATIVE AT LARGE by Jonathan Daniels 195

BOOKS AND THE ARTS:

NOTES BY THE WAY by Margaret Marshall 196
A STUDY OF DOSTOEVSKI by F. W. Dupee 197
THE MIRACLE OF LOURDES by Jean Lyle 197
NEWCOMER FROM AUSTRALIA by Louis B. Salomon 198
HAMLET IS NOT ENOUGH by Paul Rosenfeld 198
IN BRIEF 199
RECORDS by B. H. Haggin 199

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Will the Farmer Vote for Willkie?

BY CHARLES CURTIS MUNZ

San Antonio, Texas, August 30

THE Roosevelt Administration is the first since the time of Lincoln which has done anything substantial for the American farmer. Yet at this moment the farmers in twelve Middle Western farm states, with 161 electoral votes, are more inclined to vote for Willkie than for Roosevelt. This may appear at first view to be base political ingratitude and a reflection of the farmer's political immaturity. It is both of these, but it is also a reflection of something a good deal deeper and more significant—the abiding conservatism of the American farmer. This year the farmer is voting, not for tomorrow, not even for today, but for yesterday.

What the Democrats are up against in the farm belt this year is the hard and paradoxical fact that it is the farmer's considerable success in achieving his goals under a Democratic Administration that now causes him to abandon the Democratic Party and return to the Republicanism in which he was nursed. The Middle Western farmer—especially the leading farmer who sets the tone for the community, the farmer with the richest acres, the biggest barns, the finest cows—is willing to support a liberal Administration in Washington only when he is badly scared. On all other occasions he is conservative almost to the point of being reactionary.

In 1932 the farmer was thoroughly scared. Banks were everywhere closing their doors, mortgages were being foreclosed by the thousands, and wheat was bringing only about two bits a bushel, the lowest price in three hundred years. So the farmer voted for Roosevelt. But since then the farmer has seen his circumstances change remarkably for the better. This is not to say that he is satisfied; far from it. The prices he receives for his crops are still far below parity; the prices he pays for his tools and supplies are far above. After a spurt at the outbreak of the war, farm exports, except cotton, have declined 20 per cent. Wheat has fallen forty cents a bushel since Hitler invaded Norway. Nevertheless, farm income as a whole has risen from about four billions in 1932 to about eight billions, and the rate of farm bankruptcies in 1939 was the lowest in eighteen years. Freed from the fear of losing his homestead, the farmer is thinking of many other problems besides those that are strictly his own. Like all Americans, he is thinking of national defense and foreign policy. Here he tends to be an isolationist, often an extreme one. He is thinking also of the national debt—and especially of labor policies and unemployment relief. Here he is a conservative.

Farmers are generally opposed to unemployment relief. It has made seasonal labor in the cotton, vegetable, and sugar-beet fields much less willing than before to work for starvation wages. Down in my part of the country, for example, in Texas, farmers want Mexicans to work ten or twelve hours a day for a dollar. The WPA pays about twice that. So, according to the farmers, the WPA has ruined the Mexicans. The farmers say, "Since we had the WPA the damned Mexicans ain't worth killin'." The average Mexican, however, finds it a bit hard to understand why it is more noble to work for a farmer for one dollar than for the government for two.

If you will add to the foregoing a pretty general distrust among Middle Western farmers of the reciprocal-trade-agreements program, and of any plan for helping South America handle its agricultural surpluses, you will have just about all the principal reasons why the farm belt this year is preparing to vote Republican. It is probable that nearly all the purely rural sections will vote for Willkie by a majority ranging from 5 to 10 per cent. But fortunately for the Democrats there is almost no such thing as a wholly agricultural state. Kansas, Nebraska, the Dakotas, and perhaps Iowa come close to deserving the description, but there are miners or industrial workers in all of them. In all the other states of the farm belt the farm vote is a contributing but not necessarily a controlling factor.

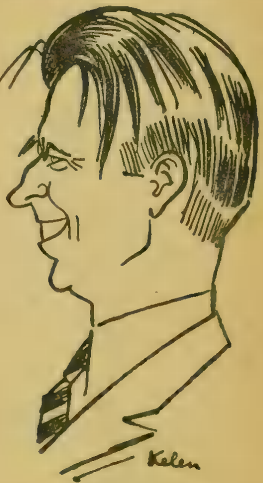
The Republicans are obliged to sweep the Middle West; the Democrats can win by taking two or three of the Middle Western states, even if they lose New York. The best bets for the Democrats are Missouri, Illinois, Minnesota, Michigan, and Wisconsin. In Illinois, for example, the rural downstate areas will certainly go Republican; urban Chicago will certainly go Democratic. Thus the Democrats must hold the Republican majority downstate low enough to be overcome by the Democratic majority in Chicago. With the help of the Kelly-Nash machine in Chicago and of Henry Wallace among the farmers downstate, the Democrats think they can do it. If they can, the election is practically in the bag for Roosevelt. The strategy ought to work even more effectively in Missouri, Minnesota, Michigan, and Wisconsin. It might also work in Ohio and Indiana. But elsewhere in the Middle West the Democrats are lost. There is no hope for them in Iowa, the Dakotas, Kansas, or Nebraska.

Obviously the strategy of the Republicans is to roll up so large a majority in the rural areas that it will outweigh anything the Democrats can do in the cities. That is why the Republicans nominated McNary for Vice-President—surely one of the most cynical tricks in American political history. On almost every issue his views are the complete negation of Willkie's, and he was obviously intended to camouflage Willkie in the farm belt. So far the trick seems to have worked amazingly well—so well that west of the Mississippi McNary is almost regarded as head of the ticket. McNary gives the impression of regarding politics as a rather sharp poker game in which cool-headed professional gamblers are playing for high stakes, but if he really believes in anything, it is probably in the farmer's way of life. He dislikes Washington and all big cities. He still lives on the nut-and-prune farm in Oregon where he was born sixty-six years ago. His outstanding hold upon history is his sponsorship of the famous McNary-Haugen bill. Twice passed by Congress, this measure was twice vetoed by Calvin Coolidge, who called it "unworkable and unconstitutional."

Under the McNary-Haugen plan, government corporations would buy the surplus of farm commodities which have an exportable surplus. The purchase price would be the foreign price plus the American tariff duty. The corporations would then dump their purchases abroad for whatever they could get. For example, if the wheat crop were 750,000,000 bushels, and the domestic consumption only 600,000,000 bushels, the government would be forced to dispose of 150,000,000 bushels abroad. If the foreign price were 50 cents and the tariff duty the present one of 42 cents, the government would pay the farmer 92 cents, and sell abroad at 50 cents. The loss would be charged back to the farmer through an equalization fee. In theory, the net result would be to bring the price of the whole crop to a figure below 92 cents but considerably above 50 cents. But the plan has two serious shortcomings. First, it makes no provision whatever for crop control, and, second, it is doubtful whether its dumping provisions could ever be carried into successful operation, since foreign countries strictly limit their wheat imports, whatever the price.

The McNary-Haugen bill represents the high mark of Republican thought on farm problems. In recent years the Republicans have been tagging along somewhat out of breath several paces to the rear of the Democrats. This year the only crop for which the Republicans have a plan is the vote crop. After a conference with farm leaders in Des Moines on August 5, Willkie was obliged to indorse the Democratic farm record. "I do not favor changing the present farm program unless a better one is gradually evolved," said Willkie. The truth is that the Republicans are unable to solve the farm problem. They have done only one substantial thing for the farmer, and that was seventy years ago, when Lincoln carried out his promise to enact the Homestead law. Since then the record is barren of accomplishment. The limitations of McNary and Willkie are the limitations of the Republican Party. It is impossible for men with McNary's faith in high protection and isolation and with Willkie's faith in untrammeled big business and high finance to work out the program of land and social reform that must eventually be worked out to solve the farm problem.

On the other hand, the Democratic farm record under Roosevelt is full of accomplishment. The Agricultural Adjustment Act was passed on May 12, 1933, only a few days more than two months after Roosevelt was inaugurated. The moving spirit behind this prompt action was Henry Agard Wallace. He and his father before him had tried for years to right the farmer's wrongs. The elder Wallace was Secretary of Agriculture under Harding and Coolidge. He died in office in 1924.



Henry Agard Wallace

Henry Wallace presents the rare and delightful spectacle of a man in public office whom you actually can watch grow. The Wallace of 1940 is a definitely bigger man than the Wallace of 1932, and he shows every indication of being a still bigger man by 1944. In 1932 Wallace's social interests were limited to the farm; today they are spreading out over the whole of society. Rather reluctantly at first he gave his approval to the reciprocal-trade-agreements policy. Today he is an enthusiastic supporter of it; and he has recently made himself proficient in Spanish so that he can both speak to South America and understand it.

It is uncertain whether the Democratic Party will be able to go on to a broader and more permanent solution of the farm problem. So far the Democrats have dealt with it mainly as an emergency. They have failed to see the need for broad social and land reform, for changes in forms of ownership and methods of operation; they have failed to draw the necessary distinction between the big landowners, often absentee, and the farm worker and tenant. Wallace himself is probably not yet ready to draw the distinction, but his growth suggests that in time he may be ready. However, the Democrats must be given credit for much permanent foundation work. Three pillars of the Roosevelt-Wallace structure will certainly remain forever—crop control, soil conservation, and the ever-normal granary. Wallace's conception of the ever-normal granary is the conception of a statesman.

The reciprocal-trade-agreements program will probably be the heaviest burden for the Democrats to carry in the farm belt. The Republicans have been building up the issue for four years. They found it extremely useful in making their Congressional gains in 1938, and it has become even more effective since our foreign markets for farm products have been lost one after another to Hitler's armies. The farm belt sums it up like this, "What is the use of planning to trade with foreign nations when they are not planning to trade with us?"

That comes close to being Willkie's position, too. Six months ago Willkie was strongly for the reciprocal-trade agreements, and in his prospective nomination many Republican chieftains saw the loss of a winning issue. But on June 25, when his nomination was still uncertain, Willkie spoke out against the agreements. Hitler, he said, had legislated them out of existence. Now here Willkie rather ostentatiously misses the whole point. The Democratic position is, as Secretary Hull and President Roosevelt have repeatedly insisted, that the trade-agreements program is a part of the democratic process which we offer to the world as superior to the totalitarian process.

However, Willkie's statement was well received in the farm belt. McNary, of course, as an old high-tariff man, is an outstanding foe of the agreements. So the Republicans expect to press the issue with all their power. The charge that the American farmer has been "sold down the river" by the trade treaties will not bear examination, but there is abundant evidence that farmers are not worried so much about what has happened as about what might happen if the pacts were continued and extended. The proposed agreements with Argentina and Uruguay sent shivers through the whole farm belt and aroused so much opposition that they had to be abandoned. Similar opposition has developed to any plan for helping South American countries dispose of their agricultural surpluses. Although all proposed plans envisage the sale of South American surpluses in Europe and not in the United States, farmers are still afraid that in some way the prices of their own crops will be lowered. Middle Western farmers do not care a pin for South America. They would much prefer to have the Argentine, for example, trade with a Nazi-dominated Europe, and even become Nazi-dominated itself, than to see a pound of Argentine beef or a bushel of Argentine wheat come sneaking into the American market.

The New Deal is aware that it has an uphill fight in the farm belt. It hoped that Wallace would offset McNary and be able also to stand off the tide of rural conservatism, but how many of the farmers Wallace can hold in line is uncertain. Since he has never before run for public office, his ability as a vote-getter is unknown. He is popular with farmers, highly respected everywhere, and for two generations the name of Wallace has stood in the Middle West for sincere devotion to the farmer's cause. Wallace cannot carry the farm belt for the Democrats; but he ought to be able to help them carry the two or three or four agricultural-industrial states in the Middle West that they probably must have to win the election.

After Election Day two questions will remain. First, will the Democratic Party, if it wins, find the courage and the vision to carry on its farm program to a permanent solution? Second, will the American farmer ever learn to vote for tomorrow?

Aviation's Sitdown Strike

BY I. F. STONE

III. How to Build 50,000 Planes

DURING the second quarter of this year aircraft companies showed aggregate profits 129.8 per cent above the corresponding period of last year. Aviation's sitdown strike was not staged by impoverished concerns unable to bear any share of the burden entailed by a great defense program. The eight major companies are in the fortunate position of having no funded debt, and with one exception, and that a suspicious one, their earnings for the first half of this year represent a return of from 25 to 50 per cent a year on the book value of their common stock. In six months United Aircraft earned $2.34 on a book value of $12.25 a share; Curtiss Wright earned 68 cents per share on a book value of $3.92; Lockheed earned about $2 on a book value of $8.78. One is tempted to say that the principal bottleneck has been the greedy throat of a pampered industry. If this seems a harsh verdict, I turn to a respected financial organ for support. "Probably the worst business can justly be accused of," says a writer in *Barron's*, "is the normal practice of trying to drive the best bargain possible." This attempt at apology is sufficient condemnation.

As important as a clear understanding of the patriotism to be expected from the aircraft industry is an open-eyed appraisal of the role played by the National Defense Advisory Commission. Theoretically the commission is made up of public-spirited and conscientious business men (garnished with a sprinkling of liberals and one labor leader) who have but one object—the speedy and efficient handling of defense. Actually the events of the past few months have shown that the commission has done more to cover up the cupidity of business than to disclose and correct the dangerous weaknesses in our defense. This was strikingly demonstrated a few weeks ago. On August 7 rumors of a sitdown strike in aviation were "emphatically denied" by the Defense Commission. On August 8, in a prepared radio broadcast, William S. Knudsen, production chief of the commission, was asked: "Is it true that not a single combat plane has been contracted for out of the money appropriated by Congress up to August 1?" "No," was his reply, "it is not true. The navy, for example, contracted for $7,000,000 worth of combat planes in July. But more important than that is the overall picture. Take the moneys appropriated by Congress thus far for the defense program. They cover about 4,200-odd planes."

So far Mr. Knudsen was disingenuous rather than untruthful, but as he went on only a thin verbal partition separated him from falsehood. "I would like to add," he said, "that of the money available to us on July 1, five weeks ago, contracts have already been awarded for 45 per cent of the entire army funds and 75 per cent of the navy's funds." The very next day Secretary of War Stimson told a joint Congressional committee that although Congress had appropriated $400,000,000 since June for 4,000 fighting planes, "we have been able to sign contracts for but 33." The joker in the Knudsen statement—David Lawrence was the first to point it out—lay in the use of the word "awarded," the avoidance of the word "signed." The contracts were being "awarded," but Mr. Knudsen forgot to add that the aviation companies were declining to accept the awards. As a matter of fact, a survey by the New York *Herald Tribune* revealed on August 25 that we have 80 fewer combat planes today than we had at the beginning of the year. So conservative a paper as the New York *Times* objected editorially on August 26 to what it termed "window-dressing" contracts, "the placing of a huge volume of contracts just to make a showing, just to make the public believe that rapid 'progress' is being made." The commission's production chief seems to be its chief window dresser.

In this respect the commission's publicity releases have paralleled the statements issued from time to time by the aviation companies. Ever since the President gave in to them on July 12, promising repeal of profit limitations and enactment of five-year amortization, the companies have been assuring the public that they were going "full steam" ahead. There seems some doubt that the vapor was steam. "We are ready to build airplanes first and talk about profits afterward," said the latest statement issued by the presidents of the Douglas, Lockheed, Boeing, and Vultee companies on August 20. But nowhere in the statement do they say that they are prepared to sign contracts now and adjust the details of amortization afterward. The parallelism between the utterances of the commission and the aviation industry is not surprising, since the major companies are represented on the commission's staff and dealings between the two are hardly up to arm's-length bargaining specifications. In dealing with Congress the commission has served as a super-lobbyist for the defense industries. United States Steel and the du Pont enterprises are the dominant factors in the defense market. An executive of United States Steel and an executive of the du Pont-controlled General Motors dominate the Defense Commission. The du Ponts are still a major factor in American aviation.

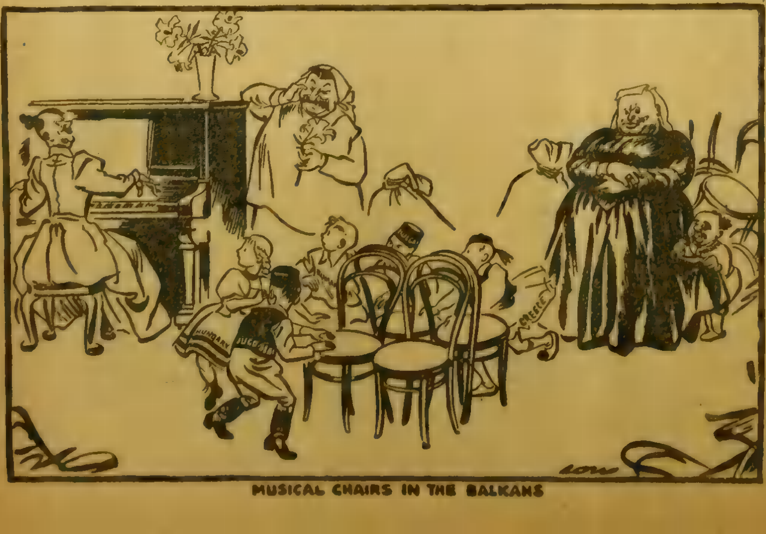
An independent commission prepared to act with vigor could have ended the aviation sitdown strike weeks ago by placing the facts before the public. The strike began when Congress on June 28 reduced the limit on plane profits from 10 to 8 per cent—8 per cent on the contract, not 8 per cent return on invested capital. It continued even after the President and Congressional leaders on July 12 promised repeal of the profit limitations and five-year amortization. A huge expansion of aviation plant is necessary, but it could have been provided for as easily and as simply as the government has provided for the construction and leasing of new powder and aerial-cannon plants. The companies did not need to take any risks if they did not want to; the government could have built new plants for them to operate on lease. But with a huge backlog of Franco-British orders on hand, the companies preferred to hold up the defense program while they haggled. It is the bottlenecks in our economy that yield the most profit. The aviation companies didn't need the orders. The *Blitzkrieg* was dramatizing the importance of aviation in defense. Aviation was in the best position to act as spearhead for all the defense industries in a drive against limitations and effective profits taxes.

Some of Wall Street's master minds no doubt thought the sitdown strike could be capitalized politically, for in the curious arithmetic of the right the unpatriotic delay of the plane companies and the great need for planes added up to the failure of social reform. Organs that usually stressed the importance of economy saw no need to limit profits on planes. Those who were ordinarily for a balanced budget thought excess-profits taxes could wait. "Salus populi suprema lex," the *Wall Street Journal* thundered eruditely in a demand that labor make wage sacrifices for defense. Quite other and less Roman was the *suprema lex* it applied to business. "We cannot expect 'little business men,'" the same paper said of aviation delays, "to discard their sense of responsibility to possible partners, stockholders, bondholders, families, and employees and in a wave of patriotism discard all principles of sound business." This soon merged into another variation of a familiar theme. The New Deal, in defense as elsewhere, was opposed to "sound business methods." The Popular Front in France had been opposed to "sound business methods." France had fallen. *Ergo:* America would fall unless it had an Administration prepared to give business anything it asked. This syllogism had the blind staggers, but it might serve in an election year.

The idea that France fell because it had a Popular Front government which failed to pamper business is as full of loopholes as a cost-plus contract. The Popular Front went out of office two years before the war began. England, under the Conservative governments of Baldwin and Chamberlain, was far more poorly prepared than France. Nazi Germany built up its war machine not by pampering business but by enforcing a system of harsh priorities, overriding vested interests to establish new war industries, and sharply limiting dividends. Pierre Cot, the French republic's most famous Air Minister, said the other day that it proved impossible to get the French high command "to think in terms of air warfare." Frank C. Hanighen, in a special supplement to the weekly *Uncensored,* reports that the partial nationalization of the French aviation industry by the Popular Front was enacted for moral and technical rather than "socialistic" reasons. The vote in the Chamber—484 to 85—indicates that the measure had the approval of many conservatives. An order for 1,000 planes placed by the French government in 1934 with the private aviation industry was not completed and delivered until three years later—when the planes were already obsolete. Under government control plane production improved, but the change had been too long delayed, and engine production had been left entirely in private hands. There is evidence that as late as 1938 at least one of the great French engine companies had been selling engines to the Reich—no doubt for "sound business" reasons. Flandin, one of Hitler's stooges in France, was also one of French aviation's leading figures. "Sordid materialism" was the phrase he once applied, not to the industry's sabotage of French defense, but to the demands of French workers for better living standards. We have our Flandins, too.

The real lesson to be drawn from French and British experience is that it is folly to leave defense in the control of big-business interests. The recent Richard Thomas Steel Company scandal in England shows that even now the British steel cartel is putting profits ahead of national safety. Our way out is comparatively easy, if we act quickly. We have an aviation industry of tiny proportions, still doing business largely on a hand-tooled basis. There are orders enough to keep it busy for years, and with an occasional session in the woodshed of public opinion it should be able to do its part in national defense. But alongside this baby industry we need to develop under government auspices and control a new mass-production industry for planes and particularly for plane engines. The writer does not pretend to be an authority on aviation, but he would like to call the attention of members of Congress to two recent articles in conservative financial publications which support this view. Little attention has been paid to them, for the proposals they make or imply would disturb the vested interest that aviation companies have in their present high-cost, small-output methods.

The first article is a front-page signed editorial by Joseph E. Ridder, publisher of the New York *Journal of Commerce,* which appeared in that publication on July 15. Mr. Ridder cannot be described as a socialist. He pointed out that the production of engines was the key problem in building up a great air fleet, that Germany alone had succeeded in manufacturing engines by mass-production methods. He said it might cost $30,000,000 or more to make the test and that "no private enterprise could risk the very large capital investment required." "What has prevented the government," Mr. Ridder asked, "from proceeding with the immediate equipment of a test plant to turn out aircraft engines by mass-production methods? Probably it is due to the fact that no one wants to take the blame if the experiment should fail. The industrialists who are contributing so largely to the defense program in an advisory capacity cannot afford to take the risk of suggesting a costly and still doubtful experiment. Government officials, who have the final say, also fear to take the blame in cases of failure. . . . In this matter, however, we cannot afford to close our eyes to the lesson taught by recent events in Europe." Mr. Ridder's suggestion makes sense to me, particularly in view of the fantastically small output of existing aircraft-engine plants. The Allison plant of General Motors has yet to reach an output of thirty engines a month.



MUSICAL CHAIRS IN THE BALKANS

The second article to which I refer also stresses the need for mass-production methods if the President's goal of 50,000 planes is to be reached. It was written by Horace N. Gilbert of the California Institute of Technology and published in the *Annalist* for August 15. Mr. Gilbert contrasts the methods still used in the manufacture of aircraft with those used in the production of automobiles. He believes that the mere enlargement of present plants, without a change in the basic method of production, would not solve the problem. "Output per worker probably would suffer, and unit costs might rise." He estimates that American aviation will have produced 5,000 planes during the first year of the present war and that the gap between 5,000 planes and 50,000 planes is too wide to be bridged without a radical change in production methods. He would leave present plants undisturbed and set up new plants under government ownership, but private operation, for mass production of planes. This would increase output enormously and lower costs.

Aviation's sitdown strikers are unlikely to greet these proposals with enthusiasm, but their opposition is no more reasonable than would be that of old-fashioned shoemakers who tried to block any attempt to provide the army with shoes by machine methods. Unfortunately a Defense Advisory Commission dominated by aviation interests is unlikely to advise the government to go ahead and make planes the cheapest and fastest way. But why can't a Congressional committee get the facts and provide the action?

[*This article concludes Mr. Stone's series.*]

Trotsky and Stalin

BY LOUIS FISCHER

THE feud between Stalin and Trotsky was a battle of giants that rocked the Soviet Union for many years and profoundly affected world events. It was a relentless combat in which neither man released his grip. Only death could separate them. And to the day of his death Trotsky continued to attack the dictator who prevented him from succeeding Lenin. There were venom, force, and the rage of inhibited genius in Trotsky's verbal thrusts against the master of the Kremlin. But Stalin? He has won. He governs the Soviet Union. Yet he too never suspended hostilities. Unremittingly he pursued Trotsky all over the world. The Moscow trials were first of all trials of Trotsky for contumacy. The purges were directed against Trotsky's friends, against friends of those friends, against Communists who might be or become Trotskyists. The blood feud between the two revolutionists went on to the end, although one was the mighty ruler of 180,000,000 people and the other a struggling writer in a small country off the world's highway.

Tens of thousands of men and women have been shot or imprisoned or sent to rot in frozen wastes because of this epic war between Trotsky and Stalin. Soviet domestic and foreign policies were perverted by it. History has been rewritten and distorted. The whole labor movement of the world was rent and weakened by the Trotsky-Stalin enmity. In 1939 I discussed the Soviet purges and Moscow trials with John Strachey, a British popularizer of Marxism. He said, "They helped to bring on Munich." Hitler's victory over Czechoslovakia, perhaps even the Second World War, reflects this fantastic bout between the Ukrainian Jew and the son of an illiterate cobbler born in a Georgian village on the Caucasian watershed between Europe and Asia.

Was this historic duel personal, or was it a clash of ideas? Trotsky admitted that he had a violent dislike for Stalin. "He always repelled me," Trotsky wrote in his autobiography. His characteristics, he continued, are "a narrowness of interests, empiricism, psychological crudeness, and the peculiar cynicism of a provincial."

The long controversy between the Stalinites and the Trotskyites concerned itself with the world revolution, the Chinese revolution, and the Kremlin's economic policies in Russia. Yet years before any of these problems had arisen, Stalin was intriguing against Trotsky, and Trotsky was appealing to Lenin against Stalin. Stalin appears to have been jealous of Trotsky from the very beginning. In the autumn of 1918 Trotsky was decorated with the Order of the Red Banner. Leo Kamenev, Assistant Premier under Lenin, proposed that Stalin be granted the same decoration. "What for?" exclaimed Mikhail Kalinin, later President of the Soviet Union. "Don't you understand," Bukharin elucidated, "Lenin thought this out. Stalin can't live if he hasn't got what the other fellow has. He can't forgive it." Lenin advised Trotsky to compromise with Stalin. But no compromise could be effected between these two.

Trotsky was direct and merciless in his criticisms. He ignored individual psychology or did not understand it. He stepped on people's corns. And, as Trotsky has testified, Stalin systematically collected those on whose corns Trotsky had trod. Trotsky could not subordinate himself to anyone. He even found difficulty in submitting to Lenin and declined to be Lenin's right-hand man. He preferred a field of activity for himself where he would be first. Trotsky was an erratic, capricious individualist. His speeches and articles warmed and thrilled multitudes, but in his personal relations he was cold. People were cold to him. Even Lenin, of a friendly, sunny disposition, could not get close to Trotsky and in writing to him addressed him as "Respected Comrade," instead of "Dear Comrade." Chicherin used to say to me, "Trotsky is a prima donna."

There was something of the pedant in Trotsky. He was a master administrator and organizer and insisted on the execution of instructions and on the strictest attention to details. In his personal dress and habits he was neat. His desk was a model of order. He tried to teach Russians punctuality, Russians who, when they arrive four hours late for an appointment, will say casually, "Sorry, I was delayed by a telephone call." These elements in his character made him a successful army leader but a poor politician. He never obtained a hold on the party machine, and there is no evidence that he ever tried. Trotsky held his head so high above the clouds that his feet never stood on the solid ground of party organization. He was brilliant, fiery, magnetic, and a great intellect. But he was a Gibraltar without a hinterland, a dreadnought sailing the seas without escort. He was therefore easily vulnerable to sub-surface attack. The enemy could creep up on him in stealth. Stalin is not nearly so good a speaker or writer as Trotsky was, and has much less education, culture, and Marxist knowledge. But the party secretaries were his lieutenants.

Lenin's authority might have kept Stalin and Trotsky at peace. With him gone and the number one post waiting for an occupant, there was not enough room in the Communist movement for both of them. Emphasis has often been placed and misplaced on the theoretical chasm that yawned between Stalin's position and Trotsky's. In many instances, however, the cleavage was a question of speed and timing. Both Trotsky and Stalin wanted soviets in China, Trotsky earlier, Stalin later. A few months, to be sure, may make all the difference between success and failure. But if Trotsky and Stalin had not been political enemies moving at cross-purposes they might have arrived at a compromise on the China issue. Trotsky advocated suppression of the rich peasant kulak in 1926. Stalin suppressed the kulak after he had suppressed Trotsky in 1928. Stalin's Five-Year Plan in 1929 provoked little adverse criticism from Trotsky. Trotsky never said in Russia that Stalin was not a Bolshevik. And nobody believed Trotsky was not a good Bolshevik.

Was it, then, a wall of unalterable theory that divided Stalin from Trotsky? It was because of Stalin's rudeness and power-hunger that Lenin did not recommend him for Soviet leadership, not because of his ideas on economics and politics. In his last testament, placed in Krupskaya's safekeeping in December, 1922, L wrote: "Comrade Stalin, having become general se tary of the party, has concentrated tremendous powe his hands, and I am not sure he always knows ho use that power with sufficient caution." A little l Lenin asked Krupskaya for the testament and added striking postscript: "Stalin is too rude. . . . I propos the comrades to find a way of removing Stalin. . This circumstance may seem an insignificant trifle. I think that from the point of view of preventing a s in the party, and from the point of view of the relati between Stalin and Trotsky . . . it is not a trifle, or i a trifle that may acquire decisive significance." Le foresaw the great contest. His testament is to this unpublished in the Soviet Union. Krupskaya read twice to meetings of the Central Committee, and it been carried by word of mouth, but not very f strangely enough. Few Russians of my acquaintance e heard of Lenin's will. It hurt Stalin little.

[*This article is excerpted from a chapter in Lo Fischer's autobiography, to be published next winte*

Schacht's New Plan

[We print below without change or interpretati an unpublished interview with the former president the Reichsbank, Dr. Hjalmar Schacht. The interview w obtained by a prominent Swedish journalist whose nam although known to us, must be concealed. The substan of the interview was suppressed in Sweden, not becau it lacked importance or authenticity, but because t Swedish press must observe continual caution lest t country's precarious relations with Germany be di turbed. The summary came into our hands through source in which we place complete confidence.

The fact that Dr. Schacht has been intrusted by Hitle with the task of perfecting the Nazi scheme for th economic reconstruction of Europe which is to follo the expected triumph of German arms has been widel published. To carry out this assignment he has retired t his estate in East Prussia, where he is at work with a sta of secretaries and translators on a book in which his view will be set forth. In the interview granted the Swedis journalist he outlined the contents of this book, now sai to be almost completed.—EDITORS THE NATION.]

1. The introduction deals with the breakdown o Europe after the World War, stressing the failure of German financial policy during the Weimar Republic and putting the blame for the economic ruin of Germany upon the Allies. It contains some critical remarks on American policy in relation to German economics.

2. The reorganization of German economics after 1933. The principle of planned foreign trade, abandon-

ment of free exchange, the fixing of prices regardless of supply and demand. The value of labor made the basis for determining prices of merchandise and materials.

3. The causes of the present war: Germany's debts, its lack of raw materials, its displacement from former markets, strangulation of credits by the United States, the boycott of Nazi Germany. "The contrast between rich and poor became increasingly unbearable." England and the United States as the "haves" and Germany and Italy as the "have nots." "This war is an uprising against British and American plutocracy."

4. After-effects of the war. Germany and Italy will reorganize the entire economic system of Europe, including the former colonial possessions of the defeated countries.

The foundation of a European Export and Import Syndicate has been decided upon. This syndicate will fix the regulations for export trade with the United States, Japan, and Russia. Similar or equivalent organizations would have to be created in those countries, to guarantee successful collaboration. Negotiations with individual firms or groups will be replaced by negotiations with government agencies. Prices, quotas, conditions of delivery and payment will have to be fixed by the E. and I. S. in Europe and by corresponding organizations in the United States, Russia, and Japan. All countries in the Pacific Ocean will be considered European, Japanese, or Russian spheres of influence. The distribution of quotas in Central and South American markets will be arranged between the E. and I. S. and the United States.

The distribution of raw materials is to be regulated by an agreement between Germany, Italy, Russia, Japan, and the United States, according to a fixed plan. Germany will, even after the war, continue to develop its artificial raw-material production. It will do so for two reasons: defense of the country, and quicker and less expensive sources of supply. Dr. Schacht is convinced that in eight or ten years artificial raw materials will be better and cheaper than natural ones.

5. A conference of the banks of issue of the world to be established as a permanent institution. The question of the gold standard is of secondary importance. An agreement on this question with the United States will be aimed at. By seizing South Africa, Germany will become a gold producer too. Besides, the gold shipped to the United States by England and France will be utilized by Germany, Italy, and other states. European debts to the United States will be acknowledged in principle; payment will be made through a special clearing agreement and in proportion to the purchase of goods from Europe by the United States. . . . The Reichsmark is to be declared a free currency again; the free rate, however, will not be applied to exchange of merchandise or to tourist traffic. The present system will be kept for exchange of goods and for tourist traffic.

Within the Gates

THE society page of a recent issue of the Wilkes-Barre (Pennsylvania) *Record* included this interesting announcement: "Complimentary to Boy Scouts in the Poconos, members of the summer colony at Stoddartsville were guests on Friday night of Misses Loulie and Laura Stull at their family homestead, The Maples. Robert Edward Edmondson, public-relations counsel of New York and Pennsylvania, was speaker, and a patriotic flag salute was featured." On the occasion referred to in this item, Mr. Edmondson, after presenting each scout with a small American flag, said: "You scouts know that we Americans live in a republic, but many of our fellow-countrymen, misled by false internationalist propaganda, are calling the United States a democracy under the impression that democracy means the same as republic. You should correct that idea."

Mr. Edmondson's audience might have been less numerous had the scouts and summer colonists known that they were listening to the most prolific fascist propagandist in the United States. They were not told that he has published millions of "Vigilante Bulletins" for distribution by American fascist organizations, and that these are listed by *Weltdienst*, an official German news service, as "must" reading.

Mr. Edmondson's residence in the Pocono Mountains of Pennsylvania dates from 1936, when he was indicted in New York for the criminal libel of two persons and the Jewish religion. Although Judge James Garrett Wallace of General Sessions dismissed the indictments because of certain technicalities, he declared in his opinion, "We must suffer the demagogue and the charlatan in order to make certain that we do not limit or restrain the honest commentator on public affairs."

That Mr. Edmondson is ready to follow a "Leader" was indicated in a letter he wrote to General George Van Horn Moseley prior to the disclosure by the Dies committee in 1939 that the General was the spearhead of a conspiracy to establish a dictatorship in the United States. The letter ran: "Millions of fighting Americans . . . impatiently await fearless, selfless, able leadership to coalesce into a mighty liberation army. . . . These vigilant legions have been crying for 'The Leader.' . . . In this great redemption crusade to restore the republic, we patriots know that you have already laid your life, your fortune, and your sacred honor on the altar of American patriotism. . . . Hail Moseley!"

FASCIST ORGANIZATIONS in this country have recently been increased by three groups—the League to Save America First, Mobilization for American Needs, and the America by Statesmanship Crusade. Behind the façade of meaningless names, however, one sees, in the case of two of the organizations, familiar fascist faces, and further investigation will probably reveal that the other also is new in name only. The chief stock in trade of the League to Save America First is an anti-British pamphlet entitled "The Truth About England." By writing to an address given on its back page —P. O. Box 307, Hollywood, California—one learns that the person who wishes to save America first is none other than Bundsman Hans Diebel, whose Aryan Bookstore is in the Deutsches Haus of Los Angeles. From the same address comes a book list advertising "The Protocols of the Elders of Zion," "Mein Kampf," Henry Ford's "The Jewish Question," and Edmondson's "Vigilante Bulletins."

To obtain the publications of Mobilization for American Needs one is instructed to write to Room 405, Chapman Building, Los Angeles, which by a strange coincidence is the address of John Henry Peyton, who some years ago organized the American Rangers, a "shirted" organization. In addition to leading his storm troopers Mr. Peyton used to distribute quantities of pamphlets, some of which were published by the Bodung-Verlag, Erfurt, Germany.

Little is known of the America by Statesmanship Crusade other than that its headquarters are in the Yorkville section of New York and that its announced purpose is to combat "pseudo-democracy."

CHARLES A. LINDBERGH may not be very happy about the matter, but he has been adopted by fascist elements in the United States. His radio speeches are more widely quoted by American Nazis than Adolf Hitler's utterances. Copies of his first speech—that of May 19—are given to all customers of the Germania Bookshop, 1523 Third Avenue, New York. The Brooklyn unit of the Christian Front thought so highly of the speech that it issued a special bulletin headed "To All Americans Who Think, Colonel Lindbergh is a Patriot." The *Deutscher Weckruf und Beobachter,* organ of the German-American Bund, greeted the speech with a seven-column banner head, "Lindbergh Explodes War Hysteria." The *Individualist,* a weekly news letter published in Lincoln, Nebraska, said: "Our nation owes Lindbergh a debt of gratitude." After the second speech Father Coughlin's *Social Justice* backed the colonel for the vice-presidency—as running mate for Wendell Willkie. Before his last speech a speaker for the German-American National Alliance announced over Station WHIP: "I bring a pressing summons to all members and to all listeners to the United Front radio hour to do their duty by attending the great mass-meeting in Soldier Field." At a recent political rally Joseph E. McWilliams, of the Christian Mobilizers, announced that in 1944 "I and Lindbergh" would run the country.

MR. McWILLIAMS, whose candidacy for Congress was discussed in a recent column, has obtained enough signatures to put his name on the Republican ballot. But as this is written he is the defendant in two cases in which he is charged with disturbance of the peace and in another in which assault on a process server is the charge. In New York last week McWilliams and Willkie had a contest to see who would be the first to repudiate the other. Referring to anti-Semitic candidates in general, and to Joseph E. McWilliams in particular, Mr. Willkie said: "I am not interested in the support of anybody who stands for any form of prejudice as to anybody's race or religion or who is in support of any foreign economic or political philosophy in this country." But Mr. McWilliams would not be repudiated. To a street-corner audience in Yorkville he said: "Willkie can't repudiate me. I've already repudiated him." When told of McWilliams's counter-repudiation, Mr. Willkie said: "I am very gratified."

In the Wind

THE POSSIBILITY of a United States-Russian rapprochement is much talked about in Washington just now. The fact that a denunciation of recent Soviet moves was followed promptly by a trade agreement is considered a straw in the wind. It is also known that the President has discussed the subject seriously with his aides in recent weeks.

"AMERICAN MOTHERS" who kept a death watch over the Senate debate on conscription did not gather spontaneously, although the individuals may have thought they did. If you go to the files of *Social Justice,* you'll discover that the Coughlin magazine was acting as house organ for the group last October. It all started in Detroit as the result of definite Coughlinite inspiration.

WHEN THE Department of Justice reopened the Bridges case, it was making a last effort to prevent a wholesale assault on aliens—and unionists—in the form of sweeping and indiscriminate legislation. But Bridges may be sacrificed in the process.

SOCIETY NOTE: Our scouts report that Anne Bullitt has been seen around Southampton wearing a "Roosevelt for Ex-President" button.

THE SCREEN PUBLICISTS' GUILD, a trade union of studio publicity writers, adopted a resolution opposing the Allen (anti-Bridges) bill when it was before the Senate. Soon afterward Harry Warner summoned the members of his studio's publicity department, told them he expected them to bring up the resolution at their next meeting and beat it, and demanded that they "voluntarily" furnish him with the names of those who had sponsored the measure. He wanted to give them to Martin Dies.

NEWSPAPER CABLE DESKS are flooded with unverifiable rumors these days, but this one has popped up in several places—that if and when Britain is forced to capitulate, the man who will head the "appeasement" government is Lord Beaverbrook.

RALPH INGERSOLL, publisher of *PM,* and the *PM* unit of the Newspaper Guild are having some lively debates; the chief disagreement is over the Guild shop.

GOVERNMENT CONTRACTS for Bethlehem Steel may have a big effect on labor's vote in the coming campaign. Phil Murray, who came out strong for F. D. R. despite Lewis's hostility, is bitter over large awards to the Bethlehem Company and is needling the National Defense Advisory Commission on the subject. He also spoke strongly about the matter on a recent visit to the White House.

[The $5 prize for August goes to George A. Foster of Pompano, Florida, who sent in the item published last week about the removal of bodies of Negroes from the Dania cemetery.]

A Native at Large

BY JONATHAN DANIELS

ONE thing unquestionably can be said about the few lucky, able newspapermen from this whole nation who every year get the chance to study at Harvard as Nieman Fellows in order to become better newspapermen—they are good company. Undoubtedly they work hard in the daytime under such of President Conant's professors as they choose, making good use of their opportunities in Cambridge with the money Lucius W. Nieman made in the newspaper business in Milwaukee. In the evenings they still talk—for all their growing erudition—like such men as Mr. Nieman must have known in his news rooms in Wisconsin, though some are editorial writers from Alabama and others police reporters from Chicago. But it is not at all certain that what they have done with their learning has fulfilled the purpose for which Harvard took the money. Briefly, what they have done with it is to take it to town.

Archibald MacLeish, who was the first shepherd of the Nieman flock, told me about the idea that the fellowships were not offered as prizes to lucky—even prizeworthy—reporters as such, but as people through whom the intellectual standards of journalism in all parts of America might be advanced. The idea was that they would be lights in their parishes when they went back to their papers.

The returning process has not worked out perfectly. Of twenty-one Fellows in the first two years, exactly a third have not gone back to their old jobs. That may exaggerate the situation, since some have gone back to the same towns if not to the same jobs. On the other hand, two-thirds of the men who came from small towns have taken permanent or temporary jobs in bigger places. Only two men got fellowships from New York City, but six Nieman Fellows were working there in the summer of 1940. The New York concentration this year is explained by Harvard in just two letters, *PM,* which at one time had four Fellows on its staff. More disturbing are the cases of two men, picked with some deliberation from the back-country press—one in the South, one in the West—who have left newspapering in their small towns altogether to work on magazines.

Along the Charles River they recognize the situation but accept it philosophically. They told me: "All university education tends to concentrate talent in the larger centers . . . opportunities in journalism are such as to accelerate the metropolitan trend." But they are, I think, practical, too: "Each of the first two groups represented a pretty good proportion of men from the South and from smaller papers. This was partly accidental but also partly deliberate, and some of us hope that there may always be a good representation of men from the smaller places and from the South and West. But the salaries in those places are not competitive with metropolitan salaries. I suppose it must be a little unsettling to a fellow on $35 a week to spend a year with men from Chicago, St. Louis, and New York on $85 a week who seem to have little he hasn't got except a geographical advantage."

"Unsettling" is a mild-enough word, particularly when "the fellowships make them marked men and bring them offers." Perhaps we who read the papers in the provinces should be disturbed. Maybe we have a right to say that we are not getting what Mr. Nieman left us. It is the regionally patriotic attitude, possibly, to expect the Westerner or Southerner to go back to running a Non-Partisan League paper in Bismarck, North Dakota, or to helping write editorials in the Alabama black belt. But newspapermen, South or West or North, are not merely parts of places but people also. And people, even Nieman Fellows, who take the jobs in the biggest places for the best pay are, at worst, American.

Perhaps the Nieman money might have served to lift the journalistic standards in a wide land better if it had not concentrated all the men at such a university as Harvard. Though Cambridge will not readily admit it, they could get the learning they get at Harvard as well in Iowa or North Carolina without cutting the home ties or being subjected to the personal temptations and the private opportunities of the metropolis which is not so far away from Boston. Men from Mississippi would not be exposed to the knowledge that the men who get the bigger salaries in Chicago are not essentially superior. Maybe then *PM* would not have caught them and kept them from going patriotically home.

Maybe. But if there is going to be any turning over in Mr. Nieman's grave, he will have to do it himself. I doubt that there will be. Mr. Nieman did not go to Harvard. He learned to be a printer before he learned to be a reporter who got to be a publisher. But it is in his record that he moved from Bear Creek, Sauk County, Wisconsin, a village so small that it does not even make the "World Almanac," to Milwaukee (population 1930, 578,249). It was not a long trip, but it was for the same purpose as that which motivates the men who move now on his money. He could hardly blame them for that.

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

Notes by the Way

FREDA UTLEY was one of the "casualties" of the Stalin counter-revolution in Soviet Russia; and in her book "The Dream We Lost" (John Day, $2.75) is unfolded one of the countless personal dramas to which the impersonal earthquakes of history must always come down. By any standard it is an extraordinarily moving story; but because Miss Utley's background, her beliefs and hopes were those of a whole generation, her story is made at times almost unbearable by the reader's sense of identification.

"I came to communism," she writes, "via Greek history, the French revolutionary literature I had read in childhood, and the English nineteenth-century poets of freedom; not as a révolté against a strict bourgeois upbringing . . . but profoundly influenced by a happy childhood, a Socialist father, and a Continental education." Her father had known William Morris, had been a friend of Marx's daughters, had spoken from the same platform with Friedrich Engels. His Marxism, and her own, was "colored and humanized by the nineteenth-century atmosphere, and he early implanted in my mind those libertarian values which have . . . motivated me all my life." It was these values which led her into the Communist Party in England, and which, once she had confronted the realities of Soviet life, made her "recoil in horror from the degradation and enslavement of the human mind which are the predominant features of Stalin's Russia."

Miss Utley went to Russia in 1930 as the wife of a Soviet expert whom she had met in London. Within a year disillusionment had set in, but it was not until 1936 that she returned to England. In that year her husband was arrested, suddenly and senselessly. She never saw him again.

In the intervening five years she had lived and worked in a world of increasing misery. Her picture of these years is not all black; otherwise it would not be so convincing. There is light as well as shadow, but the shadows grew steadily longer. To a greater extent than most foreigners she lived as an ordinary citizen, but she was protected from the full impact of repression and poverty by her British passport; she was sustained by a close personal relationship. When it was broken by her husband's arrest and when her attempts to help him, even to see him, proved futile, she left Russia. But it was not until three years later, when her hope of his release had finally died, that she decided to tell the truth about "socialism" in Soviet Russia. "It is possible," she writes, "that he still lives. But it is impossible that we should ever meet again, since I can never return to the U. S. S. R. and he can never leave it."

Miss Utley's personal history is the most absorbing part of her book, not only because it recites dramatic events, but because it records, with the restraint that genuine and deep emotion enforces, the growth to maturity of a sensitive, intelligent, and admirable human being. But her own story occupies only four chapters of the thirteen. Six of the remaining nine are devoted to a searching analysis, economic, political, and social, of the structure of Soviet society and its results in human terms. Since Miss Utley in her own right is a trained and experienced investigator, these chapters are as convincing as they are devastating. And while her hatred of the Stalin regime is understandably bitter, the documentation of her indictment, based on six years of personal observation and scholarly analysis of Soviet statistics, is made tremendously impressive by the respect for fact and the transparent integrity that inform her book from beginning to end.

Her most striking conclusion is that the national socialism of Russia is worse, in terms of human suffering and economic inefficiency, than the national socialism of Germany. To cite only one of her comparisons, she points out that while Hitler has imprisoned or, luckily for the victims, expelled tens of thousands, Stalin has consigned hundreds of thousands to concentration camps—so many in fact that the G. P. U. is now conducting "public works" on such a scale that it may well have a vested interest in increasing its supply of forced labor by arrest—and "undesirables" are never allowed to leave, a fact which explains why Dachau but not Solovetsk is a symbol for cruelty in the lexicon of liberal opinion.

The conclusion stated above is the premise of Miss Utley's last three chapters, which together comprise a swift survey of the world situation. They could serve as the synopsis for a full-length book, and they suffer from condensation. Miss Utley has not thought her way through all the contradictions. Some of her conclusions seem to be at odds with others, and many of them will arouse sharp disagreement. But her point of view, her experience, and her determination to pierce the fog of wishful thinking make these chapters very much worth reading.

THE BURDEN of "Labor's Civil War" by Herbert Harris (Alfred A. Knopf, $2.50) is twofold: that the continued division in labor's ranks can only result in the weakening of both the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations, and that a strong and united labor movement is the best safeguard not only of labor but of the people as a whole against the pressures of reaction, which will increase, not decrease, in an economy geared more and more closely to defense. These are simple and obvious facts, but they need to be driven home. As Mr. Harris says, "it is a point too often neglected that complete control over the producing force is the keystone of the totalitarian state." When the average man, justifiably annoyed with the quarrels of C. I. O. and A. F. of L., mouths the anti-union views of reaction, he is chipping at the main bulwark against an attack on his own purchasing power and political independence. (To the easy silk-shirt argument that in the rush for defense labor will get more than its just share, "as it did in the last war," he opposes figures to show that "labor a the average got exactly $1.30 in 1918 with which to buy 1.74 worth of rent, milk, and clothing.)

Mr. Harris demonstrates that the issue of craft versus inustrial unionism has long ceased to have any meaning in ae feud between C. I. O. and A. F. of L. and that it has ow come down to a question of prestige and stubbornness. t is his judgment that in recent months the responsibility or the failure of peace efforts has rested mainly with John . Lewis. He gives a thoughtful appraisal of the functions of he NLRB, its personnel, and its record, and he flays the uicidal attempt of the A. F. of L. to emasculate the board's owers. He charges the A. F. of L. with the responsibility or ending racketeering, which is limited in extent but suplies perfect copy for labor-baiters. He also discusses the ole of the Stalinists in the labor movement. He emphasizes hroughout the necessity for labor to put its house in order f it is to regain the public good-will it needs now as never efore. "Labor's Civil War" is authoritative and informed, nd the fact that Mr. Harris discusses personalities as well as roblems adds to its "reader interest."

MARGARET MARSHALL

A Study of Dostoevski

DOSTOEVSKI: THE MAKING OF A NOVELIST. By Ernest J. Simmons. Oxford University Press. $3.

MR. SIMMONS protests that Dostoevski, though oracular and haunted by ideas, was primarily a literary artist. And he sets out, like Enid Starkie in her recent study of Rimbaud, to rescue his man from the rhapsodists and God-seekers who have tried to make him their own. To cut away the mysteries that have accumulated around Dostoevski without at the same time cutting down his stature is a job which other critics have attempted and found too delicate. Mr. Simmons succeeds. And he manages to restore Dostoevski, the craftsman, without denying the vital action of ideas upon his art. Mr. Simmons has gained greatly as a critic since his life of Pushkin.

The present book has no thesis in the usual sense, but it does occupy itself pretty exclusively with one aspect of Dostoevski—his obsession with psychological dualism. Ambivalence is a familiar theme in discussions of Dostoevski, but Mr. Simmons gives it a closer examination than it has commonly received. He shows how the novelist, doubtless moved to it by his own emotional experience, built his plots around the sufferings and ambiguities of the conflict-ridden hero, or "Double" (Raskolnikov, Stavrogin, Ivan Karamazov, etc.). Mr. Simmons follows this type through the novels, noting its mutations from the crude into the complex, from the pathological into the ideological. And he shows how the Double is surrounded by other recurring types which serve as moral foils. Such are the Meek (Sonya, Myshkin, Alyosha) and their opposite, the Self-willed (Svidrigailov, Verkhovenski). These secondary types—which nevertheless often play major roles in the novels, are incarnations, more or less pure, of either the humble side or the arrogant side of the Double's nature. They are absolutes made flesh, and, as Mr. Simmons admits, they don't always convince a modern reader. Like the unfortunate epilogue of "Crime and Punishment," in which Dostoevski gave up the tragic method for the ideological happy ending and tried to settle things by Christian fiat, they bear witness to his occasional difficulty in reconciling his artistic and metaphysical purposes.

There was more behind Dostoevski's metaphysics, however, than his obsession with psychic dualism. He lived through the dark years of czarism, and his own emotional experience coincided with the tortuous political experience of the Russian people, divided, as they were, between submission and revolt. Much of his unique power as a writer hung upon this coincidence, and Mr. Simmons might have made more of it than he has. He does, however, sketch in the main issues of the time and indicate something of its temper. And he gives an excellent account of the profound and almost "traumatic" effect upon the older novelist of the young radicals of the sixties. Likewise admirable is Mr. Simmons's discussion of Dostoevski's own politics. Here also the pervasive dualism operated, and for Dostoevski "humanity . . . tended to divide itself between the peoples of the West, whose self-will leads them to support an ideal of universal conquest by force, and the peoples of the East, who fulfil their ideal of universal service through meekness and submission."

F. W. DUPEE

The Miracle of Lourdes

BERNADETTE OF LOURDES. By Margaret Gray Blanton. Longmans, Green and Company. $2.50.

THE scientist's desire to eliminate the irrational and illogical elements from life and to replace them with exact knowledge has often been frustrated by the people whom he wished to deliver. Unfortunately he has rarely been able to consider this behavior dispassionately as a part of the body of knowledge which he was gathering and has too often reacted irrationally and illogically himself. This emotional attitude makes possible situations such as that which arose at Lourdes in the latter part of the nineteenth century, when there was heated argument about whether a poor, starved little peasant girl, Bernadette, had witnessed a miraculous visitation or experienced a hallucination when she saw a beautiful little lady in a cave where village pigs were wont to forage.

So strong became the irritation of the authorities over this episode that the actual miracle which took place—thousands of people swarming through the village day and night to search in a muddy cavern for the blessing of love—was regarded only as a reprehensible and anti-social aftermath of a not very credible incident. The nature of the compelling need which still brings to Lourdes a million people every year apparently aroused no curiosity, and thus the opportunity of studying a powerful natural force was neglected while the veracity of poor Bernadette was subjected to a most exhaustive inquiry.

The author and her husband, Dr. Smiley Blanton, a psychiatrist, have attempted to repair this oversight by a careful study of the entire phenomenon of the cures at Lourdes. The fact that Bernadette's story lends form to a principle that has confused the understanding of wise men in all ages, and that is worthy of much more scientific consideration than it has hitherto received, makes it significant.

JEAN LYLE

Newcomer from Australia

HAPPY VALLEY. By Patrick White. Viking Press. $2.50.

THIS first novel by a twenty-seven-year-old Anglo-Australian manifests an unusually mature and objective perception of the springs of personality, a startling insight into the mechanism of the mind. Using a stream-of-consciousness technique that recalls Virginia Woolf at her best, Mr. White adroitly translates into words the subtle counterpoint of thought-fragment melting into thought-fragment, bits of memory and mental irritation pursuing each other like damned spirits through the never-idle brain. Such passages, of course, do not monopolize the book; they are skilfully interspersed throughout the main current of straight narrative.

Of plot in the conventional sense the book has only what is furnished by the cramped lives of the inhabitants of a little town in the south of Australia. They suffer the inhibitions and neuroses common to small provincial towns everywhere: acrid jealousies that had their beginning in a dance program or a new hearth rug, erotic impulses sublimated into Grundyism or indulged furtively and sordidly under the leer of snooping neighbors. Dr. Halliday's brief love affair with an old-maidish music teacher impinges accidentally on the drab intrigue between the schoolmaster's sluttish wife and a healthy male animal, who in turn plays a vital part in the emotional quirks of a spoiled young girl on whose father's ranch he is foreman.

In tracing this tangle of petty lives Mr. White writes with consummate skill, impersonally yet not without sympathy. Given a more significant story, he may turn out a novel of foremost distinction. LOUIS B. SALOMON

Hamlet Is Not Enough

DEATH IS NOT ENOUGH. By Michael Fraenkel. London: The C. W. Daniel Company. 7*s*. 6*d*.

HAMLET. By Henry Miller and Michael Fraenkel. Santurce, Puerto Rico: Carrefour. $3.

THE COSMOLOGICAL EYE. By Henry Miller. Norfolk, Connecticut: New Directions. $2.50.

MICHAEL FRAENKEL is an original American member of the late Parisian group which included Henry Miller, Anaïs Nin, Walter Lowenfels, Alfred Perlès, and Lawrence Durrell; and one of the important present-day essayists. With an aristocratic mentality, a vein of poetry, irony, erudition, and the faculty of analysis, he possesses a number of fresh ideas about life and art.

One of his ideas—the ground-bass of his recent essay collection "Death Is Not Enough"—he names Active Negation. Though grim, it is heroic: universal denial as little as it is the black absence of affirmation of any kind. Indeed, this master-idea of Fraenkel's is nothing short of a conception of a perfection possible in this hour of evil.

Fraenkel would not have the man of spirit simply perish. Neither would he have him struggle to save the world. That, he thinks, cannot be saved and must collapse before it regains health. What he would have the artist do is experience death, hopelessly but enthusiastically live out "the weather" till faith emerging from the unknown restores the primordia bond between earth and heaven. For the man of letter Fraenkel sees a creative opportunity still extant in the form of the personal record and the personal truth.

All his ideas, to be sure, are not pellucid. Take "Hamlet," the little book on which Fraenkel and Henry Miller collaborated. Sometime before November, 1935, the two friends decided to write a thousand pages in the form of letters on the subject of the Prince of Denmark. One gathers it was semi-consciously their intention to solve by this means a problem, possibly personal, related to one of Hamlet's or to one of those the world has made of Shakespeare's character The thought of bestowing immortality on their happy postprandial conversation may also have been not far from their minds. The result, which is diverting, fanciful, sometimes sparkling, is all in all unsatisfactory. Nowhere in the course of the eighteen letters that make up the appetizing little book do we get a sharp definition of the ghostly-haunting problem There is a deal of cafe psychoanalysis, some of it in the sorries manner of D. H. Lawrence. Eventually the correspondents descend to personalities and belabor one another with bladders. We are left in the end with the sense of a vague clash between two brave stylists whose characters are each other's foils and none the less akin.

Fully to perceive Fraenkel's sufficiency and aristocratic sophistication we must return to "Death Is Not Enough" and its translucent essays. Of these, Beyond the Bread Principle skilfully exhibits the fallacy in all current revolutionary action, proletarian or bourgeois. "It starts off with ideal man at the feed-trough and winds up with man the beast at an empty ideal." The Break with the Head Cult wages brillian war on the tyranny, over the modern poet, of the consciou specific purpose. The Otherness of D. H. Lawrence penetrates the subject of self-renewal more profoundly than does the famous essay affixed by Aldous Huxley to the volume of Lawrence's letters.

Miller like Fraenkel also appears to far better advantage in *his* solo, "The Cosmological Eye," a representative collection of his shorter pieces. Though analysis and reflection may be this rhapsodist's forte as little as they were Byron's the essays it includes—on the contrast between D. H. Lawrence and Joyce and Proust, on the fifty-volume diary o Anaïs Nin, on such forbidden movies as "L'âge d'or" and "Ecstase"—easily are juicier than the Hamlet letters. When he is moved beyond himself his intuition can be exciting and imaginative. Still, the book's outstanding pieces are the narratives. Exploiting realistic detail selected, like tha of Sherwood Anderson, for symbolic effect, these are work o a symbolist poet who expresses himself in dithyrambic prose The parallelism to Anderson, extended by the circumstance that Miller's form, too, is inorganic, certainly is not thorough Miller lacks the sympathy that affords Anderson his glimpse of the heroic and divine. He is raucous; and the significance he perceives—in instances sublimely—largely are comic and horrible. Nor does he feel the contrasts that give Anderson' stories their inner tension; and oftentimes jeweled, his style is the antithesis of the Ohioan's homely one. Yet he too ha antennae in "the lap of the invisible, unfathomable whole." And magically he has bodied forth its late and desperate states. PAUL ROSENFELD

IN BRIEF

THE CONFESSIONS OF AN INDIVIDUALIST. By William Henry Chamberlin. The Macmillan Company. $3.

This autobiography by the author of "The Russian Revolution" is well named. Real, as distinguished from uperficial, individualists are rarer mong newspapermen than they would have us think, but Mr. Chamberlin actully is one. He has traveled widely and ead deeply. His book is worth reading.

THE INVASION FROM MARS. A Study in the Psychology of Panic, with the Complete Script of the Famous Orson Welles Broadcast. By Hadley Cantril. With the Assistance of Hazel Gaudet and Herta Herzog. Princeton University Press. $2.50.

This unusual study of a remarkable phenomenon whose details are well nown was carried out under the direcion of a social psychologist connected with the Princeton Radio Project in an ttempt to arrive at its "social signifiance." The conclusions reached are on he whole those of common sense.

CIENCE FRONT, 1939. By F. Sherwood Taylor. The Macmillan Company. $2.50.

urveys of the advance of science reuced to the language and concepts of on-technical readers are appearing pon the market with increasing frequency. This one, by an English writer, s distinctly above the average in clarity nd that ability to sustain interest which s a combination of style and content. Television, atomic structure, cancer research, the amazing substance helium I, the shock treatment of schizophrenia, nd numerous other discoveries are inluded in the thirteen chapters.

OHN GAY: FAVORITE OF THE WITS. By William Henry Irving. Duke University Press. $3.50.

pecialized but interesting, Mr. Irving's iography deals less with Gay himself —our picture of the "divine Bucoliast" eing supplemented here but hardly changed—than with Gay's work and mes. With his journalistic sense and resh talent, Gay, secretary of Scriblerus nd notable apostle of Walpole's jolly nderworld, is of course a fine mirror f the early eighteenth century; and hrough a discriminating use of pamhlets, ballads, lampoons Mr. Irving resents the age. Here are Swift, Arbuthnot, Pope, Philips, these writers who in their uneasy personal alliance seem to emulate in little the larger history of their England; here are the South Sea bubble, the fossil-hunting which in a century would produce a Darwin, the political struggles conditioning literary taste, and above all the classic style, which gave its central unity to the work of Gay's era—that "poetic" diction, abstract, noble, and refined, in the polished couplets of which we may almost read the story of conflicting and brutal social forces. Concerning himself with the more purely literary aspects of Gay, Mr. Irving tends to ignore the implications of the other excellent source material he has gathered, thus limiting his study to the rather narrow confines of academic taste. But within its range his "Gay" is good.

RECORDS

THE Muggsy Spanier coupling of "Mandy, Make Up Your Mind" and "Lonesome Road" (Bluebird 10766) is outstanding among recent jazz records. Good performances by the Bob Crosby Orchestra, with Jess Stacy at the piano, are Stacy's own "Complainin' " (Decca 3233), of which he recorded a more spontaneous solo performance for Commodore, and Gershwin's "Embraceable You" (Decca 3271); and the smaller group of Crosby Bobcats are good in "Spain" (Decca 3248). Louis Armstrong's simpler and more sensitive trumpet style is heard in "Sweethearts on Parade" (Deca 3235); everyone but Hawkins himself plays well in the Coleman Hawkins All Star Octet's "Sheik of Araby" (Bluebird 10770); and the solo playing in the Kirby Orchestra's "One Alone" (Okeh 5605) remains enjoyable though the arranged passages by the entire group are too slick for my taste. Joe Bushkin's first solo record (Commodore 532) offers his sensitive piano style in "I Can't Get Started" and his own "Serenade in Thirds," but with over-ripe harmonies that he doesn't indulge in when he plays in bands; and I therefore prefer his work in the Muggsy Spanier performances. Fred Astaire is engaging in "Just Like Taking Candy From a Baby" (Columbia 35517) and gets good support from the Benny Goodman Sextet and Orchestra.

Columbia has issued an album, Chain Gang (C-22, $2.50), in which arrangements of Negro songs of the chain gang are sung by Joshua White and his Carolinians. There are people who, because of what they feel about the cruelties inflicted on Negroes in chain gangs, will be moved by these songs as they would not be if they heard the songs without the words or without any other knowledge of what they were about. Feeling as I do about these cruelties, I am affected by the sense of the songs as I would be by a report in *The Nation;* but not one of them is, as music, the breath-taking experience that the song "I Wonder As I Wander" was when I encountered it in the John Jacob Niles album last winter; and this was a song about "Jesus, our Saviour," with whom I have no emotions bound up at all. Apart from this, it would seem to me that the nature of these chain-gang songs would forbid their being dressed up in the arrangements in which they have been recorded in the Columbia album. But the singing and recording are excellent.

From Victor have come two albums (P-27 and P-28, each $2) of Woody Guthrie's Dust Bowl Ballads. In these the music is of little consequence, merely rattling along to carry the words —some grim, some sharp, some amusing—that express Guthrie's engaging personality.

Then from the Music Room, 133 West Forty-fourth Street, New York, there is the album, Six Songs for Democracy, with three ten-inch discs ($3) on which are rerecorded satisfactorily the songs recorded in Barcelona in 1938 by Ernst Busch and the chorus of the Eleventh International Brigade: Song of the International Brigades, The Thaelmann Battalion, Song of the United Front, "The Four Generals," "Hans Beimler," and the famous concentration-camp song, "Die Moorsoldaten." Here too what is moving is not the music but the ideas, and above all the associations: these are the actual voices of the men whose generosity of heart and soul was defeated by the fascist dictatorships and betrayed by the democracies. But some people will not be able to listen to the singing of these men—men who named their battalion after Thaelmann, men who were in Spain to fight the Hitlerism that had to be fought as the menace to freedom everywhere—without thinking of how they were further betrayed a year later by a pact of peace with Hitlerism, and of how from this it appeared that their generous emotions had been used for the ends of *Realpolitik.* And for myself these associations are too painful.

B. H. HAGGIN

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Letters to the Editors

Democracy and Conscription

Dear Sirs: Freda Kirchwey's opinion that conscription is a first step toward "democratization" of the army (*Nation*, August 3) is based on a false conception of the operation of conscription and on disregard of its most direct effects. At the outset, the pending conscription measures do not, contrary to her assumption, involve "all elements of the population." Instead, those persons who are "unimportant" in civilian life are to be forced into the army. And the determination of "unimportance" is to repose in the practically unfettered discretion of the army and of local draft boards; it has been announced that they will in substance revive the Regulations of 1918, under which the unemployed and unskilled labor constituted the bulk of the first group of draftees.

Another feature of conscription, stressed as an advantage by the Chief of Staff, General Marshall, is that it will remove the necessity for increasing pay, instituting a more equitable system of promotions, or otherwise improving the lot of the enlisted man so as to induce the necessary number of men to serve voluntarily. According to General Marshall, "it [conscription] would produce a degree of solidarity among our people as to the army which would be of great advantage to the army." Moreover, "discipline" by the army of our whole population, or of as great a part of it as meets the physical and other requirements, seems to be considered our greatest national need; and discipline means accepting without question all aspects of the army regime.

Conscription of men rather than expanded voluntary service, at this time when facilities for the production of the sinews of war are left to the free disposition of their owners, means acceptance and dissemination of the view that the preservation of the liberty of the individual is of little importance compared to the preservation of property rights. At the same time that this view is gaining currency among the civilian population, the army will have the opportunity of inculcating its notoriously anti-democratic views directly in a large proportion of our young men.

The only way to "democratize" the army is to take the necessary steps for the expansion of our voluntary service. If we would preserve the democratic values and processes of civil life, we must keep our people free from the insidious psychological effects of conscription. NANETTE DEMBITZ

Washington, August 21

"The War as Revolution"

Dear Sirs: Permit me to offer a few criticisms of Max Lerner's articles on The War as Revolution in *The Nation* for July 27 and following issues.

First, I think that he indulges in idealization of the neglected and befuddled masses. In Europe as in America they realize little of the inwardness of the catastrophes which they have suffered. From what I know of them I conclude that they are thinking in terms of no planned revolution. They are in a mood to be stampeded in any direction but only under the impulsion of their intensified hates and prejudices.

Unquestionably we should be ready to take realistic advantage of Stalin's fear of Hitler—and of Mussolini's too, for that matter—but we must guard ourselves against playing into their hands and suspect card-sharping, while we have to play with cards face up.

In the third place, Mr. Lerner never mentioned the ablest player at the table, a marvelously shrewd and experienced old lady named Roma Ecclesiastica. She flirts with both sides in the contest and is always looking out for number one; also she is known to have a lifelong dislike for democracy and is suspected of being willing to make any kind of an alliance in her own interests.

We wouldn't be so badly off were we frankly to recognize such situations and plan accordingly.

ERNEST M. WHITESMITH

Mitchellville, Iowa, August 24

America Must Gird Itself

Dear Sirs: The totalitarian menace is rising not because it is indefatigable but because those who should be able to ward it off quarrel among themselves. During the past weeks I have attended several meetings of liberal organizations, and I have been amazed by the attitude of the vast majority of those present. American democracy—so they said—is still far from perfect: labor unions are still fought and suppressed; the Anti-Trust Act is applied agains them, contrary to its clear purpose; Negroes are widely discriminated against. Do those who complain of democracy's shortcomings realize what they are going to have if democracy is defeated? Have seven years of national socialism in Germany, eighteen years of fascism in Italy, twenty-three years of Russian bolshevism not taught America wha totalitarianism means. The liberties o Americans may be attacked by reactionary forces, but there is always a way o getting redress: there are independen courts and—strongest of all—an active public spirit which eventually sets wrongs right, witness Louisiana. Wha if the independence of the courts were abolished, if the people's anger against corruption were curbed by concentration camps and secret police?

The United States is up against terrible odds. If Americans want to continue their way of life and perfect democracy in a natural, evolutionary way, they have got to muster all their strength, spiritual and physical, even if this means giving up temporarily the right to do as they please. Otherwise, they will lose that right forever.

HEINZ R. BERNHARDT

New York, August 28

Exception Taken

[The Consul General of Eire in New York has taken exception to a statement made by Vincent Sheean in his article Ireland: Back Door to Invasion in the issue of August 24. Sheean wrote: "All this and much more is abundantly known to the Germans, who maintain a large legation in Dublin and have friendly agents throughout the country with free code communication with Berlin." The Consul General denies this assertion and refers us to a special cable published in the New York *Times* on July 17, which said: "Reports from abroad that Germany might be maintaining an excessively large diplomatic staff in Ireland were met tonight with an authoritative statement that the personnel of the German legation in Dublin consisted of Minister Edward Hempel, a secretary, a press attaché, two clerks, and a maid. The Germans have also a consul in Limerick."—EDITORS THE NATION.]

THE *Nation*

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

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The Shape of Things

CONCENTRATED IN AIRPORTS JUST ACROSS the Channel, the German air force is doing its worst to make good Hitler's recent threat to raze the enemy cities to the ground. Night after night the British capital has withstood shattering blows, but the R. A. F. continues to hit back at Berlin, Hamburg, and German industrial centers. In London no attempt is being made to minimize the damage. Utilities, docks, and communications have received heavy blows, along with churches, museums, and thousands of civilian homes. Hundreds have been killed and thousands injured, but considering London's enormous population the casualties, so far, appear comparatively light. The worst effect of the raids, perhaps, is the nervous strain and loss of sleep. Yet London, if bloody, is unbowed and carries on. Whether Germans are taking the British raids with equal fortitude we do not know, for correspondents in Berlin are far more restricted both in their movements and in their reporting than those in London. Meanwhile the British navy has shown that its claim to control the Mediterranean is no idle boast. Large reinforcements for both army and navy in the Near East have arrived safely at Alexandria after passing almost within sight of the Italian coast. Italy, on the other hand, is encountering increasing difficulties in maintaining communications with Libya.

*

KING CAROL'S HEADLONG FLIGHT FROM THE pursuing bullets of the Iron Guard marks the formal end of independent Rumania. Transylvania is in the process of occupation by Hungarian troops; southern Dobrudja has been ceded to Bulgaria; Bessarabia and northern Bukovina are in Soviet hands. By these cessions Rumania is reduced to approximately two-thirds of its original size. This is perhaps not so serious, since the majority of the residents in the ceded areas were admittedly not Rumanian. Nor would the loss of Carol under ordinary circumstances be an irreparable blow. Carol was a vain, autocratic, and often irresponsible monarch. But in the last few years he had struggled manfully to prevent his country from falling under Nazi domination. About all that can be said for the new dictator, General Antonescu, is that he is not a member of the Iron Guard. But Germany is said to prefer him to the Iron Guard because it believes that he stands a better chance of being able to put Rumania back on its feet economically. His role in this respect is to be identical with that of Pétain in France, but the recent disturbances suggest that Rumania's troubles are just beginning.

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THE BURKE-WADSWORTH CONSCRIPTION BILL has been passed by the House and gone to conference. Probably by the time this issue of *The Nation* reaches the newsstands the measure will have been sent to the White House, for strong Senate opposition is expected to kill the Fish amendment, which postpones operation of the draft for sixty days in order to test the efficacy of a drive for volunteers. This proposal, which was approved by a narrow majority of the House, seems to us a pernicious piece of politics designed to delay the actual drafting of men until after the elections. An elaborate recruiting drive has in fact been going on since last May, and while it has speeded up the flow of recruits, the numbers that have come forward have been far short of what is needed. A further intensification of this campaign can hardly be achieved without a highly undesirable amount of ballyhoo, and even then it will almost certainly fail to bring in the required quota. We have before expressed the view that in the present emergency the selective draft is the fairest, most democratic, and most efficient method of obtaining the manpower necessary for our defenses, and we trust that Congress, on reconsideration, will not permit political calculations to cause a delay.

*

BUSINESS CONTINUES TO DEMONSTRATE ITS intention to make as much as it can out of defense and pay as little as it can manage in taxes. The new excess-profits tax bill has grown even more tangled than before in the hands of the Senate Finance Committee, and all one can say of it with assurance is that it is even less a

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bill to tax excess profits than it was. It wasn't much of one to start with. A tax on excess profits was a political necessity for the Administration to counterbalance the repeal of profit limits on defense contracts. But as the bill now stands, it imposes as small a tax as possible on excess profits from defense, and increases normal corporate income taxes in order that the yield will not seem too ridiculously small. The ordinary business man would pay a higher tax to cover up the small taxes imposed on the defense profiteers. In the Finance Committee hearings the Defense Commission and the War and Navy departments have again shown themselves anxious to act as lobbyists and spokesmen for business. What seems to be worrying them now is a "joker"—the term is theirs not ours—by which the government would have some right to decide what companies are to do with new defense facilities paid for out of the new five-year amortization privileges. Since indirectly the cost would be met largely by the Treasury, we see nothing unreasonable in this provision.

*

DESPITE BIG PROFITS AND LOW TAXES ON defense contracts, industry is bitter in its opposition to any possible "conscription" of plants for defense purposes. We put quotation marks around the word "conscription" because the Russell-Overton amendment, like the milder Smith amendment in the Senate, would let the courts fix fair compensation for plants taken over by the government. An army conscript cannot apply to the courts after the war is over for an order requiring the government to pay the "fair value" of his services. Nor does he have any excess profits from his $21-a-month wage on which to pay taxes. No efficient defense program is possible unless the government is given some power to force recalcitrant or greedy industries into line, and as Walter Lippmann was courageous enough to point out, this power in defense is merely the counterpart of the government's ancient and traditional power of condemnation for public purposes. Former Congressman J. Mayhew Wainwright in a letter to the New York *Herald Tribune* pointed out that Harding, Coolidge, and Hoover favored some method of "conscripting" industry in war time, and that at the request of Congress Hoover in 1930 appointed a commission to study the problem. The commission favored giving the government power to conscript industry for war purposes. But the nonsense in the press about the "totalitarian" character of the Russell-Overton amendment continues.

*

LAST WEEK'S SHARP RISE IN COMMODITY prices suggests the beginning of the long-predicted war inflation. The prices of raw materials have been gradually moving upward for several weeks. But after Labor Day there was a sudden spurt which affected many leading commodities. Copper prices were advanced one-half cent a pound. Zinc moved up 35 points in one day. Silk, which had long been in the doldrums as a result of the success of nylon, rose sharply. The prices of leather, domestic sugar, cotton cloth, and rubber also mounted. So far the recent rise in commodity prices has not affected the retail prices paid by the average consumer. Food costs, however, are about 10 per cent higher than a year ago. The increase in the price of meat has been particularly striking—amounting in some cases to as much as 30 per cent. Since meat shipments have been fully as large this year as last, the rise in price is attributed to increased demand—a distinctly inflationary phenomenon. In the case of metals and many other raw materials, the jump in prices is clearly the result of the added demand occasioned by British war purchases and domestic defense requirements. As the expenditures for defense actually get under way, this demand is bound to increase. Within a few months we may again be hearing complaints about the high cost of living. When that stage has been reached, it is very difficult to put on the brakes. But the government does have the technical weapons to curb inflation at this stage. The danger is that it may hesitate to use them in an election year.

*

DEVELOPMENTS IN MEXICO HAVE BECOME increasingly grave since the receipt of the article by Ralph Bates which appears elsewhere in this issue. Meeting in a clandestine Congress, the followers of General Almazán have proclaimed him the "legally" elected President. Safe in Baltimore, Almazán has declared that he will return to Mexico "at the proper time" to claim the Presidency. These two actions can mean only one thing—an effort on the part of the Almazanistas to seize power by force if conditions are at all favorable for a revolt. The consistent anti-government tone of the American press in referring to Mexico suggests that Almazán must have influential backing on this side of the Rio Grande. In addition to the support of the American oil interests, Almazán, according to Mr. Bates, has that of the Nazis. His following within Mexico, however, is apparently small. To succeed in a revolt he must have, as Franco did, active and substantial foreign aid. The position of the United States is almost identical with that occupied by France in relation to Spain in 1936. Support of the legitimate government in Mexico will make a revolt impossible. Lack of it may lead to chaos.

*

THE INVASION OF INDO-CHINA BY JAPAN, reported to be scheduled for September 6, has been put off as a result of a deal between the Vichy government and the local Japanese military commander. Under the erms of the deal Japanese troops are to be given a right of way through Indo-China to attack China's back door in Yunnan; the Chinese have rushed troops to the Yunnan border in anticipation of such a move. If the Japanese gain even a foothold in China's southwest, they will be in a position to seal not only the trade routes through Indo-China but the Burma road as well. The surrender of the Vichy government tended to nullify the effect of Secretary Hull's excellent statement warning Japan to keep its hands off Indo-China. But there is still a chance that the supporters of de Gaulle, said to be strong in Indo-China, may repudiate the Vichy agreement and defend the colony in cooperation with Great Britain. In such an event the United States would be called upon to back up its words of warning with deeds. A complete embargo on trade with Japan, utilizing the existing licensing provisions, would greatly cripple Japan's striking power and give the French, with British and Chinese aid, a fair chance to defend themselves.

*

IN AN ARTICLE APPEARING ELSEWHERE IN this issue Charles E. Noyes examines our economic system in the light of the theory that, by virtue of modern technology, "expansion of production can always be faster than any expansion of demand which is conceivable in a conventional capitalist system." If production were given free rein it could only be disposed of by constant price reductions which would deprive industry of the profit motive. Hence, in order to meet these conditions, the managers of industry strive to create by artificial means those conditions of scarcity on which the nineteenth-century theory of a free-market economy was based. Yet in so doing they inevitably slow up the machine and produce the intolerable combination of idle workers and idle capital. With the broad outline of this thesis the editors of *The Nation* do not quarrel. We cannot indorse, however, Mr. Noyes's second point—that Nazi state planning has "solved the problems of capital investment, production, and distribution without regard for traditional economic laws." It is true that the Nazis have achieved practically a 100 per cent mobilization of resources, but this has been done by putting the whole German nation on something like a subsistence basis and diverting all surplus production to war purposes. It does not follow that the same methods would be equally successful when employed in an attempt to raise living standards, for this effort would involve a nice balance between production for immediate consumption and production for capital purposes—a balance unobtainable by the corner-cutting methods applicable to a single-minded drive to boost output of armaments. We think that Mr. Noyes's thesis is provocative, nevertheless, and plan to have it more thoroughly discussed by competent authorities in forthcoming issues.

WITH THE DEATH OF LILLIAN D. WALD THIS country lost one of its most useful citizens. A list of her achievements reads like a chart of American social progress during the past half-century. Originator and founder of the visiting-nurse system, she made Henry Street Settlement a mecca for forward-looking social workers from all parts of the world. It was she who first conceived the idea of a Children's Bureau in the federal government. Through most of her seventy-three years she fought unswervingly against injustice and supported all progressive causes. She was in the forefront in the struggle for legislation against sweatshops, child labor, and slums. She pitted her strength against war and against racial and religious intolerance of all kinds. And yet through it all she retained a simple dignity, a sense of humor, and a capacity for friendship that gained her the love and respect even of those who did not share her passion for humanity. Her death is an irreparable loss, but her influence on thousands of the living gives assurance that her work will go on.

Isolationist Hysterics

AT LAST the wish of the great majority of Americans to give Britain all possible aid "short of war" has found tangible expression in the deal to exchange fifty over-age destroyers for leases of naval and seaplane bases in a number of Caribbean islands. There are many of us who believe that American interests would have been well served had these ships been handed over without any quid pro quo, considering the fact that the whole of our immense defense program is predicated on the danger to this country growing out of a British defeat. Nevertheless, the acquisition of a series of positions which will add enormously to the security of our Atlantic and Caribbean coasts is a move for which the President deserves the heartiest applause. And, in fact, most commentators on the deal have expressed approval, although in too many cases partisan considerations have made it rather grudging.

There is a vocal minority, however, whose denunciations of this effort to strengthen American defenses have been wildly hysterical. We can afford to smile when the *Daily Worker* accuses the President of planning "a blackout of constitutional democracy," for we know that good Communists divide their energies between proving that Stalin is not a dictator and asserting that Roosevelt is one. But it is more serious when a newspaper with the reputation of the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* comes out with the charge that the President has "committed an act of war" and has become "America's first dictator." We would remind the editors of the *Post-Dispatch* that the first act of any genuine dictator is to silence the opposition press, and that if a dictatorship really controlled this country, they would have had no chance to publish and broadcast their diatribe.

The accusation that Mr. Roosevelt has committed an act of war is easily disposed of. The sale of the destroyers would only bring this country into the war if the Axis powers chose to regard it as a *casus belli.* And that, so long as Britain is undefeated, is unthinkable, since their whole policy, like that of the *Post-Dispatch,* is to keep America as isolated from European affairs as possible. Actually German and Italian comment on the deal is designed to "prove" that it really represents a setback for Britain. Of course, it may be argued that if and when Germany is victorious it will call us to account for our aid to Britain. But even the most casual student of politics is aware by now that Germany never lacks an excuse for aggression. If Hitler thinks his interests will be served by attacking us, attacked we shall be no matter what we have done to appease or to annoy. The only way out would be to submit to whatever plans he might have for our future, and surely even the *Post-Dispatch* wouldn't carry appeasement to those lengths.

As it has long advocated the acquisition of Caribbean bases, the *Post-Dispatch* is rather hard put to criticize this aspect of the deal. But it rises to the occasion with the assertion that leases are valueless and only outright sovereignty will serve America's purposes. "What good will these leases be," it whimpers, "if Hitler should acquire title to these islands by right of conquest?" On this point it has been magnificently answered by the St. Louis *Star-Times,* which comments: "There you have the whipped-dog attitude that would reduce the United States to the status of Denmark, without Denmark's cruel necessity. When Hitler acquires Newfoundland, Bermuda, and the Bahamas, the United States will be at war with Hitler in twenty-four hours, or will be his vassal in as many weeks."

Much more numerous than the all-out opponents of the President's latest defense move are the critics who favor the end but attack the means. Mr. Willkie set the tone when he commented that while the country will undoubtedly approve of the program, "it is regrettable that the President did not deem it necessary in connection with this proposal to secure the approval of Congress or permit public discussion prior to adoption." As to the second point, there has been no lack of public discussion of the proposal to sell the destroyers, and a Gallup poll taken on the question in early August showed that 60 per cent of those voting favored a sale. There is every reason to suppose that a poll taken now, when the nature of the bargain is known, would result in an even bigger majority.

The constitutional justification for the President's action without the prior consent of Congress is his position as commander-in-chief of the armed forces. In this capacity it is his right and duty to take the necessary steps to secure the defense of the country, and those who agree that the deal with Britain has increased our security are in a poor position to criticize his methods. We can be sure that had he neglected such an opportunity Republican headquarters would have held him strictly to account.

The practical justification for ignoring Congress was the necessity for speed. We have had too many examples lately of the tendency of Capitol Hill to stall on urgent measures. The rules of the Senate, which may be democratic in intent but are certainly no instrument of democratic efficiency, permit a small minority to delay action in a way incompatible with public interest in times of emergency. We should feel grateful to the President that under these circumstances he has not hesitated to exercise his powers under existing law. According to orthodox notions of clever politics it would have been smarter for him to sit on the fence and leave the responsibility to Congress. Mr. Willkie is being lavishly commended for speaking bold but impolitic words. Mr. Roosevelt, we think, deserves still more credit for bold actions. If the voters think that in taking them he has exceeded his powers and moved toward dictatorship, they have their chance to remove him in November.

Willkie and Appeasement

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

HENRY WALLACE did not say that Willkie favored appeasement. He said that Roosevelt was the man Hitler wanted to see defeated; he said, "Powerful elements in our opposition will, if the Republicans come into power, force us to make one economic concession after another to the totalitarian countries. These appeasers will have their way if the Republicans win, because they have contributed largely, both politically and financially, to the Republican cause." Willkie answered that Wallace was "100 per cent wrong." Later on he expanded that statement by saying that he was absolutely opposed to appeasement of any sort.

I believe Willkie means what he says. I see no reason to doubt his hatred for everything Hitler represents. He is a super-Babbitt with all the good and bad qualities of the breed somewhat magnified. Disliking dictators is one of the good qualities. He dislikes native fascists, too, and has vigorously repulsed the advances of such would-be supporters as Father Coughlin and Joe McWilliams.

But just the same, Wallace is right. The election of Willkie will be a triumph for the appeasers. It will encourage and strengthen the various domestic Führers. These groups back Willkie because their chief purpose is to defeat Roosevelt. If Willkie is elected he will not deliberately forward their claims, but they will gain ground politically and be able to press their claims. The more respectable among them will, as Wallace says, be in a position to force an appeasement policy on the country. They represent a large and important element in Willkie's business support. Willkie, politically speaking, is their man. They nominated him, and if he is elected, it will be with their votes and their money.

These facts have been expressed in figures by *Fortune* in a Forum of Executive Opinion appearing in the current issue. *Fortune* questioned 15,000 of "the country's high executives" on several issues of immediate public interest. Perhaps it isn't surprising to find that these business men, by more than five to one, think Willkie could handle our foreign relations better than Roosevelt, or that 91 per cent of them believe Willkie would do a better job on preparedness and industrial mobilization. What is surprising and painfully revealing is their vote on appeasement. More than a third of the executives polled would do "as much" business "as possible" with an economic bloc dominated by Hitler; while another 50 per cent would "take what came our way" or would let it "depend on circumstances"—in other words, follow an opportunist policy. Taken together these groups make a grand total of 83.3 per cent of the executives polled. Many of them know what this opinion implies; 49.4 per cent think that, if Hitler wins, American business "will have to be reorganized in a manner resembling the totalitarians," at least in the foreign-trade field; 14.1 per cent believe we must go totalitarian in our domestic economic life as well. The vote on Japan shows a total of 75 per cent in favor either of appeasement or of "letting nature take its course." The appeasers divide 40 per cent to 35 per cent between negotiating a new trade treaty and recognizing Japan's sphere of influence.

When *Fortune* cross-tabulates the political-preference vote with the Nazi-appeasement vote, the result substantiates Wallace and refutes Willkie. Of those who prefer Willkie to Roosevelt on foreign policy, 69.6 per cent favor as much trade as possible with a German Europe; while this position is taken by only 9.2 per cent of those who support Roosevelt. Mr. Willkie should ponder these figures. He can repudiate the support of the Coughlinites and the violent fringe of the appeasement party; but he cannot repudiate its respectable, wealthy, and powerful rank and file. He cannot repudiate 69 per cent of 15,000 representative "high executives." He may think he can, but if so he will find himself a disappointed man in case he is elected President.

But it looks less and less as if Wendell Willkie were going to be elected President. We are witnessing the strange spectacle of a candidate surrounded by admiring friends who wonder out loud whether his campaign has bogged down for good or whether he can still show some signs of life on the home stretch. *Time*, which with ***Fortune*** has been looked upon as one of the organizers of the Willkie crusade, published last week a cold-blooded appraisal of his chances. It reported a growing belief among Republican politicians that "maybe Willkie was only a fatter, louder Alf Landon." They think he has slighted the regular party workers and favored the amateurs; and they believe that elections are won in the wards and precincts. The article also reports Willkie's personal confidence in his own methods, but it leaves the reader wondering if *Time* doesn't think Willkie would have done better to pay more attention to the boys in the back room and less to Time, Inc., executives on leave to help elect Willkie.

Walter Lippmann has been saying harsh words about Willkie's methods. Hugh Johnson has been attacking Willkie for not finding real issues with which to belabor Roosevelt. And the best Willkie's active supporters can offer is the hope that the campaign may come to life when Willkie's tour gets under way. And so it may.

Willkie is a fighter, and if he feels the tide running against him he will swim hard. But if he is to make headway he will have to please somebody. One of Willkie's chief troubles to date is painfully simple. He has picked the unpopular side of almost every issue and then used loud and unconvincing language to support it. He attacked the Russell-Overton amendment as an attempt to "sovietize" American industry and as a "cheap political proposal." But whatever its final form, a measure permitting the government to take over industries which refuse to cooperate in the defense program will certainly be put through. And it will be put through because the people demand it. If Willkie attacked the amendment for political reasons, he guessed disastrously wrong; if he attacked it on principle he is a brave man.

His opposition to the "method" of transferring destroyers to Britain was equally vehement, and it fell equally flat. He might have won isolationist approval by opposing the whole move. It was a dramatic move which may have momentous consequences; and its legality was at least arguable. But Willkie favored giving the destroyers to Britain and approved the acquisition of bases by the United States. So he was left with a minor issue to fulminate over: the question whether the President was right or wrong in putting through the deal without referring it to Congress. His violent assertion that the President was wrong has gained only the feeblest support even among his own followers. Wendell Willkie has forsaken the politicians in order to launch a popular crusade. He is on his own as few candidates have ever been. Business support is not enough to elect him. He must depend for votes on his own power and magnetism and capacity to dramatize the desires of the people. Crusades are not led to victory on puny differences over method and manner. Somewhere, somehow Mr. Willkie will have to find an issue which is at once important and popular. He can't win without one.

Rumania's New Versailles

BY LOUIS FISCHER

HITLER has imposed a Versailles on Rumania. It is much more important than appears at first glance. Since the Reichswehr will occupy Rumania, the German-Russian frontier now extends all the way from Memel on the Baltic Sea to the delta of the Danube near the Black Sea. If Moscow accepts the new situation passively, Soviet expansion in the Balkans is at an end for the present. A Teuton army stands athwart the advance of the great Slav state in the direction of Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, and the Straits. Germany can now put submarines, gunboats, and torpedo boats on the Black Sea. This will make Russia and Turkey more nervous and should lead them to repair the damage done to their relations since Stalin started on his career of grab.

A huge German force also separates Russia from the area in which Italy dreams of aggrandizement. This was undoubtedly Mussolini's chief interest in the Vienna award; not the satisfaction of Hungary's unjustified revisionist aspirations. In past weeks Rome has been thundering against bolshevism once more. Greece and Yugoslavia, therefore, have reason to be worried. If within two or three weeks the much-heralded invasion of England does not take place, millions of German and Italian soldiers will be all dressed up with no place to go this winter. This cannot conduce to quiet sleep in the high quarters of Moscow, the Balkans, Turkey, and the eastern Mediterranean.

The Soviet government scents danger from Germany, but for that reason it must be all the more circumspect and pro-German on the surface—though pro-British at heart. Russia's safety now, as always, rests on a British victory and a German collapse. Stalin miscalculated. He did not know how rotten France was. He thought war would exhaust the Reichswehr before it could turn its attention toward Russia. But today it stands in full strength on the Soviet frontier.

Can Moscow shift to the British side? Not now. But it will want to weight the scales against Germany. The problem is how to do it. Much depends on what the Axis powers decide to do. If Italy invades Greece, Moscow could give the green light to Turkey to help Greece. Turkey does not need much encouragement to fight Italy. To date, Moscow tactics have paralyzed Turkish military efforts in behalf of the Allies. As a precaution, and to encourage the fighting spirit of Greece, Turkey, and Egypt, Great Britain has in recent weeks almost doubled the strength of its large fleet in the waters between Italy and Palestine. These added craft sailed blithely from Gibraltar under Italy's foot (and nose) without being molested. Italy's naval strategy, to date, has varied from hit-and-run to just run.

Stalin's canny eye is also glued on Washington. If Britain holds out and receives more help from the United States, the Soviet government will feel encouraged to conduct a more independent foreign policy. I suspect that Joseph Stalin is now as happy as William Allen White is to see those fifty United States destroyers sold to the British navy. The British navy is also becoming Russia's second line of defense.

With the exception of the United States, whose sporting spirit and realistic estimate of selfish interests have made it more pro-Ally as the Allies suffered reverses, the so-called neutrals fix their policy according to their views on who will win the war. Italy thought the war was won in June. Therefore it came in. Russia's acts will depend on whether England or Germany seems to be on top.

Most of the arguments that interest intellectuals will be settled on the battlefields. For people who care for principle and right and who have seen the murder in Europe during the last year, the question whether Stalin was warranted in signing with Hitler has already been settled. For the cynical remainder the answer will be read in the skies over Britain and Germany.

CONTENTS

THE SHAPE OF THINGS 201
EDITORIALS:
ISOLATIONIST HYSTERICS 203
WILLKIE AND APPEASEMENT by Freda Kirchwey 204
RUMANIA'S NEW VERSAILLES by Louis Fischer 206
NAZI CHALLENGE TO DEMOCRACY by Charles E. Noyes 207
MEXICO: ANOTHER SPAIN by Ralph Bates 210
WITCH HUNT AT RIOM by Harry J. Greenwall 213
ANN ARBOR HYSTERIA by S. R. Kaye 215
EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS by Keith Hutchison 217
IN THE WIND 218
A NATIVE AT LARGE by Jonathan Daniels 219
BOOKS AND THE ARTS:
THE EAR A poem by Louis MacNeice 220
THE SAWDUST TRAIL by I. F. Stone 220
CHALLENGE TO LIBERALS by Reinhold Niebuhr 221
BACK TO 1932 by Maxwell S. Stewart 222
THE SHELTERED LIFE by Louis B. Salomon 222
THE FACTS ON ARNOLD by Morton Dauwen Zabel 223
LIFE AND FAITH OF BENES by Franz Hoellering 224
IN BRIEF 225
RECORDS by B. H. Haggin 225

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Nazi Challenge to Democracy

BY CHARLES E. NOYES

WHEN Hitler came to power in Germany, orthodox economists predicted that his crazy economic system would collapse of its own weight, and Marxists said that the Reich would be Communist within a year. Instead, Germany produced a war machine which is one of the industrial miracles of history, in a period when the capitalist democracies were staggering along through chronic depression and the Russian form of government was becoming year by year less distinguishable from National Socialism. Former devotees of the economic interpretation of history are now producing personal, psychological, and even military explanations of German success. Their efforts might be more constructive if they would reexamine some of their pet economic theories.

The major economic and technical developments of the twentieth century have been the use of mass-production methods in industry, a rapid increase in the utilization of mechanical power, and a decrement in population growth. If the decay of democratic capitalism and the rise of totalitarianism are more than a weird series of accidents, they should have some close relationship to these three basic changes.

The revolutionary impact of modern technology has been at least partially recognized by such diverse men as Thorstein Veblen, Herbert Hoover, Howard Scott, and a number of the New Dealers. But all of them have quite naturally considered the problem of readjusting society to these changes as something which we could work out in our own good time. Marxists were preoccupied with the class struggle, and not even Spengler or Pareto foresaw the sudden growth of a new kind of economic and political system which would challenge both democratic capitalism and Marxian socialism with tremendous military power.

The regimentation which exists in Germany, Russia, and Italy is neither a product of the character of the people nor a system arbitrarily imposed by the whim of authority. The same forces have been tending toward regimentation in the United States even longer than in Europe. This tendency seems inevitably to accompany the rationalization of industry through centralized financial control and large-scale producing units. It is almost a commonplace that no man can work for Ford, or General Motors, or United States Steel, without having a large part of his life controlled by decisions in which he has no part whatever.

Together with regimentation of individual workers, technological changes and the decline in population growth have produced a fundamental change in the usage of capital by eliminating scarcity value. For all practical purposes the mass-production industries—perhaps also agriculture and some others—are already operating in an economy of abundance. This fact should not be obscured by the underconsumption that is still widespread. National and world production are less than enough to provide a universally satisfactory standard of living, but *the expansion of production can always be faster than any expansion of demand which is conceivable in a conventional capitalist system.*

All the inflationary programs of the New Deal—and of pre-war England and France—failed to produce the symptoms of inflation because they never succeeded in putting money into the hands of consumers faster than food and goods could be produced to meet the resulting demand. And while investment in new capital goods has fallen off during the last ten years, potential productive capacity has been steadily increased by new technological discoveries. As a result, no business man can look forward to the large profits which come only from scarcity unless he can arrange an artificial monopoly. Even that prospect is dangerous in most cases because monopolies stimulate the invention of substitute products, and consumption habits are ever more easily shifted from one field to another. It is natural and inevitable that the current ideal among all right-thinking business men is to "stabilize" prices throughout each industry. In some cases they have been successful, enough so to attract the attention of Thurman Arnold; but the impossibility of achieving such a result throughout the whole economic system in a democracy is demonstrated by the failure of the NRA and by prevailing low interest rates and lack of new investment.

END OF THE FREE MARKET

The classical system of capitalism and the free market are doomed in a world of potential abundance. Industrial management, distributors, and farmers may charge a fee for their services, but there can be no considerable spread between cost and selling price when goods have no scarcity value in relation to effective demand. There are likely to be losses as often as profits, and there is virtually nothing the producer can do about it without changing the system.

Superficially, this effect of potential abundance seems to resemble the decay of capitalism which was predicted by Marx. It is true that in some cases excessive profits have accentuated depression by reducing consumption. But the class struggle takes on a very different aspect in a world of possible plenty, and the labor theory of value must be drastically modified in a world where human strength is multiplied a thousand times by mechanical power. Ownership of the means of production ceases to have vital importance when the problem is not to exploit but to coordinate the means of production. The amount subtracted from consuming power by profit is relatively unimportant when the total national income of a country like the United States can fluctuate within ten years from $81,000,000,000 down to $40,000,000,000 and back up to $71,000,000,000. The Marxian analysis may have been correct enough at the time it was made, but technological change caught up with capitalism long before the proletarian revolution appeared as a serious threat in any great industrial country. Fundamentally, the Marxian proletarian revolution was conceived as a struggle for the means of subsistence in a world of scarcity; it is not an inevitable struggle in a world which could produce comfort for the many and huge profits for the few simultaneously, nor is it a particularly valuable conception for the solution of contemporary problems of production and distribution. Even in the United States, private ownership of the means of production has been largely divorced from power. Even in Russia, public ownership of the means of production has not prevented the concentration of power.

The safeguard for freedom which is already weakened and is being destroyed by technological change is the free market, the system of exchange which can operate only in a system of relative scarcity. The basic position of the free market in earlier democratic theory is often forgotten by twentieth-century liberals, Marxists, and social planners. But to Jefferson and Hamilton alike, political freedom needed to be supplemented and implemented by guaranteeing the right of every individual to buy and sell at whatever prices he could obtain, to accumulate property and acquire debts, to exchange his labor, his skill, or his cleverness for the most attractive rewards obtainable in a strictly competitive economy. And so long as there was active competition for goods, labor, skill, and services, individual economic liberty did in fact exist. The rewards for labor may have been unduly small, and the rewards for cleverness or previously accumulated capital unduly large, but that seemed to be no more than an accident of relative scarcity in the market, which did not destroy the principle of freedom.

What no one noticed, because no other condition could be seriously imagined, was that scarcity itself provided the economic basic for this freedom. During most of the nineteenth century, countries with growing industries were able to use all of the labor, all of the capital, and all of the goods which could be obtained. There were depressions when the unplanned expansion of the economy was temporarily disrupted by overdevelopment in a few directions—such as railroad building—or by external forces like war or crop failure; but each depression was succeeded by a period of greater prosperity, and the economic organization of capitalist democratic society seemed to be justified by a steady increase in total national and per capita wealth. The theories of classical liberal economics were generally accepted as a rationalization of what was actually happening. Few people questioned their assumption of an apparently limitless growth of the world's free markets. The automatic functioning of prices, savings, and investment seemed to be a genuinely democratic way of allocating the world's productive energies. The proportion of workers who were not free to make a change was too small to arouse general indignation except in a few cities during hard times.

The change in this picture was not the result of a sharpening of the class struggle, for real wages tended to go up almost everywhere in the world. The change was brought about by technological advance in a society which was unable to assimilate expanding productive capacity by increasing its consumption with equal speed. The result was chronic unemployment, which appeared in spots early in the twentieth century and became endemic after the first World War. And the destructive force was not the misery of the unemployed but the loss of freedom by workers who knew that there was always someone anxious to step into their jobs, coupled with the shrinking profits of producers and distributors, whose supply always exceeded the demand. For a time huge profits continued to be made by those who could take advantage of the losses of others, and even labor did fairly well as long as investors with an oversupply of money were financing purchases by foreign countries; but the disintegration of the free market as supply continued to grow faster than demand could not be concealed forever, and it caught up with the capitalist countries in such depression as they had never known before.

The wealthier ones—England, France, and the United States—lived on their accumulated capital and credit, in the hope that prosperity would succeed depression as it had always done before. To a minor extent prosperity did return; but for the first time it failed to exceed previous levels. It failed in England and the United States to reduce unemployment to reasonable figures, and it failed to stimulate private investment. The potential supply had become so much greater than the demand that no business man could look with confidence at the future. Labor and taxes were usually blamed; but the important fact was that scarcity value had disappeared except where it was supported by monopoly.

Even in the case of monopoly or industry-controlled prices, the profit system as it used to operate has disappeared in the mass-production industries. Investment in plant and machinery is so heavy that unit cost depends upon volume of sales rather than upon the price of the materials and labor which go into any single unit. If General Motors prepares its plant to produce a million Chevrolets in a year and sells only one, that single Chevrolet will cost many millions of dollars. On the other hand, if the management of General Motors plans production and establishes a selling price at such a figure that the sale of a million Chevrolets will fully pay for general overhead and the cost of machine tools for that particular model, the profit on every Chevrolet sold over a million will be huge.

The operations of General Motors, or of Ford, or of Chrysler in any given year are therefore a terrific gamble. If there were cutthroat price competition in the automobile industry, as advocated by classical capitalist economists, this gamble would create an impossible situation, because the total market for new automobiles in the United States is limited, no matter what the price, and a price war would obviously result in loss for every company. They would all have to meet their competitors' prices, wherever they were set, since they would lose less by selling some cars at any price than by selling no cars at all. But, together, they are always capable of producing more cars than can possibly be sold at a profit.

The Brookings Institution recommends that industry should steadily increase consumption by reducing prices as costs go down. But that is impossible under the present system because for the mass-production industries costs cannot even be determined until most of the product has been sold. It is therefore inevitable in a capitalist economy of potential abundance that big business—and eventually small business, too—should seek price stabilization. As a matter of fact, many large businesses do their best to set prices at a level which will provide reasonable profits on the expected volume of sales, after considering the best advice which market analysts can give them. Naturally, they seek to stabilize wages also, and they would like to stabilize the market if they could. Few of them are consciously aware of the fact that the stabilization of wages, prices, and profits means the end of the free market which has been the traditional economic basis for democracy, or that such stabilization was the original program of fascism. They are merely exhibiting a natural reaction to the fact that the seller's market, in which the demand for goods and services exceeded the supply, has been replaced by a buyer's market, in which the potential supply always exceeds the demand. In such a situation sellers can make a profit only by combining openly or tacitly to bargain with the buyers, and if government tries to prevent that, they will try to gain control of the government.

What must inevitably happen, however, is that when big business obtains control of government—when individual economic liberty is destroyed and there is no longer any power within the state capable of challenging the power of the state—government will also become virtually synonymous with business, and power will eventually rest in the hands of the politician rather than the business man. That is what happened in Germany.

FASCISM BECOMES SOCIALISTIC

Fascism, as first conceived in Italy, did not go much beyond the business man's ideal of stabilizing wages, prices, and profits. The rest was political trimming. And as might have been expected, it failed to achieve much expansion of Italian production except as money could be borrowed from foreign countries. National Socialism, on the other hand, promptly substituted state planning for business planning, and solved the problems of capital investment, production, and distribution without regard for traditional economic laws. The Nazis' immediate task was made easier by a huge armament program, because employment of millions of workers in producing arms simplified the problem of adjusting consumers' income to the available supply of consumers' goods. But in the management of their economy they decided that the way to produce is to produce, the way to distribute is to distribute, and that the allocation of money income is a purely state-controlled device—virtually a convenient fiction—for expediting the processes. More practical and hard-headed than the Russians, the Nazis found it useful to retain some of the traditional folklore of private investment, private management, and private profit, but the folklore was never allowed to interfere with the practical exigencies of state planning and state control. The free market, the competitive system, almost immediately ceased to have any significance after Hitler came into power. In the Nazi philosophy neither economic freedom nor political freedom has any place in the modern world.

On the basis of proved military strength, National Socialism does seem to have demonstrated that it is an effective way of escaping from under the dead hand which traditional capitalism places upon productive efficiency. Germans believe, and there is no economic proof to the contrary, that when by force of arms they have obtained control of adequate sources of raw materials, their productive efficiency will be turned with equal success to raising the German standard of living. And certainly anyone who maintains that the United States can match the productive efficiency of Germany without curtailment of personal liberties, or without drastic changes in the organization of our economy, is a liar, a demagogue, or a fool. A centralized authority with full power to allocate all raw materials and all labor, as well as to determine the kinds and qualities of goods to be produced, can unquestionably solve its problems of production and distribution more effectively than a country which preserves even a partially free market.

Social planners in the United States are indulging in wishful thinking when they insist that democracy can be retained where there is full centralized control over a national economy. Theoretically, it might be, but, practically, there is nothing to guarantee that it will be. And even if the forms of political democracy were retained, how much would they mean? Are the voters of any country capable of making sensible decisions about the organization of their country's productive machinery?

Democracy is confronted with the brutal fact that the economic system which has supported it no longer functions efficiently, and is rapidly ceasing to exist in the form in which it was conceived. The existence of potential abundance, the rationalization of production, and the use of power machinery are eliminating the free market for individual economic initiative. For a time intelligent men could reasonably argue that restoration of the free market was more important than productive efficiency, but the rise of an alternative system which presents a challenge in the form of tremendous military power makes such an argument suicidal. Even the defeat of Germany in war could scarcely result in turning the clock back. The free market in the democracies is already too nearly dead.

Democracy in the United States does, however, retain other safeguards. Some of them, like the more extreme interpretations of states' rights, are also anachronistic and serve merely to obstruct progress. But many of the traditional divisions of political power and a few new ones, such as the quasi-independent Tennessee Valley Authority, the National Resources Planning Board, and the National Defense Council, suggest the possibility of coordinating national effort without vesting all authority in a single person, group, or party.

The chief problem is to obtain centralized control where it is necessary without creating a single, unopposed central power. The chief obstacle to effective coordination is the existence of power in the hands of individuals, corporations, and political organizations who will not submit to anything less than supreme authority. And in the mind of the public the traditional value of individual economic freedom as a safeguard for democracy is being used as an argument for preserving the power of the rationalized industries and concentrations of finance which have already removed that basis of freedom.

Any attempt to break up big business while the country is preparing to meet a military threat from totalitarianism would lead to disastrous civil conflict and loss of productive efficiency. But unless the possibilities of abundance inherent in the technique of mass production can be realized within the framework of democracy, unless big business can be redirected toward expansion instead of toward stabilization, sooner or later the people will turn to the totalitarian method of achieving coordination by the creation of an omnipotent central authority.

Mexico: Another Spain

BY RALPH BATES

ALMOST the only question about Mexico that has been put to me since my return from that country last week is, "What is going to happen? Will the rightists revolt?"

That sort of question usually takes a left-wing writer three thousand words not to answer. But not this time. I know the Almazanistas are preparing counter-revolution. And to the next question I will give just as categorical an answer. The Almazanistas, if only they can get over the hump, have a chance of winning.

The followers of Avila Camacho and Almazán are equally emphatic that they won the election by large majorities. In a country which is in process of revolution, and in which democracy is not yet the universal habit of mind, election results are not, and should not be, the basis of judgment. The extreme left in Mexico, which asserts that the P. R. M., or governmental party, won hands down, also says that there is grave danger of revolt, which would hardly be possible if election results were a relevant guide. The right, which declares it won hands up, is headed by men who began to talk of revolt long before the election took place. Again, both sides claim that the election was fraudulently conducted. One has only to talk with plain unsophisticated people in Mexico to know that wherever they had the power, the Almazanistas kept their opponents from voting. On the other hand, so experienced and well-informed a left-winger as Harry Bloch declared in *The Nation* (June 8, 1940) that everyone knew that so long as the P. R. M. controlled the election machinery Almazán's chances of winning the election were nil.

If I am to believe a brilliant Mexican revolutionary whose knowledge of foreign affairs is authoritative, the opinions I have given are shared in certain diplomatic circles. My friend pointed out that as long ago as the first week in June the Mexican government formally intimated to London that it desired to reestablish diplomatic relations. Unfortunately, nothing has been done by the British government. Mexican inner circles, my informant said, believe that London is waiting to see what happens in Mexico. The same informant told me that Washington was now somewhat less inclined to commit itself to certain excellent proposals than earlier. I may add that while there is no suggestion that Almazán was financed by the Nazi authorities in Mexico, it is certain that the Nazi propaganda is pro-Almazán. It is not believed that the German representatives care much about the opposition program. What they want is trouble, in order to embarrass the pro-British United States. At the same time the present Mexican administration, while it has not lost its apprehensions concerning American imperialism, is not excessively distrustful of the United States government and is ready to collaborate with it in certain ways. It must be remembered that on the whole the P. R. M. is pro-British, in the sense in which every intelligent revolutionary is. I found that the Laski view of the war was at once understood and approved by some of the shrewdest thinkers of the left.

Whatever may be the volume of public support that Almazán possesses, it is certain that he has large funds, great propaganda resources, and powerful friends in the army, and that he himself is an able man. His followers hope to profit by the present severe economic crisis in Mexico, which they attribute to the revolutionary policy of the government. In his latest statement (New York *Times*, September 3) General Almazán says: "After six years of short cuts to Utopia—six years during which every known Russian plan has been copied —conditions are worse than in 1934. Housing is still a reproach, public health remains neglected, illiteracy has not been decreased, civil liberty is a farce, and famine shadows the land."

There is no space here to answer the charges in detail. They will not be accepted by anyone who has been at pains to understand Mexico. Housing is still a reproach, it is true, and will be for another quarter of a century. But no one had suspected that the P. R. U. N., Almazán's party, representative of the dispossessed or partially dispossessed landlords, bankers, middle-class interests, and all the corrupt derelicts of the directionless past, had any interest in housing. After all, were they not the architects of pre-Cárdenas Mexico? Public health remains a reproach too, but every effort of the Cárdenas government to provide medical facilities has been obstructed by the men who support Almazán.

Illiteracy has decreased under the Cárdenas regime. Rather more than 13,000 new schools were opened between 1934 and 1938. Education is, of course, far from good in Mexico, but Cárdenas is not responsible for the lack of professional training facilities which his administration encountered in beginning its educational campaign. There is hardly a department of government in which the Cárdenas record is better than in this one of education. And, if publishers are to be believed, the yearly sales of newspapers rose from 140,000,000, to 200,000,000 between 1935 and 1937. Much remains to be done, but a government which spends about half of its budget on education is not to be discredited by the candidate of social classes that have not yet called for or supported a healthy literature.

As to civil liberties, it is quite possible that my friend Roger Baldwin would find plenty to do in Mexico. Yet the Cárdenas government has been the least arbitrary Mexican administration since 1910. The almost dangerous clemency shown in 1938 to the Cedillista insurrectionists—most of whom support Almazán—is proof. It is interesting to note what *America* thinks of General Almazán. The current number of that paper says: "His biographer, Enrique Lumen, describes him as 'a democrat believing in social discipline,' which might be translated as a desire to restore healthy austerity to public service, as Franco has done in Spain."

To all the charges made by Almazán, detailed and convincing replies can be made. The debate really proceeds on other grounds—the agrarian reform and the labor legislation stemming from Article 123 of the Mexican constitution. Of these, the first is by far the most important. Cárdenas has distributed more land than all the previous administrations put together. Approximately 17 million hectares of land had been granted to *ejiditarios* by the end of 1939. And, what is quite as important, while previous administrations had endowed the peasants with an average of twenty-five acres, the Cárdenas average has been forty-seven acres to a man. (Only a small part of each donation is arable land.) By the end of 1938 about one-half of the total arable land of Mexico had been turned over to the peasantry. Supporters of the Cárdenas regime usually stop at this point, believing that this in itself satisfactorily explains the present political crisis. However, there are certain complexities which are worth study.

In his election manifesto General Almazán declared that he would continue to distribute land; many of his followers even insisted that they would speed up the process. One is not obliged to believe them; and, very definitely, I do not. The opposition candidate, however, appealed to the property instinct in the peasantry by stating that he would convert the *ejidal* strips into real property. For the future they should *own* the land, not merely enjoy its usufruct. He promised to abolish what he calls "Russian collectivism," and to defend the peasantry against the bureaucratic tyranny of the administration banks, which at present service the agrarian reform. This "collectivistic tyranny," the P. R. U. N. declares, is the cause of the agricultural crisis and the ever-rising prices of consumers' goods.

There can be no simple reply to this attack. Grave difficulties have been encountered in carrying out the land reform, difficulties which are due in part to the very nature of that reform. Apart from this and from the undoubted fact that every landless peasantry desires to *possess* land, all the Almazán propaganda I have seen is merely polemical, and invariably dishonest.

In 1938 only one-third of the *ejiditarios* were organized more or less collectively. Almazán's charge, therefore, seems to mean that the bad work of one-third of the *ejiditarios* has brought down the productive index. Unfortunately for him, the exact contrary is the case. In 1938 crops were poor and the statistics for the bumper year of 1939 are not yet available, but in 1938, for the principal crops, the level of production upon the collectivized *ejidos* was way above the general index for Mexican agriculture.

Almazán, in appealing to the property instinct, knew that there was some village hostility to the ejidal bank. In addition, he hoped to appeal to those peasants who have not yet received land and who therefore have not learned by experience that some form of collectivism is necessary and beneficial. Since the peasantry has no money, it cannot very well work the land. Without tools, beasts, machines, or the means of irrigation the unaided peasant can grow barely enough to sustain his family. In order that financial aid shall be productive, some form of collective organization is necessary. I have examined hundreds of letters from peasants in villages endowed with *ejidos*. Though all are full of complaints, I have not yet read one which protested against the principle of collectivism as embodied in Mexican legislation. Nor, to be exact, have I ever heard much demand for outright possession in places where several crops have been raised with the help of the ejidal bank. That original desire has been weakened by experience, I believe. Bureaucracy is rife in the agrarian-reform departments, just as personalism and corruption haunt every department of administration, but glancing at the leading names of the P. R. U. N. one could hardly expect improvement from that source.

It is rather the success of this semi-collectivism which disturbs the "rectifiers" in the P. R. U. N. That success has not been as great as one could desire, but it is increasingly evident that experience is being gained. Old faults are slowly disappearing; fewer abuses are being committed. Sooner or later the semi-collective forms will become the norm and basis of Mexican agriculture. The concentration of property and formation of trusts, the invasion of agriculture by financial interests, the setting up of agrarian-industrial plants (sugar, cotton, sisal, etc.) henceforward are not likely to be within the control of the Mexican industrial and middle classes. This, I believe, is one reason why these groups have joined forces with the landlords. They may for the moment discover a lifelong belief in land distribution. They may even really believe in it. They certainly would have less objection to the formation of a large class of small property owners—with the permanent crisis which would result in a country of predominantly poor land—than to the continuation of the present effort. To be hemmed into cities by a countryside that is ever less likely to be a political ally, facing a laboring class that finds increasing support among the peasantry, is not a pleasing prospect for the industrialist, the banker, the coupon clipper, the small factory owner, or the more comfortable professional man. He hopes to stop this evolution before it has gone too far. Therefore, "The people will revolt." It is probable that the Almazanistas will revolt. Because of certain confusions on the left, fatigue and discouragement among various sections of the people, and the almost certain disloyalty in the last resort of some military leaders, the right has a chance. Nevertheless, I think the supporters of Camacho will win if the revolt occurs.

The American press has recently carried persistent denunciations of the Cárdenas regime. Almazán, playing for United States support, declared on September 3 that the country was governed by an unholy consort of Communists and Nazis, hostile to the United States. It suffices to say that in Mexico there is not the slightest sign of collaboration between the Communist Party and the Nazis, while the Mexican fascist organizations are all pro-Almazán. In any case, the Mexican Communist Party is a small party. Its effective dues-paying membership is only about ten thousand, and it is steady losing influence.

Nor is it true that the Avila Camacho administration will be hostile to this country, provided, at least, that present Washington policies are followed. Almazán may play for and obtain the support of the oil companies—though more than one Almazanista frankly told me that the properties would *not* be returned should Almazán obtain power—but the sounder heads in the Mexican left realize that American reaction to the oil expropriation might have been far worse. Similarly, in P. R. M. circles there is a clear understanding that the defeat of Britain would be followed by a wave of reaction that might easily generate policies in the United States so severe that Mexico would have to yield all along the line. The sympathy with Britain which one increasingly observes on the left in Mexico is not the consequence of any "surrender to imperialism."

The informant whose opinions I began by quoting agreed that the war was an imperialist war. For him the victory of one imperialism would be 100 per cent disaster for Mexico; a victory for its opponent would be infinitely less of a disaster. To put it simply, he did not believe that the Aguila oil interests would have greater control of British policies as a consequence of a Hitler defeat, but less. And he assumed that the emergent British government would be reactionary, which is a large assumption. He likewise thought that a Hitler victory would greatly increase the power of reactionary interests in the United States. Perhaps he was wrong, but on the whole, despite legitimate suspicion of the United

States, that was the view that appeared to be gaining ground in Mexico.

The extreme left seems to resent this "confusion," but that the Mexican government is retreating from its former position or "surrendering to imperialism" is disproved by its heart-warming conduct in opening its doors to the Spanish Republic in Exile now in France.

It is true that most competent observers in Mexico agree that the Camacho administration is likely to move at a slower rate than that of the Cárdenas government in its early years. Why that is so will be best explained when it has become definitely manifest. Any calculations made today may be upset before the year is out. The Almazanistas have yet to play their cards, and not even the best guessers know quite what they have up their sleeves. It may only be cards.

Witch Hunt at Riom

BY HARRY J. GREENWALL

St. Fortunat (Ardèche), France, August 19

WHY was the ancient city of Riom chosen for the setting of the French political trials? For the same reason that Clermont-Ferrand was chosen as the first seat of the Pétain government. But why was Clermont-Ferrand chosen? Because Clermont-Ferrand is the ancient capital of Auvergne, and Pierre Laval is the favorite son (self-styled) of that region. He is at any rate the richest man in the whole province.

Riom, ten miles to the north of Clermont-Ferrand, is a dusty little bit of old France where the spotlight has never before penetrated. Perhaps the light will fade again long before Pierre Laval and Georges Bonnet can exclaim with Shylock: "I'll feed fat the ancient grudge I bear him." The object of their grudge is Georges Mandel. Yet if ever Georges Mandel enters the dock of the Court of Appeals in Riom, I should not be surprised to see him emerge immeasurably greater in stature.

Already signs and portents are not lacking concerning the second thoughts of those who rushed to set up a court to try the men accused of responsibility for France's misfortunes. In his message to the nation broadcast after the court had already begun its preliminary investigations, Marshal Pétain made no reference to the trials. After all these weeks no list of accused has been made public; even the strictly controlled newspapers discreetly sigh and wish the government would make known the names of those who are due to appear *sur la selle.* Most significant of all, however, is the intervention of the *Temps,* which shames the devil by publishing the true story of Mandel's dash to Morocco, and thus cuts the ground from under the prosecution. If trial there be now, it will be held *in camera;* the *Temps* story already prepares public opinion.

The importance of its revelation lies in the fact that the *Temps,* in the old days supposed to reflect the opinion of the Quai d'Orsay, is the property of François de Wendel, head of the Comité des Forges. It is the only newspaper in France today which may be even lightly labeled an opposition newspaper, and this links up with the report that behind the scenes there is a plan to form a Comité des Forges government in France, with the approval of the German industrialists. If this plan were carried out, the Pétain government would fade away and with it Messieurs Bonnet, Laval, and Marquet. Georges Bonnet, whose name seldom appears in print now but whose activity since Reynaud refused to have him in the Cabinet has been immense, is the chief instigator of the Riom trials; he is ably supported by Laval and the anti-Semitic Marquet, mayor of Bordeaux. Laval, although he has certain private grudges he would like to work off, is definitely not anti-Semitic.

The story prepared by Bonnet is that Georges Mandel, while Minister of the Interior in the last Reynaud government, conspired with Premier Winston Churchill and Lord Beaverbrook at Tours to carry on the war against Germany in defiance of the "arrangement" to surrender made by Bonnet and Laval. The story presented by the *Temps,* which I have checked with the aid of Frenchmen close to Edouard Herriot, goes as follows:

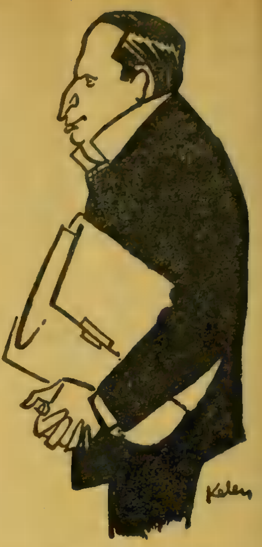
At the end of June the steamer Massilia sailed from Bordeaux for Casablanca in Morocco with ex-Premier Daladier, Georges Mandel, and some minor politicians on board. According to Bonnet, these men were "running away." M. Herriot, however, whose honesty is proverbial, is prepared to swear that he chartered the steamer Massilia at the request of the government; the government, therefore, must have been aware of the purpose of those who sailed in her. This purpose was to fulfil the pledge made by Premier Reynaud before the world—to carry on the government of France from French African soil. The *Temps* states that the arrival of the steamer in Casablanca was greeted "with hostile cries," but for this there are two possible explanations: that the mixed crowd of Arabs and whites thought the men landing were really running away or that the "hostile cries" were paid for.

With scrupulous fairness the *Temps* goes on to relate what happened after M. Mandel stepped ashore. He made at once for Rabat, which was at that moment the seat of government, and there sought an audience with the military governor, General Noguès, who happened to be absent on a tour of duty. M. Mandel informed the civil governor and the military authorities that M. Reynaud and his colleagues in the Cabinet which had just handed over office to Marshal Pétain had charged him with the task of setting up a government on African soil; that this government was to carry on the war side by side with Great Britain and with the full support of the French African army. It should be remembered that M. Mandel, as Minister of the Colonies, had played an important part in building up the vast and highly organized black and yellow army of Africa.

Next M. Mandel cabled London and asked that representatives of the Churchill government proceed at once from London to Morocco to establish contact with him. He then left Rabat to go to Casablanca, where he visited the office of the Havas News Agency and asked to see the local manager, but was informed that the manager was mobilized and therefore absent. The Havas News Agency, it should be emphasized, is heavily subsidized by the French Foreign Office and takes its instructions from the government.

In the absence of the head of the bureau M. Mandel instructed the young woman whom he found in the office to take down and send out a message stating that he had taken charge of the government and was expecting immediate contact with the British government. According to the *Temps,* M. Mandel said in so many words, "Send off these messages while I'm here; I want to see them dispatched." The girl protested that her discretionary powers were limited and that she must telephone to Rabat, where the manager was in barracks. M. Mandel agreed. The call having been put through, Mandel himself talked to the manager, who promised to see that the message was sent off from Rabat. But instead of doing so, he double-crossed the minister by submitting it to the local military authorities. Shortly afterward police officers came on the scene and asked M. Mandel to go aboard the Massilia and remain in his cabin. They told him that these measures were taken solely in his interest, because there were rumors of an organized public demonstration against him. M. Mandel concurred and was undone. Once he was aboard the steamer, the police gave the captain of the Massilia orders to raise anchor and to cruise about off shore until further orders.

The next morning, while the Massilia was still at sea, a seaplane swept down on Casablanca and landed Viscount Gort and Mr. Duff Cooper. The two Britishers appeared surprised that they were not met by M. Mandel and spent the evening in their hotel waiting for him. The next morning after breakfast they asked the way to the British consulate. From a chair in the lobby a slim young man in an alpaca jacket jumped up to say he would show them the way. He did not say he was a plain-clothes detective placed in the hotel, according to custom, to "protect" distinguished visitors. The *Temps* affirms that the detective, acting entirely without orders, prevented the Britishers from visiting the consulate. On their return to the hotel Lord Gort and Mr. Duff Cooper found a representative of the local French government waiting for them, eager to offer excuses for the absence of General Noguès.



Georges Mandel

"But we have come to see the chief of the French government," exclaimed the Britishers.

"The Marshal is in Bordeaux, or in Clermont-Ferrand, or in Vichy; not in Morocco," was the reply.

"We don't want to see Marshal Pétain; we want to see Premier Mandel."

"M. Mandel is not ashore; for the moment he cannot be seen, and besides," said the very polite caller, "M. Mandel has no office in the present government. There must be some mistake, gentlemen."

There ends the *Temps* story, but that is by no means the end of the whole story.

One may well ask why Bonnet is so particularly anxious to put the screws on Mandel. The answer is that Mandel has what is probably the best *dossier* of facts about French personages that has been compiled since the Revolution. Possibly it is no better than the one said to be owned and on occasion made use of by Senator de Monzie. One does not know how much use Mandel has ever made of his, but he has spent years collecting and filing the records, official and unofficial, of his friends and enemies.

Little has been written about Georges Mandel, but those of us who have lived and worked long in France remember the sallow, stocky little Jew who during the first World War was Clemenceau's right-hand man. Mandel, who preferred to use his mother's name rather than that of his father, a Rothschild, does not deny the obscurity of his origin or the things he did as the Tiger's cub. For years he lurked in the shadows, hated and feared—a Fouché in a frock coat, a twentieth-century Jew Süss minus the touch of high or low finance. During the last Clemenceau regime he was the unofficial Minister of the Interior; Mandel always knew, always will know, where power lies.

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In the Flandin and Laval cabinets, Georges Mandel was Minister of Posts and Telegraphs. It is curious and interesting to remember that at this period he installed in the outskirts of Paris a radio setup which enabled the government—and himself—to listen to radio and radiotelephonic communications from all quarters of the globe. During his term of office a postal strike threatened to tie up France; Mandel broke it as ruthlessly as Briand many years before had broken the railroad strike. With the collapse of the Laval government Mandel vanished once again into the shadows, but it is on record that when he left the Rue de Grenelle ministry for the last time, his staff lined the way from his office to his automobile and roundly hissed him.

For a period Mandel was the head of a bloc of eleven Nationalist deputies whose power was entirely out of proportion to their number. When he came back to office during the war crisis, he smilingly locked away his *dossiers* and set about reorganizing the Ministry of Colonies. It was then that I met him for the last time, lunching at Geneviève Tabouis's, where he lectured me, the only Englishman at the table, on the necessity for Britain's giving away some of its colonies. Shortly before the capitulation Reynaud made him Minister of the Interior.

It is said that the Riom witch hunters wish to follow the trial of Georges Mandel with another sensational and secret trial, that of Edouard Daladier. Before the war, Daladier was pushed by Mandel and some other patriotic Frenchmen to put an end to the intrigue Georges Bonnet was carrying on in French newspaper and political circles with the complicity of von Ribbentrop's agents. Making a weak gesture Daladier expelled the German pay-off man Abetz, who has just been appointed German ambassador to France, and a few other minor figures, and arrested a number of French journalists and advertising men, who, however, were never brought to trial.

Meanwhile Mandel's Bonnet *dossier* grew and grew. Various interesting items were probably added about the Comte de Brinon, who was the vice-president of the Comité France-Allemagne and known to the Quai d'Orsay as "Bonnet's personal ambassador to Berlin." Before being sent to Washington as ambassador Bonnet was Minister of Finance and then of Commerce, and the *dossier* may note that until that time, despite a "good" marriage, he was far from wealthy. Now he has a magnificent apartment on the Avenue Foch. Not the least interesting section of the *dossier* may relate to a financial scandal in which Georges Mandel saved Georges Bonnet from exposure.

These swollen Mandel *dossiers* must contain things many men would give much to destroy. I do not pretend to know what has become of them, but I would wager that, although copies may be in Morocco, the originals are in safe custody, either in London or New York. Now the hunt is on, but there is a French proverb which says that before forgiving your enemy you must first do him an injury.

Ann Arbor Hysteria

BY S. R. KAYE

Ann Arbor, Michigan, September 4

IN THE academic world the occupational hazards of left-wing political activity are frequently severe. Heads may fall, and there is no workmen's compensation. In most places student "radicals" are suppressed after they have indulged in some sharp act of defiance, some daring disregard of constituted authority, but at Ann Arbor severe punishment has been meted out to a group guilty of no recent or striking provocation. Twelve students at the University of Michigan have been "denied readmission" and four others have been warned in a cold, calculated effort to silence a sizable group by the decapitation of a few.

All reports of the affair have linked the dismissals with President Alexander G. Ruthven's statement, made in the course of his commencement address, that the university would deal firmly with "subversive or so-called fifth-column activities." Nine of the students belonged to the American Student Union, one was a member of the Young People's Socialist League, another of New America, and the last was a follower of Max Schachtman's anti-Communist Workers' Party. Two of the A. S. U. members also belonged to the Young Communist League. Dr. Ruthven insists that they were not ousted for "their political ideas or their membership in any organization." They were denied readmission, he asserts, for specific activities which were "detrimental to the work of other students or to the public interest."

What were these activities? Four students, freshmen members of the A. S. U., were barred for helping to organize a C. I. O. union among the university's 3,000 non-academic employees. "It didn't contribute to peace on the campus," Vice-President Shirley Smith explained to me, adding, "I have been expressly instructed by the Board of Regents not to enter into collective bargaining with any union. This is a state institution." Two were

Negroes who had invoked the civil-rights law and demanded service at two Ann Arbor restaurants. Two others, both white, took part in the "plot"—as one administrator put it—against these restaurants by aiding the Negroes to obtain the "cooperation" of the city prosecutor.

Hugo Reichard, vice-president of the A. S. U. chapter and an honor student, had defended Russia's invasion of Finland in a public debate. A girl freshman had circulated a petition objecting to what was said to be a forced sale of tickets for a university-sponsored Finnish relief concert. Most of the nine A. S. U. members had taken part in such familiar activities as selling "peace bonds" to raise a national anti-war chest, passing out "The Yanks Are Not Coming" buttons, and sponsoring debates on the war. They had also figured prominently in a campus-wide peace demonstration at which 3,500 students heard Senator Nye oppose intervention.

All but two of the twelve had good grades. Several had honor ratings. One was a faculty assistant in psychology; another held two scholarships; a third had won an Avery Hopwood award for creative writing. Four were residents of Michigan; eight were from outside the state. Six were Jewish.

Technically the twelve students have not been expelled. They have been refused readmission. Dr. Ruthven explained the difference in a letter to one student: "If your expulsion from the university were being considered, charges would be preferred and you would have a trial." As it is, the students were judged *in absentia* and given no explanation of the university's action.

Strangely enough, Dr. Ruthven, the administrator of this vicious policy, yearns to achieve the reputation of a liberal educator. He has often complained bitterly that "any evidence of unorthodox thinking, the slightest tinge of pink, becomes conspicuous as a departure from the norm and causes a spasm of hysteria in timid souls who are fearful of being disturbed." Valiantly he has blasted those who criticize "students for daring to think outside of particular patterns." At the same time he has tolerated a group of reactionary aides who devote half their time to harassing students with unorthodox views. These administrative assistants have set up boards to question applicants for admission about their political beliefs. They have interfered again and again with free expression in student publications. They have denied the use of lecture halls to a wide variety of speakers.

Dr. Ruthven's timidity is revealed by the following episode. In a speech before the New York alumni this college president declared: "It is positively dangerous for [society] to thwart the ambition of youth to reform the world. Only the schools which act on this belief are educational institutions in the best meaning of the term." The editors of the student newspaper printed this liberal gem in a box at the top of the editorial column. The St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* applauded their sagacity in enshrining this guaranty of freedom in a conspicuous spot. Three months later, after the appointment of a new editor, the box was removed at Dr. Ruthven's request. "I am only a chore boy in the university," he told me recently.

This is probably partly true. Regents, legislators, politicians, and wealthy alumni call many of his signals. The purse-strings of the institution are controlled in large part by the state legislature, made up of up-state farmers and down-state representatives of the automobile companies. The physical expansion of the university is dependent mainly upon the largess of wealthy alumni, who could hardly be expected to approve any toleration of unorthodox expression. Significantly, in the eleven years of Dr. Ruthven's administration private gifts have mounted sharply.

The university's Board of Regents, which is directly elected by the voters of the state, contains, among its eight members, Michigan's former head football coach, Harry Kipke, who as a candidate for his post received the aid of Ford's anti-union personnel director, Harry Bennett. Since his election Kipke has been given the luncheon concession at the River Rouge plant. Five of the regents are corporation lawyers. One, a Democratic national committeeman, was formerly legal counsel for Consumers' Power, a subsidiary of Commonwealth and Southern. Another was chairman of a Garner-for-President committee. The seventh is a retired banker. The eighth is the wife of a General Motors executive.

This being the structure of the university, it is hardly strange that freedom is curtailed. What is strange is that two of the ousted freshmen and possibly four of the others have been readmitted. This gives away the weakness of the university's case. Obviously, if these students were the "dangerous characters" they were painted, they would not have been readmitted, even though they did bring their parents long distances to confer with Dr. Ruthven. All had to promise to "settle down." Those who refuse to recant can hardly expect reinstatement unless liberal groups bring sharp pressure on the authorities.

Committees have been formed in Ann Arbor, Detroit, and New York to publicize the case and enlist alumni support. Scores of letters of protest are pouring into Dr. Ruthven's office. The brunt of the battle, however, must be borne by six professors, three of them heads of departments, who have submitted a petition to the University Council, a joint faculty-administration body, asking for a thorough discussion of the whole matter at the first meeting this fall.

Success in this case would not only open the way for an attack upon more covert forms of repression at the university, but all over the country would give new courage to beleaguered defenders of civil liberty.

Everybody's Business

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

Scientific Looting

I SEE little reason to question Ambassador Cudahy's testimonial to the good behavior of the German troops in Belgium. Observers in other occupied countries have also given evidence of their good discipline and of the general absence of incidents between them and the civilian populations who are their unwilling hosts. But the fact that individual looting, rapine, and outrage have been largely prevented in the conquered Western countries does not, I believe, constitute evidence of an improvement in Nazi morality. It is, rather, another illustration of the way in which crime, like everything else in the Third Reich, is made to serve the purposes of the state. Private murder is discouraged, for public executions are more efficient instruments of terror. Individual looting is wasteful and corrosive of military discipline. Hence it is abolished in favor of organized and collectivized plundering.

On occasion, of course, state policy may require an appearance of individualized brutality. We all remember those "spontaneous" outrages against the Jews in the fall of 1938, and in Poland soldiers and police seem to have been encouraged to beat up the inhabitants whenever the whim seized them. But then the official creed is that Poles should be constantly reminded of their racial inferiority. As Arthur Greiser, the Danzig Führer said recently: "The Pole is the servant of the German and will remain it forever."

On the basis of their own theories the Nazis can hardly take the line that such peoples as the Dutch, the Danes, and the Norwegians are racially inferior, and, moreover, the official myth is that they have not been conquered but merely protected. Consequently the German officials placed over them are instructed to use the velvet glove, only permitting the mailed fist to peep out occasionally. This means "correct" behavior by the troops and no ostentatious looting either by the occupying army or by civilian commissioners.

However, in the course of building up the Third Reich to its present power, the Nazis invented and perfected many devices for the concealment of theft, and these are now being adapted to the economics of conquest. In several occupied countries, for instance, German soldiers are receiving part of their pay in credit notes which are exchangeable into local currency at rates fixed by the Nazi authorities. In Denmark this rate is two kroner for one mark, which is not far removed from the nominal exchange quotation. But as is well known, the official quotations for Reichsmarks in any currency have for years been pure window-dressing. Practically all external transactions have been made in terms of one or another of the prolific brood of fancy marks: aski marks, travelers' marks, refugee marks, blocked marks, and so forth—all of these exchanged at varying but large discounts below the value of the nominal mark. On a purchasing-power-parity basis, that is to say, by using a comparison of the quantities of similar goods which each coin could buy within its own territory, a mark and a kroner were roughly equivalent at the time of the German invasion. Thus by fixing the rate at two kroner, the Nazis were, in effect, giving themselves a 100 per cent bonus in purchasing power.

Let us imagine a German soldier with a day's leave in front of him drawing ten marks of pay in the form of credit notes. With his twenty kroner he wanders round Copenhagen, gets himself a good meal and a glass or two of Carlsberg lager, buys a souvenir for his mother and a pair of stockings for his girl—who can buy only six pairs a year in Germany—and then amuses himself for an hour or two in the Tivoli Gardens. To the Danes with whom he comes in contact he will seem a well-behaved young man who scrupulously pays full price for everything. Perhaps they will say as they hand the credit notes into the bank: "Really these Germans are not so bad." But let us follow these credit notes to the National Bank of Denmark, where they are eventually turned in and redeemed for kroner. They are then presented for payment to the German government, and the equivalent amount in marks is entered to the credit of the Danish National Bank at the Reichsbank. These marks are theoretically available for the financing of Danish purchases in Germany. But here's the rub. The Germans are unwilling or unable to sell those goods that the Danes really need—steel and other raw materials, fertilizers, and cattle fodder. They even seem to have difficulty in supplying coal, of which Germany now controls enormous resources, but this is probably the result of a shortage of transport facilities.

Personal expenditure of the German troops is, perhaps, a minor source of Denmark's largely unusable German credit. Much more serious are the amounts accumulated through the export of goods to Germany far in excess of Danish purchases. Unable to import feeding stuffs from overseas, the Danish farmers have been compelled to slaughter one-third of their livestock. That has supplied the Nazis with a welcome quantity of fresh meat, probably very cheaply, for dealing in a glutted market they would be in a position to name their own price. In addition, Germany has bought up or requisitioned huge quantities of Danish products and reserves of imported goods. As a result, reports a correspondent of the Wall Street Journal, the Danish clearing balance with Germany expanded by 100 million marks in the first six weeks of the occupation. It all adds up to this: Denmark, under pressure, is parting with tangible and, under present circumstances, irreplaceable assets, receiving in return credits which are useless for financing present pressing needs and possess a very dubious future value.

In similar ways the Nazis are stripping all the occupied countries. In France the German military authorities deposited blocks of German bonds with the banks, receiving francs in exchange. Then they went to the French merchants and bought up everything useful in sight—on the surface an honest transaction, employing customary business methods, but in essence scientific looting that immeasurably increases the misery of France. In all the occupied states the dearth of goods gets steadily worse, while German methods tend to swell the circulation of money. When the means of payment expand as the supply of goods shrinks, there

A REMARKABLE LETTER

from Max Eastman:

"My profound thanks for Freda Utley's superlative book about Russia. It is the best-informed and wisest, most judicious and convincing, account of the real outcome and meaning of the Bolshevik experiment that has been written. It combines her personal life-story and philosophy, moreover, in a thrilling way with her political and economic analyses and explanations. I can hardly praise it too highly. So few people who know how to write—still fewer who know how to live—ever manage to study and understand economics, above all the politico-economics of Marxism. That is what makes it such a rare book—at once poetically alive and scientific.

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can only be one end—inflation. That is what is in store for the victims of Nazi aggression, along with unemployment, ruined industries, and famine. And that too will be Germany's eventual fate if it cannot force an early victory.

In the Wind

ROBERT JOSEPHY, head of the Book and Magazine Guild, was called on some time ago to design a jacket for a book by Neville Chamberlain. He suggested as a cover design the initials N. C. linked to a double cross. One of the publishers said solemnly he thought it would be better to omit any flourishes.

WHILE THE POST of NLRB chairman goes unfilled, the White House is continuing its effort to persuade Edwin S. Smith to resign from the board. It has offered him several other posts, but he has refused to yield. The rumor is that if he quits J. Warren Madden will be retained. Meanwhile, Madden is fuming.

CHARGES THAT subsidiaries of Wendell Willkie's Commonwealth and Southern had employed labor spies and purchased munitions were followed by indignant denials from officials of the companies. Mixed with their denials, however, were these admissions: that one subsidiary had employed Pinkertons to check on collections on street cars, that another had bought arms to prevent "sabotage." These dubious details were omitted from the lengthy report on the denials published by the New York *Times*. The staunchly pro-Willkie *Herald Tribune* printed them.

A KENTUCKY TEACHER vows that in a country school in the Ninth Congressional District of Kentucky the children solemnly chant: "We pledge allegiance to the flag and to the Republicans for which it stands."

TWO DISPATCHES about camouflage were recently carried in the same issue of the New York *Times*. One, from Washington, D. C., denied that the army had any new method for making planes invisible. A shorter item from Buffalo reported that "a new lacquer enamel" had been developed to "enable the army to change the color of a plane depending on the terrain over which it is flying." A company official, the item continued, said the paint "is now being used experimentally by the army at Maxwell Field, Alabama."

WHEN WALTER WANGER talked from a Montreal radio station recently, he spoke in French. Asked why, he retorted, "I heard Sam Goldwyn deliver a talk in English—why shouldn't I talk French?"

HISTORICAL NEWS: The publication of the biography of Andrew Maginot has been postponed until midwinter to make it "conform to later events."

[We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind—either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. A prize of $5 will be awarded each month for the best item.—EDITORS THE NATION.]

A Native at Large

BY JONATHAN DANIELS

NOT long ago a Negro educator went down into Mississippi and stopped at the home of a prosperous Negro farmer. On the porch in the hot twilight after supper the farmer asked the educator if he knew Monroe Work, who since 1908 has kept the records on lynchings in America at Tuskegee Institute in Alabama. Yes, the educator said.

"I'd like to meet him," the colored farmer told him.

"Why?"

"I want to see the biggest liar now living."

The statement was not a reflection on the character of Dr. Work, who is one of the most distinguished statisticians of his race, but an angry rejection of his statistics, which have recorded what has appeared to be the process of disappearance of lynching in the South.

Far otherwise, say those Negro leaders who for a quarter of a century have been steadily and unsuccessfully seeking a federal anti-lynching bill, what has happened is that lynchings have gone "underground." The Underground Railroad now, they say, is operated by white Southerners, and it runs in killing quietness to the river, the buzzards, and the grave too deep for the dogs to dig up.

Obviously there is no reason for a federal anti-lynching bill if the lynchings no longer occur. But those who still advocate the legislation strenuously insist that a "new technique" has been worked out to "kill the niggers" and yet keep the killings, which are expressions of white group bitterness and not of mere individual murderousness, out of the statistics and the newspapers. That keeps them also off the conscience of the South and the nation. Cases of such killings have been investigated and reported by Negroes and by white men, too. The pattern of violence, they say, has changed. Even country towns have learned that lynchings are bad for business. Indignation, near and far, has made many people more sensitive than they were a few years ago. But the sensitiveness sometimes resembles that of an East Texas sheriff who told a Southern white woman, on her inquiring about a case, that they were going "to have to do something to the simp who sent in that story to the Beaumont *Enterprise*. He gets paid by the word and he'd send in anything for a dollar."

Every sensible Southerner familiar with the facts of small-town life in the black belt of the Deep South knows that such killings do occur. What may very well be questioned, however, is that such killings are new. In big cities men talk about "new techniques"; in the back country they more often act in terms of old emotions. A wise friend of mine in the Deep South, who hates lynchings with as much bitterness as Walter White of the N. A. A. C. P. and with more shame as a man of the same race as lynchers, talked about this question of violence and statistics not long ago. "I have no doubt that lynching statistics are imperfect," he told me, "but if so, there should be no news in that. I take it that killers have ever had a tendency to cover up and that in the past they covered up many crimes. But I know of no reason why our lynching statistics are not as trustworthy now as they were twenty years ago. I certainly know that mob action is on the decline in all the Southern states, especially in Alabama. I know that public opinion regarding it has changed."

But killers remain. The important fact is that they remain; they are not new. Five years ago I crossed the plantation of a landlord who was said to have killed, with the help of friends and neighbors, some nine or ten Negroes without ever having to go into the courthouse about it. But the number of such murders has been both magnified and minimized by the constant movement of Negroes. A man might be reported murdered who had only walked out on his wife and family. On the other hand, a man might be reported to have gone to Chicago whose battered body was rotting in a bayou.

One thing is certain: there is plenty of room for indignation about the continued killings without denying the real advance which has been made. Not only have the lynchings which get into the statistics decreased; also there is basis for belief that the number of killings covered up has decreased also. Nevertheless, as a part of advance, this charge of "new technique—it seems rather a broadening of the definition of lynching to include the relatively private and unpublicized murders based on prejudice—may be a valuable thing. Southern white men, who hate lynching like a deformity in their South, think the South deserves honor for its advance out of shameful violence. But the South should not luxuriate in any sense of righteousness merely because arrogant, open violence seems to be disappearing. In race relations it still has a great task—but also greater hope—in escaping from the amazing combination of sentimentality and fury, softness and violence, petting and killing which outside the cities has so long made the whole business of race relations in the South a subject almost for despair..

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

The Ear

BY LOUIS MACNEICE

There are many sounds which are neither music nor voice,
There are many visitors in masks or in black glasses
Climbing the spiral staircase of the ear. The choice
Of callers is not ours. Behind the hedge
Of night they wait to pounce. A train passes,
The thin and audible end of a dark wedge.

We should like to lie alone in a dark, hollow
Cocoon of self where no person or thing would speak;
In fact we lie and listen as a man might follow
A will-o'-the-wisp in an endless eyeless bog,
Follow the terrible drone of a cockchafer, or the bleak
Oracle of a barking dog.

The Sawdust Trail

THE BOTTLENECKS OF BUSINESS. By Thurman W Arnold. Reynal and Hitchcock. $2.50.

THOSE who read "The Symbols of Government" and "The Folklore of Capitalism" will find it hard to believe that "The Bottlenecks of Business" was written by the same Thurman W. Arnold who left Laramie, Wyoming, to bust ideological broncos at the Yale Law School. That other Arnold was a man about town in the world of ideas who took his fun where he found it—usually among our most revered legal and sociological concepts; he was cynical, witty, detached, amused, and slightly bored, bored most of all with earnest, reforming people. This one is evangelical. "The Bottlenecks of Business" is a plea for understanding, sympathy, and support in that most forlorn of lost causes, enforcement of the anti-trust laws, and unlike its predecessors, it contains no pagan philosophical caviar. It is written in the two-plus-two style of a missionary tract, to explain current Sherman Act prosecutions by the Department of Justice. The motorist who wonders at the uniformity in gasoline prices, the dairy farmer whose earnings ultimately depend on the hocus-pocus that passes for "bidding" at the Plymouth, Wisconsin, cheese exchange, the woman who wants a pair of nylon hose make up the audience for whom Brother Arnold now dons the bonnet and beats the drum.

The book's fervor illustrates one of the earlier Thurman Arnold's favorite themes, the personality that institutions impress upon those called into their service. When Arnold was still the gay dog of New York, New Haven, and Hartford smoking cars, with a satirist's eye for the hypocrisies that cement society, he regarded campaigns against trusts as on a par with the recurrent campaigns against prostitution. This was the parallel drawn in "The Folklore of Capitalism." "Anyone who attacked the 'Trusts,' " he wrote in that book, "could achieve the same public worship as a minister of the gospel who had the energy to attack vice." He spoke of Theodore Roosevelt "with his big stick that never hit anybody." The trust-busting crusade, Arnold then thought, "was not a practical one. It was part of a moral conflict, and no preacher ever succeeded in abolishing any form of sin." But that was before Arnold became head of the Anti-Trust Division of the Department of Justice. The appointment itself seemed a Brain Trust prank. It was as if Al Smith had been placed in charge of enforcing the Volstead Act. The institution, as Arnold would have predicted, proved bigger than the man. "The Bottlenecks of Business" also discusses the Teddy Roosevelt trust-busting campaign. But this time there is no indulgence in whimsy. The terms in which the new book analyzes the failure of that campaign are calculated to pierce the hearts of a Congressional appropriations committee. Why did T. R. fail? "You will be surprised," Arnold, now the full-fledged Assistant Attorney General, confides, "when I answer that the personnel of the Anti-Trust Division during that famous crusade consisted of only five lawyers and four stenographers." In "The Bottlenecks of Business" the problem of enforcing the anti-trust laws becomes a budgetary and personnel problem. Canute might have halted the waves if he had had a larger office staff.

Why was the Anti-Trust Division undermanned? Arnold does not put the question. One blushes to set down the answer, and no doubt Arnold knows it as well or better than the rest of us. It costs money to run a political campaign and it costs money to publish a newspaper; and a trust is a big chunk of money. Its political pull, in Newtonian terms, will be proportionate to its economic mass. But Arnold's approach has never been that of the social physicist. His anthropologist's eye has been held by the surface oddities of our culture. His emphasis has been on the "folklore" of capitalism, on the divergence between our rhetoric and our realities rather than on the realities themselves. This may help to explain the lack of perspective revealed when Arnold writes of the Sherman Act as "a philosophy of industrial democracy" which "allows us to mobilize and demobilize our industrial combinations according to the actual necessities of the day." This is no longer folklore; this is escapist fiction. It is reflected in his discussion of the defense program. He notes the value of anti-trust enforcement in protecting defense against extortionate prices and dangerous restrictions on production, but not the enhanced power given the great industrial monopolies in the defense setup, and their use of this power to protect themselves against the anti-trust laws.

This inability to place the facts in their social framework is demonstrated in Arnold's attempt to defend his attack on the trade unions. He evades or misses the crucial issues. The Clayton Act exemption, which Arnold significantly fails to mention, may be obscure in law but had no obscure purpose in the dynamics of our society. Business combinations are generally bad; labor combinations are generally good, for the latter tend to redress the balance of forces in our economic life. The maximum penalties of the Sherman Act are a slap on the wrist for a big business, but the same penalties may be the death sentence of a labor union. To apply the law "equally" against both is to place the same burden on the pigmy and the giant. There are times when unions become the blackjacks of business combinations and merit no exemption from the anti-trust laws, but Arnold has not limited himself to those cases. He has sought to revive the pet precedents of reaction, and in the history of the anti-trust laws—so rich in irony—the trust-buster Arnold may seem a minor irritant to the monopolists, compensated for by his usefulness in fighting their battle against the trade unions.

I. F. STONE

Challenge to Liberals

FAITH FOR LIVING. By Lewis Mumford. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $2.

FOR the past decade Lewis Mumford has been working on a comprehensive history of our culture which has already yielded two impressive volumes, "Technics and Civilization" and "The Culture of Cities." Given his convictions and the wide perspective which he has achieved on contemporary problems, it is right and proper that he should turn from his historical labors in moments of crisis and address his generation in tracts for the times. The first of these tracts, entitled "Men Must Act," was a vigorous call to arms against fascism. The political message of the present volume is no less urgent. "I have made no attempt," he declares, "to trim this argument to meet the objections of those who do not know that a thousand years separates 1940 from 1930. . . . I appeal only to those who realize that we Americans are already among the last stout survivors of a sinking ship." But the book deals in broader terms with the moral and cultural foundations of modern society. As he analyzes these, one is not so sure that Mr. Mumford regards Americans as "stout survivors." He sees the culture of modernity confused by all kinds of illusions, which make what is left of civilization tardy and ineffective in facing the threat of the new barbarians. "At the moment war became an absolute evil to most men," he declares, "it became an absolute good for the new barbarians; that conjuncture was to prove disastrous." I do not know how the whole spiritual problem of our day could be put more neatly.

The analysis of the moral and cultural problems of our society follows the general thesis of the essay The Corruption of Liberalism. Mr. Mumford's indictment of the culture which has informed the democratic world contains many specific charges, all of which are presented with such vigor and spiritual insight that one may hope they will carry conviction even to those who do not now know that a thousand years separate 1940 from 1930.

Mr. Mumford rightly recognizes isolationism as the political consequence of an attitude toward life which makes the mere preservation of physical existence into an absolute good and does not recognize that "a meaningful world extends beyond the incomplete personal life of the individual so that a life sacrificed at the right moment is a life well spent." The effort to evade decisions which may result in tragic consequences are attributed to a general deficiency in the tragic sense of life in modern culture. "Most of the sweetness and decorum of modern society rests upon a gentlemen's agreement to forget death and all its stark anticipations. . . . The pragmatic liberal's failure to confront, except in a hurried and shamefaced fashion, the essential facts of life and death has been responsible for much of the slippery thinking on the subject of war."

In curious and paradoxical relation to this tendency to place an undue premium upon the physical life of the individual is a moral purism which hesitates to preserve a culture or civilization because some absolute principle, absolute liberty or absolute rationality, must be sacrificed in the process of defense. "To be too virtuous to live is the characteristic moral perversion of liberalism."

The moods of cynicism and despair which grip modern society in moments of crisis, persuading it to make no defense of democracy because the last attempt resulted in disappointment and to hazard no sacrifices for a more just international order because the Treaty of Versailles failed to achieve justice, these moods are correctly attributed to the basic utopianism which informs modern culture. "Those who think that evil can be permanently abolished always feel themselves grossly betrayed when they find that it has come back again. They are like the heroine of the old-fashioned village melodrama whose innocence permits her to be seduced in every act."

The cult of rational objectivity, the "castration of the emotions," in modern culture represents the purity of death; it "leaves behind a foul odor as something that has long been dead." The liberal wants to use only reason and not force and does not understand "that if a neurotic patient is in a dangerously manic state one may have to put him in a lukewarm bath—and one must use force to put him there." He does not recognize the depths of malevolence to which collective human action may sink and is always making futile schemes to beguile the foe into complete rationality. Furthermore, he is afraid of being emotional or partisan himself. He wants to suspend judgment indefinitely and is terribly afraid that he might be aroused to hysteria or anger: "If one meets a poisonous snake in one's path two things are important for a *rational* reaction. One is to identify the snake as poisonous and the other is to have a prompt emotion of fear if the snake is poisonous; for fear starts the flow of adrenalin . . . and that will give the extra strength needed either to run or to attack."

One is tempted to quote at length from an analysis full of robust phrases expressing robust thoughts. The only difficulty with the analysis, which to the present writer seems true and convincing in all the specific indictments, is that an unconvincing distinction is made between an "ideal liberalism," which "commands the allegiance of all well-disposed people," and a "pragmatic liberalism," under which Mr. Mumford summarizes all the weaknesses of our modern culture. The difficulty with this distinction is that the ideal liberalism is only vaguely defined as containing "elements like the Roman conception of humanity, united in the pursuit of freedom and justice and embracing all races and conditions"; while all that is weak in liberalism is subsumed under the word "pragmatic." There are elements of relativism bordering on nihilism in modern culture which may be derived from the pragmatic spirit. But it is difficult to attribute the utopianism, perfectionism, and rationalism to this spirit. In attacking these Mr. Mumford is himself one of the relativists and pragmatists criticizing those who insert false absolutes into the relativities of history or who consider all historical reality inadequate because they find Nazi tyranny and an incomplete democracy falling equally short of their illusory absolute. If there is a lack of clarity here there is no lack of clarity or precision of thought in Mr. Mumford's analysis of the specific characteristics of modern culture.

It has become abundantly clear that spiritual confusion and inertia have made the democratic world both tardy and ineffective in meeting the peril of the new barbarians. Hardly any portion of the democratic world, with the possible exception of Czechoslovakia, which was overwhelmed by superior military strength, had not previously capitulated to the barbarians in heart and spirit. For that reason such books as Mr. Mumford's are as important as the political and military measures which are now being taken to constitute the remnant of the democratic world into a final bastion of civilization. REINHOLD NIEBUHR

Back to 1932

THE REAL DANGER OF GOLD. By Harry Scherman. Simon and Schuster. $1.

NOT often does a book on economics rate almost a full-page advertisement in the New York *Times*. When we find one that does, we are justified in suspecting that it is either political propaganda or bad economics. To assume the latter in the case of "The Real Danger of Gold" would be a rank injustice to Mr. Scherman. For there can be no doubt that Mr. Scherman knows his economics, and, what is more uncommon, he has real ability in translating his knowledge into terms understandable to the ordinary reader. Gold is a technical, abstruse subject which has baffled the lay mind for many years despite countless efforts at simplification. Yet the average educated person will have no difficulty in reading this book, and unless he is something of an economist, he will pick up some useful information in the process. In attacking the myth that foreign countries may demonetize gold, thus causing it to lose its value, Mr. Scherman renders a real service to current popular thinking. He correctly points out that the scramble for gold was never more intense than at present, and that the high price set on it in all countries is ample evidence that no one seriously expects it to lose its value.

Mr. Scherman would probably deny hotly that his book is in any sense political. Yet it is one of the most effective bits of anti-New Deal propaganda that have yet appeared, and it was probably intended to be so. The "real danger" of gold, as Mr. Scherman sees it, is not that we have cornered 70 per cent of the world's supply, but that our huge reserve provides a standing inducement to politicians, presumably of the New Deal variety, to wipe out the rising government debt by a drastic devaluation which would lead to an inflation of catastrophic proportions. He argues that the "gold prohibition law," as he calls the New Deal law forbidding individuals to hold gold, is the root of our present difficulties. As a remedy, he suggests that the hoarding of gold by individuals be once more legalized. Hoarding, he declares, "is to be regarded as a priceless form of freedom—to protect citizens in the economic sphere, as theoretically we are protected by the Bill of Rights in another sphere, from an abuse of government power . . . with this citadel lost, the way is open and is soon taken by power-drunkards—as Russia, Italy, and Germany show—to filch away all . . . other freedoms."

This assault on the New Deal monetary policy may seem somewhat extreme, but it is fully consistent with what many orthodox economists have been saying for the past seven years. When expressed in the vocabulary of the academic economists, such criticism is harmless. It becomes dynamite, however, when set forth in plain English and given the mass circulation which Simon and Schuster are apparently trying to achieve for this book. And it is particularly dangerous because the book, as a whole, makes sense. Even Mr. Scherman's criticism of the ban against the circulation of gold is technically sound. What is not sound is the contention, never explicitly stated but strongly implied, that the present Administration is wholly incapable of handling such esoteric matters as monetary policy and that a sensible Administration would immediately reverse the steps taken in 1933-34. Scarcely a word is to be found regarding the economic collapse which forced the Administration to adopt these drastic measures; nor is there any recognition of their contribution to the recovery which has taken place. The considerable number of economists who hold that a controlled monetary system is more practicable than gold under present-day conditions are wholly ignored. The book ends with a plea to the "plain citizen" to work for a return to full convertibility of our paper money, and urges that the issue be put up squarely to both Presidential candidates. In view of the political significance of this book, it would, indeed, be interesting to have Mr. Willkie's reaction to the proposal.

MAXWELL S. STEWART

The Sheltered Life

WHEN THE BOUGH BREAKS. By Adeline Rumsey. Simon and Schuster. $2.50.

THE opening lines of Miss Rumsey's novel yank your feet from under you like a flying tackle—

" 'The way that dress is draped,' Grace said, 'you really can't tell that you're expecting.'

"Julia's hands had been fumbling with her hair where it showed around the edges of her wedding veil . . ."

And there you are, whisked right into the middle of the story before you have settled comfortably in your chair. A story told with subdued, good-mannered flippancy, it nevertheless has a significant theme: the harm that results when a mother coddles her children too long, robbing them of self-dependence and resiliency, leaving them to discover the unpleasant facts of life by butting their heads against them in the dark. Mama Dearborn had always intended, of course, to teach her three daughters how to take care of themselves, but she kept putting it off—they were such a happy, cozy family, just the four of them, living comfortably on an annuity left by Papa, and there was lots of time. Then one day Mama had a stroke and died within the hour; their warm nest destroyed, the fledglings found themselves in mid-air without ever having really learned how to fly. Julia married a rich nonentity who made her very flesh crawl; Abby married for love, only to have it turn to ashes in the mouth when seasoned with the squalid cares and petty sacrifices of genteel poverty; Grace, the congenital old maid, made a life for herself, of a sort, but remained an easy mark for a myriad impositions, well-meant and otherwise. The bough having broken, the cradle fallen, all three of the girls found life a bewildering, heart-breaking maze, a table spread with empty plates, where it was always jam yesterday and jam tomorrow, but never jam today.

This bald statement of Miss Rumsey's thesis, however, belies the airy, almost Puckish humor with which she trots out her characters at various illustrative points in their maladjusted lives. Where many a novelist would relentlessly explore the somber labyrinths beneath the surface, she prefers to highlight the ludicrous antics of her people, in the Meredithian tradition of the comic spirit. Without the final chapter, in fact, three out of five readers might blithely pass over the serious implications of "When the Bough Breaks" and find it simply a vivacious story, delightfully told.

LOUIS B. SALOMON

The Facts on Arnold

THE POETRY OF MATTHEW ARNOLD: A COMMENTARY. By C. B. Tinker and H. F. Lowry. Oxford University Press. $3.50.

THE fresh critical inspection of Arnold's poetry, long due, urgently relevant to the problems and values of modern verse, and apparently promised in the Messrs. Tinker and Lowry's title, does not in fact arrive with this volume. It consists of accounts of the sources, origin, growth, and explicit or personal references of each of Arnold's poems and was undertaken as a preliminary to the new complete edition promised for 1941. It amounts, despite a prefatory disclaimer, to a handbook for students, but even here its value is limited, since its circumstantial basis precludes not only the intrusion of a critical attitude but the business of elucidating the subtler and more abstruse parts of Arnold's text. Of criticism one gets little beyond the remark that the sonnet on the S.S. Lusitania is "inadequate" and that the first title of "The Better Part"—"Anti-Desperation"—was "ugly" but "perhaps more appropriate." Of inquiry into such matters as the identity of Marguerite or the image which Arnold found of himself in such men as Marcus Aurelius, Obermann, and Clough, there appears little more than stock comparisons and guardedly conventional hints. In the case of dramatic works like "Sohrab and Rustum," "Tristram and Iseult," and "Balder Dead," we are led carefully into the sources of Arnold's themes, his scholarly tact in adapting historical materials, and his conceptions of racial and cultural myth; in the notes on personal documents like "Resignation," "Rugby Chapel," and "Obermann Once More," we are given sketchy accounts of his moral and spiritual ordeals, his personal idealism, and his lifelong efforts in resisting the *mal de siècle* of his distracted age. These commentaries stop short of entry into the full context—verbal, formal, and psychological—of the poems concerned, and while they combine to form a more detailed instruction on the external conditions of Arnold's poetic processes than exists in any previous volume, the imperative step toward a serious aesthetic evaluation—ending where Arnold's poetic claims end, in an estimate of the poetic validity of what he wrote and in a knowledge of what his moral ideals and personal equipment amounted to there—is never attempted.

Arnold's type is preeminent today among the English talents of the nineteenth century because his sense of purpose and responsibility, of representative intelligence and critical self-consciousness, was the fullest possible anticipation of the plight of his twentieth-century followers. His poems stand in a framework of ideas and ambitions so winning in their sincerity, so persuasive in their awareness of the central facts of his moral personality and struggle, that as poems they have always been difficult to read on their own ground, apart from the props and appeals of his critical personality. Mr. Trilling's brilliant study has gone farther than any other book in situating Arnold fully in that framework, and while it fell short of defining fully the poetic virtue and weaknesses of Arnold's verse, it made preparations for that task with an acuteness and coherence that the present handbook does not approach. Arnold's poetic talent has become, indeed, an occasion for extremely ambiguous respect and evasion among critics. His kinship with modern poetic and critical realism is duly noted; his anticipation of the problems in Eliot's thought has been admitted by that poet himself; everyone allows that a revaluation of his poetry and its whole antecedent spiritual ordeal is overdue; but no one makes it.

The Messrs. Tinker and Lowry are engaged on a new edition of the complete verse; they have access at Yale to a stock of new manuscript materials; and they have worked on an almost official standing in collaboration with Arnold's family—all of which advantages have given their book its special authority and scrupulous documentary value but have also led to serious inhibitions in the matter of critical objectivity, of unorthodox latitude in approaching Arnold's thought, personality, successes, deficiencies, and agony. The result rests at the level of circumstantial and external fact, and seldom discovers the core of his art or even a conservative link between his unsteady motives as a poet and his intellectual and psychological growth. It is as difficult to isolate the aesthetic properties of Arnold's verse—and as courageous, since they would often fail to survive such isolation—as it is to read his verse without relying on his own continuous insistence on its personal references; but it is only when these two efforts begin to bear on the purely circumstantial or derivative matter in his poems that they will receive an adequate illumination and that Arnold will begin to take on his proper stature and import in his own time and in ours.

MORTON DAUWEN ZABEL

Life and Faith of Benes

"I BUILT A TEMPLE FOR PEACE." THE LIFE OF EDUARD BENES. By Edward B. Hitchcock. Harper and Brothers. $3.50.

HITLER AND I. By Otto Strasser. Houghton Mifflin Company. $2.50.

NEMESIS? By Douglas Reed. Houghton Mifflin Company. $2.75.

MOST books about the European scene written before the collapse of France are, to say the least, out of date. But there are a few which have survived the cruel test of reality, and "I Built a Temple for Peace," the first complete biography of Eduard Benes, head of the Czechoslovak government in exile, is one of them. Though it was finished before the German armies invaded the Low Countries, not one word is made senseless by the present war situation. For this achievement alone, which is obviously not accidental, it would deserve wide attention.

This "Ker-r-l Benes" as Hitler called the President of Czechoslovakia in his speech at the Sportpalast before Munich, is the optimist of democracy in Europe. He always was and still is. This sounds rather banal, but if one follows the development of Benes, the son of a poor peasant who became the leader of his nation and six times president of the League of Nations, one is forced to recognize his consistency as a rare distinction. His biographer is very successful in making understood the philosophy which gave Benes faith and energy through all his years of trial, and so renewed that faith and energy, after his and Masaryk's life work had been destroyed, that he could begin all over again, as in 1914, the fight for the liberation of the Czech nation and for a federated Europe. Today, however,—and this is one of the forward steps in a Europe which seems only to march backward—the order of the objectives is reversed. In 1914 the liberation of small nations came first; today Benes seems to realize that a lasting liberation can be achieved only through the creation of a United States of Europe based on a new social order.

Not that this realization would be difficult for Benes. He was a European from the moment he went to France and England and Germany to study—his first degree, that of doctor of international law, he received from the University of Dijon. As Foreign Minister of Czechoslovakia—a post which he held for nineteen years before he became President after Masaryk's resignation—he foresaw the necessity of unity among Europe's small nations if they wished to keep their liberty. He founded the Little Entente as a first step toward their closer organization; he fought for collective security at a time when this term had not yet the connotation of a collective sell-out to European fascism; he was the champion in Central Europe of the League of Nations. He fought for a truly democratic development in his own country and for the participation of its minorities in the Prague government. He achieved much; that he was powerless in the end was not his fault. Even if he, the born evolutionist, had known exactly what the future held in store he could not have acted very differently.

The politics of Eduard Benes and many of his little known personal characteristics are clearly revealed in Mr. Hitchcock's volume, which is a narrative rather than a critical analysis. The author accepts Benes's restraint, his "professorial" approach, his almost inhuman self-discipline without discussing the vices of these virtues. On the personal side he is most effective in unfolding the deep relationship which existed between Masaryk and Benes and that which has bound Benes since his student days to his wife, who is a remarkable person in her own right. I find myself unable to censure Mr. Hitchcock for giving us too few sparkling pages—Benes's life has been one long working day. Actors and charlatans may be more amusing than this professor, but I would rather be bored by him than excited by the others.

There is enough excitement in Otto Strasser's "Hitler and I." The book reads almost like pulp fiction, partly because it deals with Hitler, partly because its level is not much above Hitler. The author, once Hitler's *Kampfgenosse,* leader of the Black Front, a splinter group of National Socialism placing emphasis on a misunderstood socialism, is proud of his revolver and his readiness to shoot. His revelations, in so far as they remain factual, have a value similar to those of Lüdecke in "I Knew Hitler." Strasser shows Hitler at work building his party and establishing his supremacy, but he does not explain why this coward, this ignorant liar, was able to outsmart the Strasser brothers. Can it be that in spite of his shortcomings he was abler than they? I still remember the speech which Gregor Strasser, shot in the purge of June, 1934, made in the German Reichstag after Hitler's first great election victory. It was a miserable hodge-podge spiced with his master's phrase *"Es werden Köpfe rollen"* ("Heads will roll"). Now Otto Strasser is attempting to present his brother and himself as statesmen and to oppose their dilettante program, "Strasserism," to Hitlerism as Germany's, nay Europe's, salvation.

Among the few people who believe him is the English eccentric and anti-Semite, Douglas Reed, who has written in "Nemesis?" the story of Otto Strasser almost exactly as Otto Strasser tells it himself, accepting even his exaggerated self-esteem. Both books relate convincingly the interesting circumstances of Strasser's exodus from the Nazi Party in the summer of 1930. (Hermann Rauschning needed a few more years to find out who Hitler really was, as did many people of the right who would not believe such left critics of Hitler as Carl von Ossietsky.) Both books contain the tragic story of the radio engineer Formis who established a little broadcasting station in a lonesome inn in Czechoslovakia from which he spoke to Germany, against Hitler, every day. He was murdered by two Gestapo agents with the help of the usual blonde. The ease with which this murder was committed does not speak well for the efficiency of Strasser's organization; it was apparently full of spies—even Strasser's Jewish right-hand man turned out to be a Himmler agent. The intellectual confusion of Strasserism had its counterpart in action.

Reading the lives of Eduard Benes and Otto Strasser in quick succession is a revealing experience. One puts one's faith, despite odds, in Benes.

FRANZ HOELLERING

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IN BRIEF

SCIENCE AND WISDOM. By Jacques Maritain. Charles Scribner's Sons. $3.

The divorce of science and wisdom, or intuition, or common sense, has had unfortunate results even in the estimation of most scientists. The question is, however, what is wisdom? Jacques Maritain takes it for granted that it is Catholic theology, and undertakes to reconcile it with science in the manner of St. Thomas Aquinas. With all due respect, the result is hocus-pocus. M. Maritain would no doubt reply with an *argumentum ad hominem.*

A SPANISH TUDOR: THE LIFE OF "BLOODY MARY." By. H. F. M. Prescott. Columbia University Press. $5.

Real scholarship and good writing make this an outstanding book. Going to the sources, which she quotes copiously, the author presents a picture not so much sympathetic as understanding. Without condoning she turns a traditional monster into a tragic human being.

RICHELIEU: HIS RISE TO POWER. By Carl J. Burckhardt. Translated and Abridged by Edwin and Willa Muir. Oxford Press. $3.75.

This closely packed account of Richelieu's rise to undisputed power leaves him on the threshold of his work of establishing the European state system which has persisted with variations until now. Unrelieved by lightness of style or pointed generalizations, it will nevertheless repay the considerable effort of will required to read it even in the slightly abridged form of this admirable translation.

RECORDS

VICTOR has issued the third and concluding volume (M-691, $4.50) of Chopin's Mazurkas, which offers some fine examples of Chopin's writing in this genre, superbly played by Rubinstein. To a person who wanted only one volume I would recommend the second (M-656, $5), which I think has the finest group of the three.

Why all of Chopin's Mazurkas, all his Polonaises, all his Ballades and Scherzi, all his Etudes and Preludes, why entire operas of Mozart, the entire "Dichterliebe" song-cycle of Schumann, but only a selection of eleven songs from Schubert's great "Winterreise" cycle (M-692, $4)—that is one of the things you and I, whose minds are not the minds in record companies, cannot hope to understand. All we can do is swear at the minds in record companies and listen to the eleven songs on these records. And the first thing we hear is how much better Lotte Lehmann's voice is recorded than it was in her recent Hugo Wolf set—the only unpleasant sounds being the shrill ones she herself makes occasionally when emotions escape control. This tendency of hers spoils passages in "Die Post" and "Täuschung" and the end of "Die Krähe"; but most of the time the emotion is communicated through phrasing which makes some of the songs—"Die Nebensonnen," "Im Dorfe," Rückblick," "Der Wegweiser," "Das Wirtshaus"—unforgettable experiences.

These and the Wolf records gain by the work of Paul Ulanofsky at the piano. Listen to the mediocre playing on Lehmann's previous records, listen to the lifeless accompaniments, faintly recorded, on Elisabeth Schumann's records, and you will realize that there is too little appreciation by singers and recording managers of the fact that the musical thought of a song of Schubert, of Schumann, of Hugo Wolf is carried by the piano as well as the voice, that the song, in other words, is an integration of the vocal and piano parts, that this integration must be achieved in the performance, and that it can be achieved only by two good musicians—in short, that the piano part must be well played and clearly heard. Moreover, a Lehmann or an Elisabeth Schumann is enough of a musician to be unaffected by the inadequacy of what is being done at the piano; but other singers do not appreciate sufficiently how much is to be gained from working with a pianist of the caliber of Artur Balsam or Franz Rupp, and how much is lost by working with the accompanist who has nothing but facile fingers. Marian Anderson, for example, began with a beautiful voice and with musical feeling that might have been the basis for an impressive musicianship; but the years of artistic association with the increasingly anemic and rhythmically invertebrate Kosti Vehanen have left her an unexciting musician, and have brought her to the point where she can be guilty of the rhythmic slovenliness in her singing of the last phrase of "When I Am Laid in Earth" from Purcell's "Dido and Aeneas," on her latest Victor record (17257, $1). The voice is beautiful and moving; and the lively and rhythmically more incisive "Se Florindo è Fidele" of Alessandro Scarlatti on the reverse side goes better. (At her last Carnegie Hall recital, however, the voice was threadbare and had a strong vibrato. This was due partly to the fatigue of the season's ninety or a hundred concerts, which represented her manager's lack of conscience and her own lack of good sense. But some who know more about the mechanics of singing than I do have pointed out to me on records evidence of faulty use of the voice, which would produce the signs of fatigue or impairment that I heard at the recital. And I might add that they have pointed out similar evidence of insufficient schooling on the records of Dorothy Maynor.)

Haydn's Clavier Concerto Opus 21 is a lesser work of Haydn, but charming. A previous Columbia recording offered a fine performance of the solo part on the piano by Mme Roesgen-Champion; the new Victor set (M-471, $3.50) offers the sparkle and brilliance of Landowska's performance on the harpsichord with a little orchestra under Bigot. Other Victor releases include Beethoven's Opus 18 No. 4, in a musically and technically finished performance by the Coolidge String Quartet, excellently recorded (M-696, $3.50); Handel's Organ Concerto Opus 7 No. 5, with E. Power Biggs as usual playing all the notes as though none of them were more important than any others, and Fiedler's Sinfonietta as usual sounding unpleasantly sharp (2099, $.75); the uninteresting Vivaldi Sonata in C minor, well recorded by Blot and Crussard (13484, $1); some finely wrought music for the organ by Franck—the Pastorale Opus 19, the Chorale No. 3, part of the Chorale No. 1—and his Pièce Héroique, played well enough for me by Charles Courboin, and well recorded (M-695, $4.50); and a new set of Brahms's Second Symphony that I will discuss next time.

B. H. HAGGIN

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Letters to the Editors

Norway Under the Nazis

[We print below excerpts from a letter written to a friend in this country by a Norwegian American who has been in Oslo since before the German invasion. The letter was sent by a method not subject to censorship.]

Dear A———: More dramatic events elsewhere have shifted the world's attention from us here in the north, and we have settled down, like so many other people, to the task of waiting. There is still plenty of food, our masters allow us the doubtful privilege of listening to the discouraging news over the British radio, and most of the young men who went out to face the most ruthless military machine in history, without adequate weapons and with traitors and worthless allies at their backs, have trickled back to town, miraculously alive. But we are still beset by anxiety and despair and the bitter memories of happier days.

Here in Oslo, and we hear elsewhere, the German troops have behaved admirably, but the tender mercies of the wicked are cruel, and to those of my Norwegian friends who see more than the surface of things the seeming kindness of the Germans is terrifying. I used to think, like all Americans, that German propaganda was incredibly stupid and could work only on such congenitally gullible people as the Germans. I take that all back. With fiendish ingenuity the Germans are preparing the ground for the Nazification of Norway. Their first step was to throw people off guard by the painfully correct behavior of the troops in all the occupied territory. The next was to salve the Norwegians' wounded pride by getting rid of Quisling, who proved himself utterly incapable of running the country even with the backing of machine-guns and the Gestapo. The Norwegian prisoners of war were freed, and Hitler himself praised the Norwegians for behaving toward wounded and prisoners like decent human beings. Göring even intervened personally to protect the Viking ships in the museum near Oslo—memorials of the "heroic age" of the ancient Teutons. And then, little by little, the campaign to undermine the people's faith in democratic institutions and all that Norway has stood for began.

The captive newspapers are allowed to rail as much as they like against the Labor government for its unpreparedness, but nobody is allowed to point out that it was not unpreparedness but the treachery of the professional army officers that let the German ships slip through the impregnable fortresses along the coast. Norway had deliberately chosen to raise the poorest nation in Europe to the highest standard of living in the world rather than to arm to the teeth, and the professional military turned traitors rather than have their privileges taken from them.

Or take the way in which "emergency committees for the occupied areas" are supplanting all elective governing agencies. I have nothing but the highest respect for Rector Seip of the university and the other members of the Administrative Council which has assumed responsibility for law and order and getting the wheels going. They are working heroically at a thankless task and have done a remarkable job of reorganizing the economy of southern Norway and of preserving as much as possible of civil liberty. None of them are ambitious for power and all regard their position as one of trust, but we are subject to a steady campaign of propaganda which points out how much more efficient such a committee of experts is than the old parliamentary system; and several men not on the Administrative Council are being built up for the job Quisling was unable to handle, when the time is ripe to shove the honorable men of the Administrative Council aside.

Persecution of the Jews is being done subtly, at first. So far it has consisted in confiscating the radios of the few hundred Jews in Oslo. Nothing brutal or barbarous as yet—people are still too easily shocked by such things; just enough persecution now to make people aware that there are about two thousand Jews in Norway. There will be time for real persecution later on, when the reserves of food are used up and the laboring class gets restless and needs another scapegoat.

All the while the Germans are taking great pains not to hurt the national pride of a people who, according to German theory, ought to be as rabid Nazis as themselves. Every day the people are reassured that Norway will be given back its independence just as soon as England is liquidated. The German daily published for the troops in Oslo is full of articles on Norwegian art, music, and literature and the beauties of the Norwegian landscape. But there's just a chance that here the Germans have slipped up. For national pride may lead in one nation to swashbuckling militarism and the subordination of all individual rights to the all-powerful state, but in another—among a people whose cultural heritage is not like that of Prussia—it may lead to a different concept of the state. The national heroes of Norway are men like Ibsen and Bjornsen and Frithjof Nansen, not Friedrich der Grosse.

There has been an Ibsen revival since war broke in—as they say here in Oslo—and the other night I went to the National Theater to see "The Pillars of Society." I never realized before how much dynamite old Henrik Ibsen still has. The whole point of the play, that a society cannot be built upon rottenness and trickery and lies and that those things cannot be justified on the ground that they are necessary to make things easier for the next generation, is a blow at the very foundations of Nazi ideology.

F. D.

Oslo, July 15

Prisoner of the Dutch

Dear Sirs: The New York *Times* of July 20 and 26 carried a notice concerning the "unavoidable reprisals" announced by the German authorities against the Dutch people because of the "alleged mistreatment" of German subjects in the Netherlands Indies and West Indies. I was a prisoner in the Dutch concentration camp of Bonaire, Netherlands West Indies, the only one so far to be released. I also know what camps on the other side are like—I was imprisoned for a month in Viennese jails and my father was six months in the Buchenwald camp. I think, therefore, that I can give you a fair picture of the "alleged mistreatment."

There are three camps in Bonaire, one for the male inhabitants of Curaçao and Aruba, one for the women and children, and one for the sailors of German ships. The buildings used are not barracks but schools, with airy big rooms and plenty of space in front. It is true that at first we felt we had a

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grievance in the matter of food and hygienic conditions. The food during the first days consisted only of bread with cheese or sardines, and tea. The toilets were inadequate because they were originally intended for children, and, what is bad in a tropical climate, there was no possibility of taking a bath.

But no one could have said that the government did not make every effort to improve these conditions. After one week we had built our own kitchen, with all possible assistance by the authorities, and the ships' cooks cooked our food. Except for such necessary work as cleaning rooms, peeling potatoes, or bringing provisions from arriving ships, nobody was forced to do any hard labor. Once, upon military request, a few of our men were ordered to build two small houses at the airport, but the work was stopped upon our complaint that we were only civil prisoners. Would prisoners in a German camp ever have dared to complain?

Of course, not all German subjects are in the concentration camp. Those who for years abused Netherlands hospitality by working against the government are still in custody in Curaçao, but instead of being tormented and tortured, they will be tried with law and justice.

S. R.

New York, September 5

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Pragmatism or Idealism?

Dear Sirs: Max Lerner's article on The Attitude of the Intellectuals, the second in his series on The War as Revolution, is confused by his condemnation of pragmatism while he seems to be a pragmatist. There is no incompatibility, such as he suggests, between pragmatism and idealism in the popular sense; and they are not opposed in the technical sense in so far as pragmatism derives from idealism and assigns a directive role to thought. So those who have been idealists while behaving pragmatically are not necessarily sheep in wolves' clothing, as he implies.

If Wilsonians swam with the current to retain some influence, Mr. Lerner apparently for the same purpose urges intellectuals to plunge into the struggle for state power, believing this to be the main stream of our day. He blames the Wilson group for pragmatically trying to manipulate the forces of history, yet at the same time advocates action which he hopes will be historically decisive.

The paragraph beginning, "But the intellectuals cannot help to control the present or shape the future by clinging to the past," is pure pragmatism. The same may be said of his stated goal of "socialism in economics, democracy in politics, planning in administration, humanism in culture." Especially pragmatic is the notion of ideas as instruments. Why does Mr. Lerner reproach John Dewey for momentary silence, the man from whom this eloquence might have been borrowed?

VAN METER AMES

Pentwater, Mich., August 25

The Way to Win

Dear Sirs: Wars are not won by waiting for the enemy to attack. They are won through the fullest possible mobilization of a nation's resources, through suitable alliances, and through well-timed and well-planned offensive action.

"Hemisphere defense" and "all aid short of war" will not defend America. Immediate belligerent participation with all our resources in association with Great Britain is the only policy which will secure America by destroying its avowed enemies.

Hitler's destruction is America's security.

MAX SCHNITZER

Brooklyn, September 6

The Sculptors' Guild

Dear Sirs: In your issue of August 24 Charmion von Wiegand refers to the Sculptors' Guild as an affiliate of the A. F. of L. and as part of the United Scenic Artists. The Sculptors' Guild has no such connection, inasmuch as it is not a labor organization. It was created for the purpose of increasing the public's interest in progressive sculpture. Its current exhibition in the pavilion of American Art Today at the World's Fair is an example of its methods of enabling the public to see modern sculpture.

DOROTHEA S. GREENNBAUM,
Secretary

New York, September 6

CONTRIBUTORS

CHARLES E. NOYES is a staff writer for Editorial Research Reports, a Washington newspaper service.

RALPH BATES, distinguished English novelist, will soon publish "The Fields of Paradise," a study of the Mexican Revolution.

HARRY J. GREENWALL is an English journalist whose dispatches from France have often appeared in the *New Statesman and Nation.* His present article reached the United States uncensored.

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THE *Nation*

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The Shape of Things

WITH AXIS HOPES FOR A QUICK DECISION in the Battle of Britain fading, there is a growing prospect that its chief effort in the coming winter will be directed toward ousting the British from the Near East. No doubt air attacks on England will continue, and strong forces be held in readiness to suggest an invasion, with the object of keeping the bulk of Britain's strength pinned down in England. In the Near East Alexandria and the Suez Canal represent the heart of the British position. If they can be seized, Palestine will become untenable and the road will be opened to the Iraq oil fields. In conjunction with the attack on Egypt an attempt may be made to overthrow the stronghold of Gibraltar, which is proving a sharp thorn in Italy's side. Long-distance air attacks seem to have been quite ineffective, and there is little hope of putting the Rock out of action except by a combined air and land assault based on Spain. In this connection the present visit to Germany of Serrano Suñer, Spanish Minister of Government and Franco's brother-in-law, is significant. Meanwhile General Graziani's army has crossed the frontier from Libya and begun a cautious advance over the four hundred miles of desert which lie between the border and Cairo. His forces are superior in numbers and equipment, but the British defenders have a seasoned army of high quality. If the Italians take the coast route, they are likely to be harassed by the British fleet, while if they fan out into the desert the problem of water supply will be difficult and an extended front will offer opportunities to the mechanized forces of the defense. It is probable that Mussolini's boasts of the toughness of his army are at last going to receive a genuine test.

* * *

FROM LAST WEEK'S SPEW OF PRIMARIES nothing emerged that could be considered prophetic by anyone without the extra-sensory perception that belongs only to campaign managers. Georgia Democrats—and that means Georgia—have resurrected Gene Talmadge for another fling at the governorship. The Georgia primitive who glories in the chain gang and surrounds himself with Kluxers was defeated for the Senate in 1936 after an anti-Roosevelt campaign, and lukewarm opposition to the New Deal gained him another defeat in 1938. This time he started the race with a pledge to cooperate with the Roosevelt Administration, and in this dismal sense his victory may be considered an indication of continued Roosevelt popularity. Arizona did the unexpected by recalling Henry Fountain Ashurst, one of the Senate's most attractive showpieces, after twenty-eight years of continuous service. Ashurst usually supported the Administration but he was strongly against conscription. His opponent, Judge Ernest W. McFarland, made much of this point, and it undoubtedly was a major factor in Ashurst's defeat. His constituents were also said to have resented the infrequency of his visits to the home state, whose "starry desert nights" and "blooming cactus" he was so fond of apostrophizing on the floor of the Senate. Minnesota Republicans picked Shipstead for a three-way Senatorial race which will witness the reemergence of Elmer A. Benson as the choice of the Farmer-Labor Party. Other primaries produced more or less routine results, and Maine went through the usual advance election performance which ever since the Civil War has assured faithful Republicans of a G. O. P. victory two months later. The percentage of the vote that went to the Republicans was some 7 per cent higher than that of 1936, but considering what happened in November of that year a 7 per cent margin need not give Mr. Flynn nightmares.

* * *

SENATE PASSAGE OF THE EXCESS-PROFITS tax bill, now apparently assured, will do little to settle the controversy over the measure. Rushed through committee by the steam-roller tactics of Senator Pat Harrison, the Senate bill differs fundamentally from that adopted by the House. It omits the clauses by which the House sought to make invested capital the preferred means of calculating excess profits, and in the process reduces still further the meager yield that may be expected from the tax. It is so complicated that one doubts whether it could be satisfactorily administered in the form approved by the Senate. What the Senate-House

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conference will do with the bill remains, of course, to be seen. It is too much to hope that a satisfactory measure can emerge in the few days remaining before the adjournment of Congress. Great care is required in working out an effective and reasonable curb on excess profits. The present Congress has made a botch of it, partly because of inadequate technical preparation. If this failure is to be remedied, work should be started immediately on a new bill to be presented at the next session of Congress.

*

THE SELECTIVE SERVICE BILL HAS BECOME law. Under the compromise worked out in conference 16,500,000 men between twenty-one and thirty-five, inclusive, will be registered for possible military training and service within the next thirty days. The Fish amendment delaying the actual induction into service for sixty days after the passage of the bill was eliminated. In the final stages of consideration the only serious hitch occurred when an attempt was made in conference to water down the already weak draft-industry provisions contained in the original Senate and House bills. After the amended version had been rejected, the conferees hastily substituted the House provisions, which were accepted. The President has asked Congress for special legislation safeguarding the rights of all drafted men under the Social Security Act and the Railroad Retirement Act. Action on this request is especially important in view of the relatively strict qualifying provisions established in the 1939 revision of the Social Security Act.

*

THE PROVISION FOR DRAFTING INDUSTRIES which refuse to cooperate in the defense program has been greeted with heavy disapproval on the right—especially the clause making failure to comply with government orders a penal offense. This is undoubtedly a stronge dose; but it is at least logical that the penalties for recalcitrant industrialists should be of the same nature as those prescribed for military draft dodgers. The New York *Times* is afraid that the threat of confiscation, fine, and imprisonment will "discourage men from going into the defense industries that we most require. . . ." We question this contention. Fear of punishment may be as effective a stimulant to good behavior as hope of gain, and we find it reassuring that the government is empowered to employ the former as well as the latter to prod reluctant capitalists into the service of the country. In an editorial published on September 5 the *Times* quoted a lengthy statement by Bernard Baruch, chairman of the War Industries Board in the World War, which clearly gave the impression that he opposed the power to commandeer. A few days later Mr. Baruch sent a letter to the *Times* pointing out that its editorial misinterpreted his views on the power to draft industry. "Commandeering," he said, "is a right that may be required to club into line a small group, always existent, which is seeking selfish gains in selfish ways. In the last war recalcitrants knew there existed the power to commandeer. . . . This knowledge kept them in line. That will be true today." Mr. Baruch's word properly carries great weight in any consideration of the question of industrial mobilization. The *Times* quoted him to its own ends; but his answer was printed inconspicuously under the heading "Voluntary Cooperation Best," with a small subhead reading, "But Power to Commandeer and Draft Is Held to Be Necessary." We think Mr. Baruch's actual position deserves as much attention as the position mistakenly attributed to him.

*

HULL'S STATEMENT THAT AVILA CAMACHO, President-elect of Mexico, would be welcome in Washington if he cared to visit this country has dispelled much of the uncertainty which has beclouded American-Mexican relations in recent months. While the statement does not constitute a formal recognition of Camacho's election, the absence of a similar announcement with regard to Almazán is a strong indication that Almazán will not have the backing of the State Department in his much-heralded uprising against the legal Mexican government. Since no revolt against a Mexican government recognized by the United States has been successful in the past fifteen years, there is a strong probability that the revolution may not even be tried. So far there is little evidence that Almazán's support within Mexico is sufficient to make a revolt possible. His followers have convened a secret congress which has "impeached" Cárdenas and "elected" General Lopez as Provisional President. Six of the thirty-two sections of the Petroleum Workers' Syndicate have declared a strike which is interpreted as indirect support for Almazán. But organized labor as a whole, together with the bulk of the army, is strongly behind the government. Many prominent Almazanistas are reported to be fleeing to the United States. If this country discharges its responsibility under international law and prevents American interests from intervening, it is safe to predict that Mexico will weather the threatened storm.

*

ALTHOUGH THE PATTERN OF FASCISM IS everywhere much the same, the new Rumanian government seems to have taken vanquished France rather than Germany or Italy as its model. As in France, the head of the state, General Antonescu, is a non-party military leader. The Cabinet, composed primarily of leaders of the Iron Guard, is officially described as being made up of "men with unsmirched pasts." The new regime is to e based on "faith, justice, discipline, hard work, educa-ion, silence, and national solidarity." As a step toward his last objective, Jews have been subjected to new re-trictions. To complete the parallel with France, a public rial is being planned for King Carol, who is held re-ponsible for the loss of Transylvania. Meanwhile, Ger-nany has taken steps to cash in on its great diplomatic riumph in the Balkans by serving notice that the inter-ational Danubian commission no longer exists, thus reparing the way for complete German domination of he river. The only country in a position to challenge ermany in this action is the Soviet Union, which now ontrols several lower Danube ports. But there is little n recent Soviet-German relations that suggests that Mos-ow is prepared to risk war by opposing this step in itler's *Drang nach Osten*.

*

OVIET INDUSTRY MAY BE IN A BAD WAY, nd the Red Army may have been discredited in Finland, ut anyone who has read G. E. R. Gedye's dispatches to he New York *Times* (sent from Varna, Bulgaria) will eadily admit that Stalin has achieved the triumph of ensorship in one country. The copious examples of the vay in which the Soviet censor performs the fantastic eat of keeping one-sixth of the world hermetically sealed rom the other five-sixths in this era of communication nake fascinating—and authoritative—reading. Mr. edye went to Moscow a year ago, having been driven ut of Vienna and Prague by the arrival of the Nazi attalions. His attitude toward the Stalin regime was so pen-minded that he might have been described as a ellow fellow-traveler. But he recently closed down the ew York *Times* bureau in the Russian capital and de-arted, trailing clouds of red tape, because the censor-hip "has made the work of foreign correspondents in oscow quite impossible." One of the main motivations f the censorship, he says, is the desire of the Moscow egime to hide the facts about the "Socialist fatherland" rom the millions of sympathizers in the outside world vhose support comes in handy for the purposes of oviet foreign policy and for whom, we should add, gnorance is the continued bliss of faith in the Soviet nion.

*

R. GEDYE CONFIRMS, IN HIS SERIES OF xcellent articles, the picture of poverty and inefficiency ve already have in spite of the censorship, which even orbids the cabling abroad of stories in the Russian press. ut more depressing is Mr. Gedye's description of the tate of mind he encountered. Even intelligent and edu-ated Russians, he says, believe everything they are told; hey are also convinced that *Pravda* and *Izvestia* print ll the truthful news there is about the outside capitalist world. Of course, now that Stalin has gone in for "liberating" other nations and Red soldiers are setting foot on alien soil, the people back home hear wild rumors of places where even non-capitalists can buy boots and shoes; but in general their idea of the world beyond the frontiers is as vague as it is wrong.

*

UNDER GANDHI'S LEADERSHIP THE INDIAN National Congress working committee has withdrawn its offer to cooperate with Britain in the war as a price for immediate independence. Because of the strict censorship on news from India, it is difficult to ascertain the effect of this action on the civil-disobedience campaign voted by Congress last March. A fortnight ago several leading members of Congress became impatient with Gandhi's procrastination and defied British authority by drilling in a public park. Gandhi in a speech before the Congress said that he would see the Viceroy and ask once more for independence. He also said that he favored individual rather than mass disobedience; but he

CONTENTS

THE SHAPE OF THINGS 229

EDITORIALS:

- THE WILLKIE DEFLATION 232
- BRITISH MORALE 233
- LABOR'S DEFENSE ROLE 233
- OUR STAKE IN INDO-CHINA 234

THE G. O. P.'s PROBLEM CHILD by J. Lacey Reynolds 235

REFUGEES CAN BE ASSETS by Norman Angell 236

CHINA'S THREATENED LIFE LINE by K. Y. Chen 239

FRANCE IN A COMA by Harry J. Greenwall 241

HUNGARY GETS A SUDETENLAND by Anton Kuh 243

BLACKOUT. A Poem by Ben Ray Redman 245

A NATIVE AT LARGE by Jonathan Daniels 246

BOOKS AND THE ARTS:

- NOTES BY THE WAY by Margaret Marshall 247
- WHY FRANCE FELL by Albert Guérard 247
- SOCIALISTIC NECROPOLIS by Maxwell Geismar 248
- NONE ARE SO BLIND . . . by Hans Kohn 249
- IS MARRIAGE A MONSTER? by Louis B. Salomon 250
- PARTY GOVERNMENT IN CRISIS by Max Lerner 250
- IN BRIEF 253
- DRAMA: FUN IN A HOSPITAL by Joseph Wood Krutch 253
- RECORDS by B. H. Haggin 254

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added, "If the government forces war, I do not know what form the struggle will take." He expressed again his reluctance to embarrass England while it is engaged in a life-and-death struggle, but added that he would not tolerate restrictions on freedom of opinion and action. The recent arrest of several members of the Congress Party on charges of making seditious speeches are not designed to convince even the patient Gandhi that a compromise yielding the substance of independence for India is possible at present.

*

WILLIAM B. BANKHEAD WILL BE MISSED BY his party. He had a genius for strategy coupled with a complete mastery of the intricacies of parliamentary procedure. And he was friendly and unruffled even in the heat of battle. The forces of the New Deal could have found no more effective general, and the success of its legislative program in the House will be a lasting testimonial to Mr. Bankhead's skill as floor leader before he became Speaker in 1936. From start to finish he was an unyielding Administration supporter, and there was something peculiarly fitting in the fact that his fatal attack came during a visit to Baltimore, where he had gone, against the advice of his family and his physician, to address a Democratic campaign rally.

The Willkie Deflation

WENDELL WILLKIE'S quick recovery from a severe attack of hoarseness was an unfortunate bit of luck for the Republican candidate. Nothing now seems to stand in the way of his talking himself into an untimely political death. In the weeks following the Philadelphia convention there was a general disposition to believe that whatever you might think of the Republican Party it had at least put forth its most promising candidate—a man of stature, dignity, and ability; one who could stand up to Roosevelt and still sound like a statesman. Another week of speeches like those of the past ten days and that picture will have faded from the minds of men even in Maine and Vermont.

On the theory that a successful politician must identify himself with his audience, Willkie has made his first barnstorming trip a succession of poses that come close to being small-time burlesque. Leaving the rediscovered scenes of his youth, the utilities executive, corporation lawyer, and former enrolled member of Tammany Hall tried first a combination of Don Quixote and Mr. Smith Goes to Washington: "Even though I face the greatest political corruption," he said somewhat incoherently, "Boss Hague, Boss Flynn, Boss Kelly, to buy the election, and an intrenched bureaucracy, I go forth from Rushville prepared to fight them. I am not afraid of any of them. . . . But however I come back and howeve they attempt to smear me, I will come back the sam man you have always known."

At Cicero, Illinois, the Wholesome Hick gave way t the Horny-Handed Hoosier. Facing a crowd of worke of the Western Electric plant, the Republican candidat got tough: "You fellows don't look like boys fro Groton, or from Harvard. You look to me like men wh can do things. . . . I have worked as hard as any guy i this crowd. I can do as much work as any damn one o you." The papers didn't report whether he spat tobacc juice or informed the crowd that his uncle was a G-mar

At Rock Island he turned evangelist. "Please," h pleaded with the crowd, "Please, without regard for me do not vote to send American boys to the shambles o a European war." Then, carried away by the passion o his hope that the mothers of Illinois would spare hin that agony, he demanded to know what "extraordinar skill" Roosevelt had displayed in foreign affairs. "Wa it extraordinary skill when he promoted the Munic Pact? . . . Was that an extraordinary demonstration o human knowledge and understanding when he telephoned Hitler and Mussolini and urged them to sel Czechoslovakia down the river?"

Even accepting the embarrassed apology of his pres secretary, Mr. Lem Jones, that Willkie had "misspoken," it is plain that the statesman of Philadelphia has become the rabble-rouser of Rock Island. As matters turned out at Munich, Roosevelt's role was not a happy one. With or without the prompting of Chamberlain he dispatched messages to Hitler and Mussolini urging continued negotiations during the crisis which sealed the fate of Czechoslovakia; his interest was in the prevention of a European war. But no one can fairly say that he envisioned the shameless surrender that Chamberlain and Daladier agreed to. Nor is there the slightest reason to believe that without his last-minute intervention Czechoslovakia would have been spared the dismemberment which its allies were perfectly prepared to offer as the price of peace.

Coming from any source, this kind of attack on Roosevelt would be unscrupulous. It is entirely shameless from the man who has just accepted the support of that arch-appeaser Henry Ford, who in turn found it "encouraging to see a man of Mr. Willkie's type chosen as Presidential candidate"; from the man who has the backing of Herbert Hoover and of those great commercial interests that seek to mollify Adolf Hitler against the day when they can do business with an all-powerful Germany. Whatever the blunders of Franklin D. Roosevelt, he is the most powerful anti-Nazi figure in the world today, and the curious antics of Wendell Willkie can only make the G. O. P. ask itself whether it is for this that they gave up the safety of a Taft or the sanity of a Vandenberg.

British Morale

THE Nazis have now maintained an almost continuous aerial bombardment of London for over a week, but it is not yet clear what part this attack plays in their general strategy. The primary purpose of the raids, as Winston Churchill suggested in his radio speech last week, may be to prepare the way for an imminent attempt at invasion. If vital communications can be disorganized and the population in the rear thrown into panic, prospects of a successful assault on Britain's coastal defenses would obviously be enhanced. The German General Staff, however, usually attempts to concoct plans designed to fit alternative objectives, and it may be that their maximum hope on this occasion is so to demoralize the people of Britain that they will sue for peace and make the tremendous risks of an invasion unnecessary.

Keeping pace with the bombing attacks on London, the Berlin propaganda barrage has risen to a crescendo in the past week. Over and over again the British have been warned that they are hopelessly beaten and had better acknowledge the fact. Otherwise, they are told, London will share the fate of Warsaw, and if that does not suffice to bring them to their senses, every other British city will be battered in turn. This onslaught on the nerves, sharply punctuated by death and destruction and combined with efforts to drive the King and Queen and the British government from London, is clearly a central feature of the German campaign. Nazi leaders in Berlin have been reported as saying that when the German air force has carried its lesson a little farther, "it would not surprise us if the present government were forced to resign in favor of a body of men willing to come to terms."

That statement appeared a good many days ago, but despite all that London has endured since there is every sign that Britain is more grimly determined than before to stick it out. Although the German fliers seem less and less particular where they drop their bombs, it is clear that the damage to communications, docks, utilities, and factories has been severe. However, London continues to function, and its defenses have not been silenced. On the contrary, new methods of fighting off the raiders have been developed which have made the Nazis pay dearly for their successes.

The question remains how long the nerves of Londoners can withstand this hell of sudden death, lost homes, and endless sleep-destroying noise. The answer depends on intangibles not easy to assay, but knowledge of the British character suggests that the Nazis will have to be prepared to maintain their aerial offensive much longer than they seem to suspect. This view is confirmed by many experienced American observers on the spot. Nevertheless, there have been hints of one factor which may have serious effects on morale unless the government provides a rapid remedy—the suggestion that the poorer inhabitants of London are not getting a fair share of the protection that is available. All sections of the city have suffered, but it is in the crowded working-class sections that the destruction of homes has been greatest. In these areas most houses are unprovided with good shelters, and there is a lack of safe shelters for thousands who have had to evacuate their own dwellings. It has been proposed that houses in the West End, which are better built and most of which at least have basements, should be thrown open to the homeless, especially as many of them are standing empty. It is to be hoped that the government will adopt this suggestion, for under the conditions of siege which London is experiencing morale can only be maintained when all sections of the population share the hardships and dangers as equally as possible.

Labor's Defense Role

THERE can be no doubt that there is widespread opposition in the ranks of organized labor to the draft act. It has been attacked by both William Green and John L. Lewis, and many unions and industrial councils have passed resolutions condemning it. Another test is provided by a poll of labor editors taken by the Federated Press, which shows 79 opposed to conscription, 32 in favor, and 11 undecided. In certain cases this attitude is combined with a bitter opposition to all defense measures and to the Administration's foreign policy that suggests Communist inspiration. But probably the vast majority of trade unionists who have gone on record against the draft recognize that a Hitler victory in Europe would mean grave danger to this country and are willing to go at least part of the way with the President in his efforts to build a strong defensive system. At the same time they do not feel that these are matters which concern them very directly, and they are prepared to carry on with their task of protecting labor standards, leaving to others the task of organizing resistance to Hitlerism.

In our opinion the labor movement is doing itself a great disservice by this negative approach to the problem of defense. It leaves business in a position to assume leadership and use it for its own purposes. There are, of course, many business men who are genuinely alive to the menace offered by Hitlerism to everything for which America stands. Another group, keeping pretty much under cover at this time, admires the German dictator for his "efficiency" and even more for his success in destroying the German labor movement. Between these two extremes are a large mass of neutrals who, as the *Fortune* poll analyzed by Freda Kirchwey last week showed, will probably plump for appeasement if Hitler completes the conquest of Europe. Meanwhile, business men as a whole are happy enough to cooperate in the arms program but only on condition that its scope and tempo are such as to insure comfortable profits. That is why rearmament is getting under way so slowly; at best, we cannot hope to have our defenses in good shape before the end of 1942. Yet the dangers which they are destined to ward off may become very real in a few weeks or a few months.

The trade unions, likewise, have failed to grasp the urgent need of speed in the matter of defense. Their opposition to conscription shows that all too clearly. William Green, testifying before the Senate Military Affairs Committee in opposition to the Burke-Wadsworth bill, stated that he did not oppose compulsory service in principle but felt it was not necessary at this time. The government, he suggested, should first thoroughly explore the possibilities of a voluntary-enlistment program. However, since the passage of the bill Mr. Green has pledged that the A. F. of L. would cooperate in putting it into effect.

Other labor spokesmen have expressed the view that only when war had come would the draft be justified. That was the attitude of the British Labor Party eighteen months ago when it voted against conscription. It did so largely because it distrusted Chamberlain's policy, but it did not realize that by refusing to cooperate in the creation of weapons to fight Hitlerism it was playing into the hands of the appeasers. Nor did it look ahead foreseeing the time when Britain might have to defend itself with an inadequately trained army. And now, if that army is unable to resist the seasoned German hordes, it will be British workingmen who will bear the brunt of defeat in the loss of all the rights and liberties they have fought for so long.

Must we repeat the same mistake here? Is it not possible for American workers to understand to what extent their future welfare depends on the outcome of the conflict now raging in Europe? Because so many employers regard defense only from the profit angle there is a temptation on the part of labor to write it off as "another Wall Street racket." But labor cannot afford to be indifferent to the building up of a strong army and the speeding up of arms production. For while the industrialists may be able to come to some sort of terms with Hitler that will not too seriously disturb their comforts and privileges, labor never can.

Today the labor movement has a great opportunity to lead the country in the fight against fascism if it is able to rise above factionalism and the parochial outlook. Today union membership is perhaps as high as eight millions, but the power organized labor can exert far exceeds these numbers. A large-scale armament program can only be carried out with the cooperation of millions of skilled workers, and it is up to these to insist that the job shall not be retarded by sabotage on the part of profit-seeking capitalists. We should like to see every union with members engaged in defense industries taking definite action to combat inefficiency and waste and using its machinery to expose employers who inflate costs. At the same time we hope to see organized labor putting its political weight behind the defense program, combating all vested interests which seek to slow it down or interfere in any other way.

Only by adopting a fully responsible attitude can the trade unions hope to make their influence felt in regard to defense decisions which seem likely to prove the decisive factor in American economy during the next few years. If they surrender leadership to capitalist groups, they risk losing their rightful voice even on matters of labor standards, and, what is worse, they risk the perversion of the defense program to undemocratic ends.

Our Stake in Indo-China

IN CONCENTRATING their immediate attention on Indo-China rather than the Dutch East Indies, the Japanese have undoubtedly had an eye on the United States. Although the Dutch insular possessions would be a much greater prize, Japan has apparently concluded, with justification, that an attack on them would carry serious risk of conflict with this country. It knows very well that continued access to the tin and rubber supplies of the Dutch East Indies is essential to American national defense. And its naval strategists have doubtless pointed out that invasion of the islands would leave Japan's line of communications vulnerable to an attack from the American fleet in the Pacific.

Indo-China may not be so rich, but it presents far fewer difficulties. The Vichy government is in a capitulating mood. Neither Britain nor the United States has naval bases near enough to permit effective assistance to the colonial authorities should they decide to fight. As an added inducement, possession of the French naval base in Cam Ranh Bay would be of great value for subsequent Japanese aggression in the South Seas. Yet despite the seeming lack of obstacles, Japan has been trying to obtain concessions by negotiation rather than by the usual direct action. Perhaps this indicates, as K. Y. Chen suggests elsewhere in this issue, that Japan is not really strong enough for another military adventure. Certainly things have not been going any too well for the Japanese recently in North China. But reports from Tokyo indicate that Japan is chiefly concerned about possible action by this country. Governor General Decoux of Indo-China is reported to have sent three appeals to President Roosevelt. Secretary Hull's warning

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to Japan to preserve the status quo in the Pacific may well have come in response to one of these appeals. But more effective than the warning seems to have been the story, apparently officially inspired, which was permitted to leak out in Washington to the effect that the United States would enforce an embargo on gasoline and scrap iron if Japan invaded Indo-China.

It is not improbable that these warnings and threats have come too late to head Japan off in Indo-China. In that case the United States will shortly be in a position where it must consider action. Japanese occupation of Indo-China may not represent as immediate a threat to American security as seizure of the Dutch East Indies, but the ultimate effect may be even graver. The establishment of a Japanese base in Indo-China might well seal the fate of the last stronghold of freedom in Asia—the Republic of China. For more than three years China has been fighting for freedom against overwhelming odds. Apart from the strategic and economic significance of Indo-China itself, we dare not let China down at this critical moment. An embargo on the shipment of further war supplies to Japan will help, but may not be enough. We must get substantial aid to China before it is too late. This can only be achieved by reopening the Burma road. The United States should take advantage of its closer relations with Great Britain to exert the utmost diplomatic and political pressure to assure the reopening and improvement of this last remaining gateway to free China. Unless such action is taken quickly, democracy stands in grave danger of losing the Battle of the Pacific, which may be as important in the long run as the Battle of Britain.

The G.O.P.'s Problem Child

BY J. LACEY REYNOLDS

Washington, September 13

AT PHILADELPHIA Wendell Willkie made a reputation as a heavyweight politician when he outsmarted the convention managers to clinch the nomination. By now it has become apparent that Mr. Willkie does not pack the terrific punch described in his advance publicity. He seems to belong in the preliminaries, not in the main bout.

His political moves during the past month suggest four weaknesses. First, in his acceptance speech at Elwood he showed himself to be no match for Roosevelt as a radio orator. His most ardent supporters concede that this will be a handicap. Second, he revealed that he was a poor judge of public sentiment by his stand on the "draft industry" issue. Third, he has demonstrated a surprising lack of executive ability in dealing with the Republican organization. He has irritated the party wheel horses and failed to reconcile his defeated convention opponents. And fourth, on legislative matters he has kicked the shins of Republican Senators and Congressmen until they threaten to leave him to his fate and to look out for themselves for the rest of the campaign.

Willkie's attack on the Overton-Russell amendment permitting government seizure of plants did much to tarnish his reputation as a political sage. Even a third-rate politician would have foreseen the inevitable political consequence of opposing conscription of industry while favoring conscription of man-power. When public reaction proved markedly unfavorable he was forced to claim that his stand had been misunderstood and to come out for "selective service" for industry as an alternative to the Overton-Russell amendment. His "selective service" was obviously nothing more than a smoke screen to permit him to escape from a position that was politically untenable.

His stand on the "draft industry" issue had particularly unfortunate consequences in the Senate. When the Overton-Russell amendment passed the Senate on August 28, nine of the eighteen Republicans answering the roll voted for it. They included such rock-ribbed conservatives as Austin of Vermont, Davis of Pennsylvania, Lodge of Massachusetts, Tobey of New Hampshire, and Capper of Kansas, the last being one of the Senate's shrewdest readers of popular sentiment. Some of these Republicans had put themselves on record during debate as strongly in favor of plant seizure. "It seems unanswerable," said Senator Lodge, for example, "that if we are giving the government the power to conscript man-power, it is only just and fair to give the government power to conscript industries which are essential to war services." The next day Willkie condemned plant seizure, thereby creating a situation in which the Presidential nominee ran head on into a substantial block of his party's outstanding Senators.

Republican House members had a similar experience two weeks later when Willkie came out in opposition to the Fish amendment to the conscription bill, which would have permitted sixty days for voluntary enlistments. Of the 169 Republicans in the House, 140 had already voted for the amendment. Minority Leader Joe Martin later tried to smoothe things over by making it appear that it was just a difference of opinion over a minor amendment. But the 140 Republicans, including Joe Martin, knew better. This was not the first time that Martin, a stickler for teamwork, had been embarrassed by the lone-wolf tactics of the nominee. Many Republican members, angered at being left out on a limb, vowed that they would cast off from the nominee and run their own independent campaigns. Charlie Halleck, the Indiana Congressman who is considered to be Willkie's spokesman in Congress, hardly dared show his face in the House chamber for several days afterward. Bitter letters were addressed to Rushville. Typical of the reaction in the House cloakrooms was the comment, "I see where Willkie is heading a third-party movement." No doubt Willkie intended his repudiation of the Fish amendment to signify his ardent support of total defense and "short-of-war" assistance to England; high party strategists felt that some such step was necessary to combat Henry Wallace's charge that Willkie is the "appeasement candidate." But the Fish amendment was not the appropriate vehicle to use, under the circumstances.

The Republicans' current organizational difficulties may be attributed largely to Willkie's lack of political experience and his reluctance to take advice from the party bigwigs. He waited until his campaign plans were practically formulated early this month before calling in Senator Vandenberg of Michigan, one of his Philadelphia opponents and a skilled veteran. Senator Taft of Ohio, another convention opponent, has never been consulted. Little wonder that the Taft people are not on the job for Willkie. The Republican nominee might also have benefited from earlier and more frequent conferences with his running-mate, the wily Senator McNary. These old-time organization leaders have been ignored in favor of sponsors of the independent Willkie clubs, and the mounting friction between the two groups was the real reason party leaders from twenty-one states met at Rushville on Thursday, September 5. After the meeting Willkie pledged his "support and loyalty to the rank and file of the party," and the G. O. P. stalwarts left with a feeling that their nominee was finally awakening to the political realities of the campaign, that he would work with them in precinct and in Congress. Five days later he dropped his bombshell about the Fish amendment.

On his present tour through the West Willkie may turn out to be a master of back-platform campaigning, and if he does, this will tend to offset some of his past political errors. But so far the record is against him.

Refugees Can Be Assets

BY NORMAN ANGELL

THERE are certain vital lessons relating to American security to be drawn from the story of Britain's treatment of the refugee, as told in a recent number of *The Nation.* If America repeats British policy, it will suffer much more than Britain has suffered, just because the alien problem, of which the refugee problem is a part, is quantitatively so much greater here than in Britain. The fact that it is so obviously to the interest of Britain that American power should not be weakened is an Englishman's justification for treating the subject in an American publication.

Before indicating the lessons which Americans ought to draw from British mistakes I wish to say that though British policy in this connection deserves to be judged severely, the way in which public opinion in Britain has reacted against that policy should be taken into account. As *The Nation* pointed out, many who in the press or in Parliament have for years encouraged the harassing of refugees in the worst witch-smelling fashion have of late turned completely round and demanded a change—testimony to the fact that even in war time democracy and free discussion are realities in Britain and still enable faults to be corrected, even if the correction comes late and after much damage has been done. And one detail should be remembered: the thousands of destitute refugees have been provided for largely by funds furnished by the government.

The essence of the British error is not that the policy followed meant the infliction of many and great individual hardships. War always means individual suffering. If the policy pursued had been really calculated to advance Allied victory, the authorities concerned would have been right in disregarding the price of broken hopes and broken hearts. But the real indictment of British policy in this matter is that it implies a complete misjudgment of the nature of the struggle, of the political and military strategy appropriate to it; a failure to perceive one of the great sources of Hitler's strength and of Allied weakness. This failure is not a minor failure. It is capital in the whole conduct of the war.

Note first the facts. At the outbreak of the war there were in Britain somewhere in the region of a hundred thousand refugees from Nazi persecution, mainly German but also including Austrians, Poles, and Czechs, often classed legally as German. They included scientists, teachers, religious and political leaders, journalists, writers, artists, musicians, some of the greatest names in the world of science, learning, and literature. There were great chemists, engineers, physicians, surgeons, psychologists (Freud was among them), students of military science, men who had built German tanks and planes and taught and led German soldiers; men for whom life in Germany, because of a Jewish mother, or some expression of liberal views in the past, or a refusal to conform to the new Nazi "science," held only the prospect of terror, the threat of torture; all of whom had one thing in common—a deadly hatred of the system, the Thing, which had driven them out.

What was to be done with these people who had fought Hitler at home and were prepared to continue the fight from England? One must have moved among them, as I happen to have done for a year or two before the war, to realize the wealth of knowledge, talent, and devotion in the cause of fighting Hitler here available. How could it all be used?

Certain War Office pundits—nobody seems to know who they were—answered that question by deciding that it should not be used at all; that all these people should be deemed putative spies, locked up, imprisoned, and given the treatment most calculated to convert them from being enemies of Hitler into being enemies of Britain. Of all the aliens only the German refugee, be it noted, was to be thus treated—the very category of persons of whom one could say not only that they were the least likely to be used by Germany, but also that they were those of whom the British authorities had the completest records, since they had come in peace time when the checking of records was still possible. It was in vain that the Under Secretary of State for the Home Office declared in the House of Commons, "I wish we knew half as much about many of the neutral aliens and many British subjects as we know about the enemy aliens now in this country. . . . I should like to pay my tribute to the behavior of these refugees in that they have shown themselves worthy of the confidence which we have placed in them. Apart from one or two petty isolated incidents . . . there have been no serious acts hostile to the state which can be attributed to these people." No matter, in effect replied the War Office officials, these people are German. There may be spies among them. To which one could retort that there might also be spies among people named Brown or Robinson. The way to deal with the fact, however, would not be to lock up all the Browns and all the Robinsons. Nevertheless, all people who by the crude test of legal nationality could be entered as "German," however little German they might be in fact or in feeling, were declared liable to imprisonment.

The professor was taken from his college in Oxford, the chemist from his laboratory, the surgeon or the physician from his hospital, the teacher from his school; and along with the non-Aryan engineer who had helped to build the German tanks, the airplane designer who had fled from Germany because he was a Socialist, the very children in the schools who had been brought to Britain almost as babies, all were officially put into the category of prisoners of war, to be herded into prisons or empty factories or arbitrarily transported to Canada or Australia, wives separated from husbands, children from parents. Hundreds upon hundreds who had been ready to give their lives for Britain were turned into puzzled, amazed, or embittered prisoners.

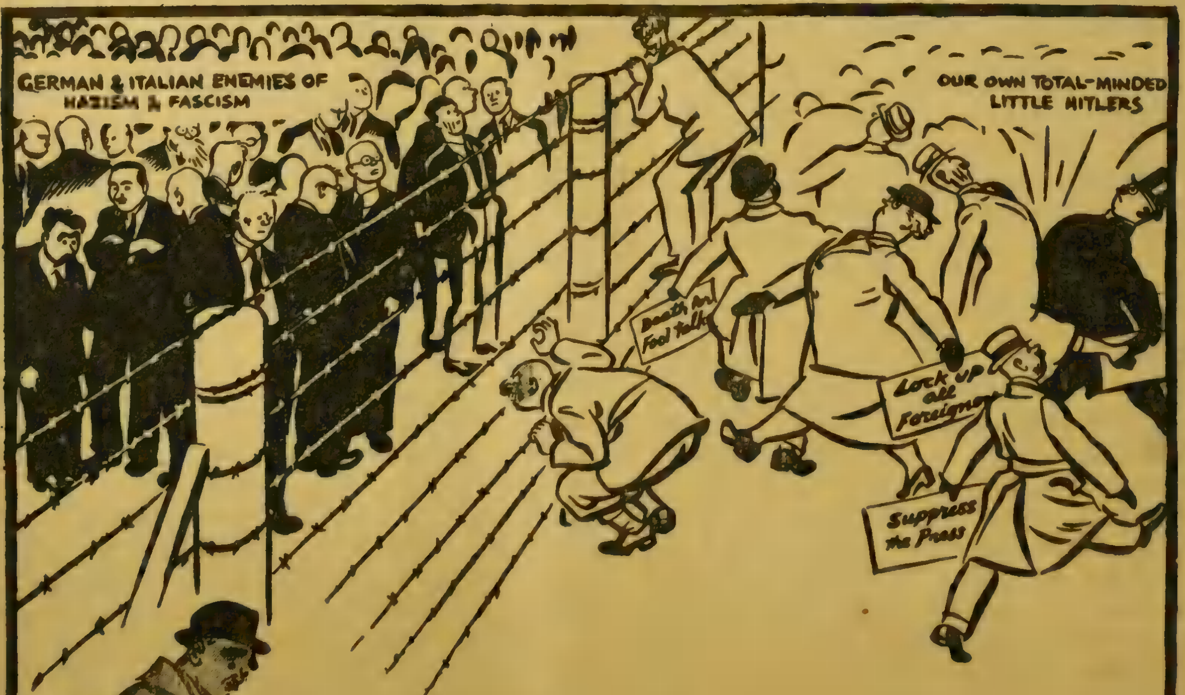
Why was this monstrous thing done? H. G. Wells believes it was largely the work of deliberate saboteurs, of some of those few in the service of Britain who in their hearts favor the Hitlerite way of life and would like to see the Nazis victorious. Personally I think the true explanation is more commonplace, and is to be found less in the treasonable malice than in the stupidity, the ossification of mind, of those who, as events have again and again proved, are simply incapable of grasping certain changes which have occurred since the last war. Hitler, however, is perfectly well aware of these things and has used his knowledge with devastating military effect.

In 1914 nationality could be accepted as a rough-and-ready guide to a man's real allegiance and sympathies. It was broadly true then to say that all Germans desired a victory for Germany and all Frenchmen one for France. The elements which have made the Vichy government possible today simply did not exist in 1914. There was no fear then among great sections of the French bourgeoisie that a defeated Germany might mean a Bolshevist Europe; the world had not then been swept by economic blizzards reducing millions to penury and insecurity and making them ready to embrace any new doctrine or "revolution" which promised a remedy. Hitler's genius has been to recognize how the psychosis created by these conditions could be used by a minority of ruthless men to impose their power upon the majority. He employed his technique first to make the Nazi Party master of Germany and then to make Germany master of Europe. In achieving the latter objective he has argued in effect: "In every country there are people sick of 'democracy' and parliamentarianism, afraid of Communist disorder, fearful for their possessions; disappointed politicians ready to exploit these motives; disgruntled men with grievances to whom the opportunity of power over those they hate will make a powerful appeal. These motives exist everywhere, are truly international; I can use them for a world-wide revolution of destruction by which Germany can benefit." And he has used them with most amazing success—all the way from Vienna to Vichy. He knew that national allegiances no longer held. He used Austrians to prepare his domination in Austria, Norwegians in Norway, Danes in Denmark, Belgians in Belgium, Frenchmen in France. He knew furthermore that sometimes quite small minorities could be used to paralyze great majorities; that a 1 per cent of Norwegians or a 5 per cent of Hollanders or a 10 per cent of Frenchmen might serve his purpose. Without this political preparation he could not have achieved his military successes.

The grave significance of the British official attitude toward the German refugee, an attitude into which a good many in America seem to be drifting, is that it rejects altogether any duplication of this technique for the defeat of Hitler. To say that "all Germans must be assumed to favor the victory of Germany and all Frenchmen the victory of France" not only flies in the face of proved fact, but means that there shall be no attempt to use for purposes of liberation that revolutionary technique which Hitler has used with such amazing success for enslavement. It implies the defeatist assumption that though he can and does use Norwegians, Belgians, Englishmen to promote his evil ends, we must not even try to use Germans to promote our better ends. Only a month or two ago a British diplomat warned us over the radio that we could never trust anyone of Austrian or German origin or association. Suppose Hitler had said in the organization of his fifth columns in Austria, Norway, Denmark, Holland, Belgium, France, "You can never trust Austrians, Norwegians, Danes, Belgians, or Frenchmen." He knew there were risks in the Trojan method; he took them, and conquered the Continent.

I have more than once asked my countrymen to imagine what use Hitler would make of a situation in which a hundred thousand Englishmen had fled to Germany from persecution in England—a hundred thousand Englishmen who included great figures in English literature and political and religious leaders. Does anyone suppose for a moment that Hitler would have found no better use for them than to "lock 'em all up"? In this matter as in others, the British, like the French in the early part of the war, have been victims of "the Maginot mind." Stand on the defensive; seize no opportunity if it involves risks. That policy, pursued against an enemy taking everywhere the offensive, is the policy of defeat. Here, in the refugees, was a great army which had come over to us from the enemy and which could have been used in a thousand and one ways to fight Hitler, as Hitler had used tiny driblets from the ranks of his enemies to fight us. Our instinct was not to say, "What use can we make of these people?" but, "There may be risks in using these people, so we won't use them at all."

I emphasize this, because it is at this point that the lesson for America sticks out. There are by all accounts some three million German-Americans and a similar number of Italian-Americans in this country. If it adopts


GERMAN & ITALIAN ENEMIES OF NAZISM & FASCISM
OUR OWN TOTAL-MINDED LITTLE HITLERS
Death for Fool Talk
Lock up all Foreign
Suppress the Press
"WHICH ARE THE DANGEROUS ONES WE HAVE TO KEEP BEHIND BARBED-WIRE, UNCLE ?"
LOW

oward them the attitude that all Germans and all talians must be presumed to be enemies and spies and harassed with suspicions and special regulations, then ndeed they will become a fruitful field for Nazi maneuvers, a fifth column of vast proportions. This country an best meet that danger by going on the assumption hat the vast majority are capable of being organized into a thoroughly anti-totalitarian body, as much in favor of American principles as other American citizens are—a body whose special function in the nation should be to keep any disloyal German or Italian minority in order.

That means, of course, a very considerable educational effort, and an effort not alone among aliens. Events in Europe have proved tragically that the greatest fifth-column danger does not lie in the presence of a few spies among aliens or refugees, but in the presence among political eaders, journalists, clergy, Cabinet ministers, of men who, while not consciously disloyal to their country, have been unable to make up their minds what this war is about, who are in two minds as to whether, after all, Hitler and Hitlerism are greatly to be feared, whether other dangers, like those supposed to reside in Moscow, are not greater, whether capitulation may not be the esser evil.

No effort of the German Bund or of any other organization could ever make Hitler popular in America or persuade the majority of Americans to support him, or indeed to regard him as anything but evil. That is not n the least necessary from the Hitlerian point of view. If only the majority can be sufficiently divided—some dissuaded from effort at resistance by a vague belief that all military effort is instigated by the capitalists, others by the conviction that this is just another struggle of rival imperialisms, or that to fight Hitler is merely to pull Britain's chestnuts out of the fire, or that the Jews are behind it all—if the majority can be rendered inert and confused by these divisions, an energetic and ruthless minority can of course do here what it has done over three-quarters of the earth, impose itself upon the majority. These confusions are the real fifth column, infinitely more dangerous than the mysterious "spies and agents" that occupy so much newspaper space.

A fatal weakness in Britain and perhaps in America has been to take for granted the existence of a real understanding of and feeling for the freedom and the democratic way of life which we are both supposed to be defending. Disparagement of those ideals, alike on the right and on the left, has, of course, of recent years become extremely fashionable, the hall-mark of sophistication and hard-headedness. Unless freedom is once more to vanish, the case for it needs to be restated, in terms understanded of the multitude, in such a way as to revive for it the feeling which an earlier generation possessed and this has so largely lost. Unless we can do that, there is no particular reason why a minority within the nation, supported powerfully from without, should not, by a technique which has now become familiar, so profit by the doubts and indecisions of the majority as to dominate it, doing here what has been done to so many nations that once were free.

China's Threatened Life Line

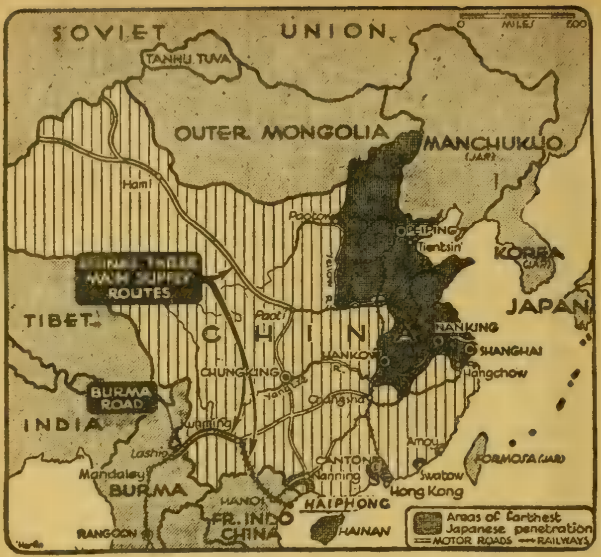
BY K. Y. CHEN

Chungking, China, August 10

AT THE time of the "Manchurian incident" of unhappy memory (1931) the literary and political genius of Japan created the first of three famous slogans—"In Manchuria is the life line of Japan." As an excuse for aggression it was a worthy forerunner of that symbol of chaos, "New Order," and that sorry perversion, "Monroe Doctrine for Eastern Asia." The outside world, knowing that Japan had several supply lines, never quite understood this life-line excuse, but it can easily see that China, in 1940, has been reduced to very few, which are in truth of vital importance. One of these, upon which the Chinese government depends for the transportation of necessary supplies, is the narrow-gauge railway that runs from Kunming in free China to the port of Haiphong in French Indo-China. After the fall of Hankow and Canton to the invaders, the Kunming-Haiphong Railroad became the shortest route from free China to the sea.

When France was defeated by Germany, Japan saw its chance to cut this line. Using pressure and threats it forced the railroad to suspend the transportation of supplies into Kunming. Now a Japanese fleet is cruising near the Bay of Tonkin, and it looks as if Japan were poised to launch an attack upon Indo-China and seize this rich French possession at the back door of China. Hence the question anxiously asked by well-informed observers in the Far East: Will the Chinese fight the Japanese in Indo-China?

The close relations between modern China and the French colony rest on a solid foundation. Indo-China, or Annam, was a Chinese dependency until the French snatched it from the Manchu government in 1885. Though the political tie was thus severed, the economic



tie was reinforced by the building of the Kunming-Haiphong Railroad, which runs for more than half its length on Chinese soil. A trade pact made between the French and Chinese governments a few years before the war guaranteed to China the right to use the port of Haiphong and the railway for the transportation of supplies of all kinds into and out of Kunming. It contained no reservation limiting the movement of arms and munitions, but in order to prevent friction the Chinese government has employed other routes to bring in munitions; the railway has been called on only to carry other kinds of supplies.

Last June, after the French defeat in Europe, the Japanese through their consul general in Hanoi presented to the French authorities a set of humiliating demands, one of which was for the right to station Japanese observers in coast and railway towns in Indo-China to see that no supplies entered free China through the French colony. The French Governor at Hanoi, not yet used to such insolence, balked. But the commander of the French garrison was frightened and wanted to knuckle under. He had only one division of French troops he could trust and about 250,000 trained natives. The small French fleet in Far Eastern waters was not strong enough to prevent the landing of Japanese troops, and were the invaders to come in force, the combined French and native troops would hardly be able to push them back into the sea or hold them down near the coast. After some hesitation and debate, with a great deal of sorrow, the French submitted, and freight service between Indo-China and Yunnan was suspended. As to the observers, thirty Japanese officers arrived to take up their posts in five coast and railway towns. The French authorities in Hanoi hoped that this concession, made at the expense of China, would satisfy the insatiable Japanese and save the colony.

Chungking was amazed when it received news of the demands. The nerve of the Japs! What were they going to use for troops if they wished to bring war to Indo-China? But the frightened Frenchmen had to be reassured, and the Chinese ambassador to France, then at Bordeaux, and the Chinese consul general at Hanoi were directed to assure the French authorities that with more than one million soldiers tied up in China, and having lost another million killed or crippled, the Japanese war lords could spare no troops to cause real trouble elsewhere. To anticipate any eventualities, however, crack Chinese troops in sufficient numbers to meet a major threat were concentrated on the Indo-China border ready to move in to help the French and Indo-Chinese at a moment's notice. But the courage of the French was broken, and they could think of nothing but yielding. Chinese leaders in Chungking were naturally greatly disappointed when informed that the demands had been granted; they considered the French decision a flagrant violation of the Franco-Chinese pact, a selfish betrayal of China at a critical moment, and an infraction of the League resolution to help China against the aggressor. Besides protesting vigorously to the French and Indo-Chinese governments, the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs issued a statement calling attention to the importance of the concessions made by French Indo-China and reserving the right to take appropriate action for the protection of China's vital interests.

The French submission was serious for China not only because it meant the end of the flow of supplies over the Haiphong railway but also because the presence of Japanese agents in Indo-China was bound to be a source of further trouble. Americans are familiar with the great curiosity of Japanese residents or travelers about military and political affairs, with their devotion to the lucrative traffic in narcotics, with their talent for stirring up racial animosities. Thirty experts in Indo-China, protected by their official status and authorized to pry into railway traffic and general conditions, may be expected to generate a poison that will result ultimately in military intervention.

Moreover, from the strategic point of view, the cutting of the Indo-China line was the beginning of a policy of encirclement. Since the war began, free China has had only three supply lines connecting with the outside world —the railroad through the French colony, the Burma road, and the northwestern highway that meets the Trans-Siberian Railroad. Pressure on the English has already succeeded in closing the highway through Burma. So far the frantic efforts of the Japanese to cut the northwestern highway have resulted in disastrous failure, but they will no doubt continue.

There is also the danger that the Japanese can win over the Indo-Chinese people by posing as their liberators. It is true that the invaders have completely failed to win over the Chinese in the occupied territories, and therefore cannot use them against the legions of free China, but they may be able to deceive the impoverished millions of Indo-China and then incorporate them in the depleted ranks of the Japanese army. With this acquisition of man-power they would be able really to carry the war into other quarters of the world.

Occupation of Indo-China would place Japan in a strategic position to make further conquests. That it could then attack the Chinese from the rear goes without saying. What is vastly more disturbing to the outside world is the fact that possession of a naval base in Indo-China would add another powerful link to the Japanese naval chain that starts from the island of Sakhalin in the north. From the Indo-China base the Japanese navy, with Guam unfortified, would be able to isolate the Philippine Islands, pluck Manila like a ripe fruit, and strike with ease at both Singapore and Batavia. The wealth of the South Seas would give Japan domination over the Pacific and the Indian Ocean, and enable it eventually to carry naval warfare to Honolulu, Melbourne, or Madras.

Reports are being circulated that Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek has ordered four divisions of Chinese troops to cross the border into Indo-China. This can be put down as positively untrue. The Chinese government will scrupulously respect the interests, wishes, and honor of the French and Indo-Chinese, and Chinese troops will remain well within Chinese borders until the Japanese try to land and the French call for assistance. Competent observers believe that fifteen divisions with proportionate air, artillery, and tank units will be needed to hold down a Japanese invading force. A battle of such proportions would greatly help to bleed white an already emaciated Japanese economy.

[Since this article was written the Japanese have entered into an agreement with the Vichy government under which Japan is to be permitted to transport a limited number of troops across Indo-China for an attack on Yunnan province. To date no action has been taken under this agreement, presumably because of the resistance of the Indo-China authorities, many of whom are de Gaulle supporters. Rumors that Chinese troops have entered Indo-China to defend the colony against Japan continue to be denied in Chungking. As a defense move Chinese troops have destroyed the international bridge linking Yunnan with Indo-China and torn up sections of the connecting railway.—EDITORS THE NATION.]

France in a Coma

BY HARRY J. GREENWALL

St. Fortunat, France, August 25

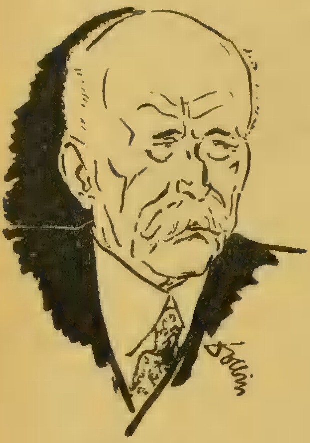
"POURVU," writes my niece from Paris, "*pourvu que nous retrouvions bientôt nos petites habitudes.*" My niece is French and works in a bank which, judging from its somewhat florid title, dealt largely with Central Europe. Yet when Central Europe was gradually absorbed by Germany, the bank carried on as usual; apparently it has as many customers as formerly—for that matter one never saw many.

My niece is married and lives in a Paris suburb with her husband, who is an Alsatian, and her little daughter. Last September the husband, who was employed in an aviation factory, was mobilized *sur place,* as the saying is—that is, the factory and staff were transferred to southern Brittany, where the Germans appeared in June. Now he has been allowed to return to his home in the Paris suburb, to live with his mother and his little daughter and his wife, who works in the bank and who hopes she and everybody else will soon be able to return to their old habits.

What were these old habits exactly? They were the little things which gave life in France the charm it undoubtedly possessed. I use the past tense, because I believe they have passed away beyond the prospect of recovery. I believe that my niece and the class of French bourgeoisie she represents are going to be disappointed. I am now living in non-occupied French territory. Since the armistice I have traveled many hundreds of miles, by automobile until the supply of gasoline gave out, by train since. To letters from the occupied zones I add the memories of conversations in trains. They build up a composite account of France, illustrated with mental pictures of soldiers waiting for demobilization. In fields, in ditches, and on railway platforms the soldiers lay, without money, without news from homes in German-occupied zones. When they came out of their stupor they talked listlessly, like men who were doped, babbling of the bad food in the barracks compared with the abundance they knew "in the war."

The still mobilized soldiers of France, the demobilized, and the women are waiting for peace and the chance to resume their old habits. They do not realize that these have not been put into cold storage, but scrapped. Since the armistice the Germans have excelled themselves in clever propaganda in France. "Look at us," they say in effect to the French, "we're decent fellows as you can see for yourselves. You're nice people, too. Treat us well and we'll treat you well. Both of us know, don't we, that England forced you to declare war. You didn't want to do it, did you? Very well, then, let's shout altogether, *"A bas l'Angleterre."*

Down with England, down with perfidious Albion. The French tell one another that all that stands between them and their little habits is England, England which is "bound to be beaten."



Marshal Pétain

It is unwise to believe that the French people listen intently to the French wireless programs from London. In the beginning, yes, but subsequently the stories of starvation in France made the people suspect that other stories broadcast from London might be as false. There is no starvation in France, nor near-starvation; there is a shortage of many articles of food, but all foodstuffs are available in amounts exceeding the rations allowed in Great Britain. And the Germans have turned the shortage to good propaganda use by persuading the French that it is not due to the German occupation but to the British blockade.

Opinion in occupied and non-occupied France is influenced by the German control of the press and radio. French newspapers in non-occupied territory submit their material to French military censors who take their orders from the Germans. In Nice I was able to see the standing orders. The official German communiqué must take first place, then the Italian, then the British. No reference favorable to Britain may be made in headlines, and no comment favorable to Britain may appear anywhere in any newspaper. The wireless control is similar. In non-occupied territory programs are limited to official French communiqués issued from Vichy, plus French, German, or Italian music. The influence of these rules on French life and thought was visible a month after the armistice. Letters from occupied zones made mention of the "correct" attitude of the Germans and invariably suggested that any embarrassment that existed was due, not to the German occupation, but to Britain's foolish insistence on carrying on a war already lost.

The mental reaction of the French to defeat is rather horrible; to me, a resident in France for more than thirty years, it is greatly surprising. Perhaps the nation feels like a patient coming out of an anaesthetic who does not yet realize that two arms and a leg have been amputated. Perhaps the gaiety of the Riviera towns and of Marseilles during the summer months immediately after the armistice was the gaiety of despair—"for tomorrow we die." I do not think so. I believe that the French reaction was the logical result of defeat in a war which lacked popular appeal. Nobody, to make use of a statement which is not as superficial as it sounds, nobody in France believes that France need have gone to war. French opinion these days is that Mr. Chamberlain was in the hands of the Jews, who wanted war; and since Britain did not possess an army, it had to use the French army. Customary French logic is absent. If one tries to argue on a question-and-answer basis, the conversation proceeds as follows:

The Englishman: "But did France possess an army?"

The Frenchman: "Of course, or rather no, we had men, but no material; no planes or tanks."

The Englishman: "How did that happen? Your newspapers always said you had the best army in the world."

The Frenchman: "But we were betrayed by the Jews of course. What did Blum do?"

The Englishman: "We always thought that Blum's Popular Front government was elected by an overwhelming majority which wanted to express its disapproval of what your newspapers called Pierre Laval's crooked dealing. After all, it was Laval who brought off that mysterious deal with Mussolini, and it was Laval who went to Moscow, wasn't it? Anyhow, do you believe the Jews to be a clever people?"

The Frenchman: "Et comment!"

The Englishman: "Well, if they are that clever, why didn't they know you had no war material? Surely, if the Jews wanted a war against Germany they wanted victory, not defeat. And another thing which does not make sense to us is, if your M. Bonnet was so much against war as he now says he was, why did he not resign from the Quai d'Orsay when war was declared?"

The Frenchman: "Politics, *mon cher ami,* politics. We are going to do away with all that . . . then we shall be able to get back to our old habits."

The Englishman: "Without politics? I doubt it."

Listening to people talking in trains, I gather that many would have liked to see "heads roll," or, as they put it, *"quelques fusillades."* The statement that the death penalty would not be exacted of those found guilty by the Supreme Court at Riom certainly caused disappointment.

That reaction to defeat is, however, more understandable than the attitude of the citizens of Bordeaux, Lyons, and Marseilles toward the Germans. In Bordeaux women gave the German officers bouquets of flowers. In Lyons the populace applauded the military band concerts. In Marseilles I saw the German Gestapo delegation followed by hundreds of men and women who pressed as close as possible to the Germans; they talked, laughed, and gossiped with the German chauffeurs; they stood for hours staring up at the Hotel du Louvre et Paix, where the Germans occupied three floors. The *Préfecture* officials held a reception in honor of the Germans.

The slavish swing in favor of the Nazis was explained to me by a peach grower in the Ardèche as follows: "It's what we call in France 'back stroking.' You know the old story—*le loup est un bon animal.*" Perhaps that is the explanation of it; I do not know. Perhaps the French think that by stroking the wolf they may persuade it not to bite. Maybe they think that mild Jewish persecution, the smashing of Freemasonry, the pale imitation of various Nazi Youth movements will appease the German wolf, but personally I am of the opinion that *le Petit Chaperon Rouge,* my niece in a red cloak and hood, is not going to resume her old habits ever again. What she expects, of course, what they all expect, is that as soon as peace is signed, the eggs and the roast chicken will go back into Little Red Riding Hood's basket and she will be able to resume her jaunts through the woods. But I am afraid the clean cloth in the basket will cover nothing but emptiness.

The whole story can be told in one sentence: France confuses armistice terms with peace terms. The return to consciousness after the major operation will shock France to the core. Perhaps back to sanity.

Hungary Gets a Sudetenland

BY ANTON KUH

THE award of Vienna, signed by Hungary and Rumania under the auspices of Herr von Ribbentrop on August 30, has an ominous significance apart from its military and territorial implications. There has been no comment so far on certain consequences for Hungary of the cession of Rumanian territory. But the Hungarians themselves may well feel their flesh creep at the thought of what can come out of it. If they reflect on the recent history of other Central European countries they must feel like exclaiming, "We don't want any more Germans."

Though Hungary became a "mutilated country" in the last war, to quote the title of a once famous book, it was lucky enough to be left without a German minority in compact ethnic groups. According to official statistics the total number of Germans scattered over Hungarian territory was about 480,000, or 5.5 per cent of the population, a majority of whom were Magyarized or Jewish. In their dispersion lay their weakness, for since representatives were sent to Parliament only from regional divisions the chance of their electing representatives of their own was very slight. Their influence on national politics was therefore practically nil. Their demands were reasonable, their actions loyal. They were free to follow the political line of those Magyars who already tended toward a Hungarian brand of Nazism, but they were in no position to claim an independent national life.

The Viennese award gave Hungary, in addition to approximately a million Hungarians and Rumanians, a new block of Germans. As to their number, estimates differ. If German propaganda statistics can be trusted, several hundred thousand *Volksgenossen* will return to their former Hungarian homeland. But the more reliable official census of 1930 gives their number as somewhat less than 120,000. These 120,000 Germans, however, are a very different type from the old German minority in Hungary and will have much greater influence.

The history of the Siebenbürger Saxons furnishes the key to the difference. (Siebenbürgen was the German name of Transylvania up to the collapse of the Hapsburg monarchy.) Many of these families migrated from Germany seven centuries ago. At that time they were induced by King Andreas to leave their poor homes in Saxony and Swabia and to colonize Hungarian soil, which had recently been laid waste by the Tartar invasion. The Golden Bull of 1222 granted them generous guest rights, and they have been allowed to cultivate their language and to follow their traditions up to the present day. Another influx of Germans settled in the region in the eighteenth century, during the reign of Maria Theresa, and became an important factor in giving the old German communities a politically conscious, self-determining character. There is something in the tenacious adherence to old customs of the Transylvania Germans, their cult of folklore, their *Turn-Vereine* and *Gesangs-Vereine,* and their defiant backwardness, that is reminiscent of the Pennsylvania Dutch of the Colonial period.

But beneath the almost idyllic industriousness and peace of Siebenbürgen political unrest has seethed. Like other *Grenzdeutsche,* like the Sudeten Germans especially, the Siebenbürger Saxons were Nazis to the bone even before there was any Nazism. Anti-Semitism was their creed, party uniforms their passion, Europe and Western civilization their abhorrence. Some of the most ardent champions of Nazism in Germany came from this remote country, among them Fritz Klein, who steered the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* out of Bismarckian waters into the stormy seas of National Socialism, and Captain Franz Xavier Kappus of Vienna, who out-Hitlered Hitler in the violence of his writings.

A good half of this compact block of Germans has now fallen to Hungary. To be sure, the two chief towns, with a total German population of 100,000, will remain with Rumania—Kronstadt (Brassov) and Hermannstadt (Sibio), situated in the southwestern part of Transylvania. But Klausenburg (Cluj) and Neumarkt (Targul-Mures) with their surrounding districts, which have considerable German minorities, have been awarded to Hungary and will form a Nazi block that must be reckoned with. Whatever their strength by actual count, it will not be long before they drive a wedge into Hungary's national structure, for they are strong enough to send representatives to the Hungarian Parliament and to make their influence felt.

These repatriated Siebenbürger Saxons, moreover, will enjoy special privileges, thanks to a clause written by Ribbentrop into the Vienna pact. They will have the right to wear the brown shirt, to display the swastika, and to spread party propaganda without any interference. By tomorrow they will undoubtedly present demands for more stringent anti-Jewish legislation. The day after tomorrow they will feel uncomfortable in the new Hungarian jacket. And then the cry "Führer—liberate us!" will be raised in Klausenburg and Neumarkt, just as it was raised a short time ago in Aussig and Teplitz in the Sudetenland and in Kattowitz and Oppeln in Poland. "Hitler, liberate us, we are being maltreated!"

Hungary has so far been saved from becoming officially a protectorate by the fact that Hitler could neither assert it was in imminent danger of invasion by the Allies nor discover an "oppressed German minority" which he could liberate. Now things are different. The Viennese pact, as it were, has supplied the Führer with the Sudeten Germans he needs.

Did the Hungarians recognize the fatal Greek nature of the gift they received by the Vienna pact? Obviously they did, for they tried hard, if politely, to refuse the German-populated territory pressed upon them by Hitler. This attempted refusal will not help them. You cannot refuse a gift from Hitler, any more than you can refuse to give him what he wants.

Within the Gates

DESPITE the example of their masters, the disciples of Hitler and Stalin in the United States have embarked upon a "peace" campaign as vigorous as a *Blitzkrieg* and as false as a Hitler promise. This campaign is being conducted by more than 200 organizations, with a membership thus far more noisy than numerous. The cue for the Stalinist groups is provided by Earl Browder, who not so long ago was plumping hard for collective action against the "international bandits," and who back in 1936 dubbed peace groups "no better than the conscious agents of Hitler and Mussolini." The leadership on the right is less unified but no less inconsistent in its unblushing advocacy of pacifism in the United States and militarism in Germany and Italy.

The first unalloyed Communist peace front made its appearance on the West Coast shortly after the Russo-German pact caused a mass exodus of liberals from the American League for Peace and Democracy. Led by several officials of the National Maritime Union, most of whom were party members, the Keep America out of War Committee took up where the League for Peace and Democracy left off. Its first publication was a pamphlet, "The Yanks Are Not Coming," written by Mike Quin, columnist for the Communist *People's World*. The title was a happy choice. It became the party's most widely repeated slogan, and within a few weeks the Keep America out of War Committee became the Yanks Are Not Coming Committee. Local units were formed all over the country.

After some unfavorable publicity the Yanks Are Not Coming Committee languished like an outworn commissar, and its members and affiliates formed a new holding company called the Committee to Defend America by Keeping Out of War. The most ambitious project of this group was to sponsor the Emergency Peace Mobilization Conference which met in Chicago on the Labor Day week-end. The conference was well planned. More than 20,000 advance reservations were made by persons from thirty-five states. Senators Nye of North Dakota and Clark of Idaho were announced as principal speakers. But when it became generally known that a majority of the individual sponsors were far to the left of liberalism, the Senators hastily sent their regrets, and fewer than 2,000 delegates appeared for the first session.

For reasons not announced, the Chicago conference established another permanent organization, the American Peace Mobilization, which is to absorb the parent committee and its predecessors and their affiliates. The new front plans a nation-wide series of community meetings as a prelude to mass demonstrations on November 11, which is to be known as American Peace Mobilization Day.

Hitler's legions were barely across the Polish border when the first rightist peace front—the Citizens' National Keep America out of War Committee—made its appearance in New York. Its director is L. M. Bailey, formerly an officer of the Paul Revere Sentinels, Inc., and at present the director of the National Defenders. The Paul Revere Sentinels poses as a super-patriotic, peace-loving organization, but some of its most active members are enrolled in the German-American Bund, the Christian Mobilizers, and other notorious fascist groups. Its leaders have been closely associated with Allen Zoll, anti-Semitic leader of the American Patriots, Inc., who is now under indictment for attempted extortion from radio station WMCA. Affiliated with the Citizens' National Keep America out of War Committee—in fact, appearing on the same letterhead—is the National Committee to Keep America out of Foreign Wars, whose chairman is the Honorable Hamilton Fish. Another peace front cooperating closely with Mr. Bailey's organizations is known as Mothers of America. Under the leadership of Kathryn L. Butler this group meets at the headquarters of the Paul Revere Sentinels, in the Murray Hill Hotel.

The "mother" angle has been widely adopted by the rightists. Mothers of the United States of America, under the leadership of Mary A. Decker, operates from headquarters in Detroit. Mothers of American Sons, originally a Springfield, Massachusetts, organization, now has units in thirty-three cities in several states. Mothers Mobilizing Against War, with headquarters in Milwaukee, recently obtained 100,000 signatures on petitions demanding strict neutrality on the part of the United States. It was the Mothers of the United States, assisted by the Congress of American Mothers, which recently hanged Senator Pepper in effigy and conducted what they called a death watch on the conscription bill in Washington. The activities of these groups have been announced regularly in the pages of Father Coughlin's *Social Justice*. Kathleen Norris's National Legion of the Mothers of America, however, did not welcome the Detroit priest's support and requested that he withdraw his published indorsement.

Nearly every community has a local peace organization of rightist inspiration. Newark, for example, has the New Jersey Committee for Peace and Preparedness, one of whose leaders is the Reverend Edward Lodge Curran, long known as a follower of Father Coughlin and a spokesman for the Christian Front. Typical of many is the Keep the United States Neutral Committee, which makes an appeal to anti-Semitism with the slogan "Jews started the war. Jews profit from the war. Let them do the fighting."

The exploitation of peace by extremist groups has proved harmful to those sincere organizations which believe either that the United States is in no danger of attack or that no war is worth the fighting. For the sake of the record, one should say that among these are the National Council for Prevention of War, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, the Keep America out of War Congress, World Peaceways, Inc., the Youth Committee Against War, the Fellowship of Reconciliation, the War Resisters' League, the Committee to Defend America by Waging Peace, the Student Peace Service, and the Writers' Anti-War Bureau.

Blackout

BY BEN RAY REDMAN

Lights out!
Let no chink shine:
In darkness meet the drone of death
With the affrighted sirens' whine:
In darkness draw the last short breath.

Lights out!
Let not a gleam
Remain of that bright flame enkindled long ago
When man's first campfire with its nascent glow
Thrust back the night, and warmed a dream.

Forget the light. It's past—
Nor needed at the last.

Let not one spark
Offend the final dark.

In the Wind

ALTHOUGH THE REPUBLICAN *Herald Tribune* is still trying to keep its chin up, one of its Washington correspondents has told intimates that "Willkie is through." He says that in a couple of weeks it will be obvious that an F. D. R. landslide is inevitable.

A QUIET but persistent attempt to bring John L. Lewis and the President together again is being made in Washington. Henry Wallace is working on Lewis and Phil Murray on the President.

THE MOST embarrassed newspaper in the land recently was the Chicago *Tribune*. When the destroyer deal was announced, the *Tribune*, which has long urged the acquisition of naval bases in this hemisphere, carried an editorial celebrating the event. On its front page it ran a scowling cartoon, called "Nearer and Nearer the Brink," which denounced the deal as an act of war. The cartoon disappeared from later editions.

DESPITE DENIALS, it is true that at least one Senator has been informally sounding out colleagues on their attitude toward a declaration of war on Germany. He is Senator Pepper. The response so far has been definitely cool.

THE BIGGEST surprise of the political campaign may be an indorsement of President Roosevelt by Dorothy Thompson. So far she hasn't said anything, but it is reported that she is very unenthusiastic over the Republican nominee; and she likes the President's handling of foreign policy so much that she may forgive other things.

MEXICAN NOTES: Clare Luce is calling up newspapermen and telling them that a very charming agent of Almazán, Mexico's self-proclaimed "leader," is staying at the Hotel Pierre. She says he is ready to give them "important information on Mexican developments. . . ." A recent New York *Herald Tribune* editorial denouncing the Cárdenas administration and warning against the admission of Spanish Loyalists to Mexico stirred a good deal of discussion and dissent inside the *H-T* office. Nicholas Roosevelt wrote it.

BEFORE MR. WILLKIE made his acceptance speech a group of Republican Congressmen tried to get him to oppose conscription. Three of the group were picked to do the persuading by telephone. After the third hung up, he was asked what Willkie had said. "Well," he replied, "it sounded like the letters I write to my constituents."

LOUIS WARD, one of numerous pro-fascist candidates to enter the primaries this fall, took a bad beating in Michigan. He was supported by Father Coughlin.

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind—either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. A prize of $5 will be awarded each month for the best item.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

A Native at Large

BY JONATHAN DANIELS

ONE of the saddest things about reform is not liking it when you get it. And that seems to be the feeling now of some of those who have spoken most sharply about the mill village and the company town. Ideas have changed about them with the change in them also of advantage and power.

A few years ago the most significant sign in the villages about the textile mills was the number of automobiles. Garages stood behind the houses in all the better mill villages, and in the worst ones still mobile, if not still handsome, cars stood in the dirt streets. Labor could move, not only from job to job, but also, as manufacturers learned, in terrifying flying squadron from mill to mill. That was a mechanization, I thought then, of a movement which spread people long ago across this land. Now it comes—and not by accident—into conflict with what has been supposed also to be a part of the early American desire which has been called the American dream. The first Americans moved, it was said, to come at last to contentment as free men on their own pieces of earth, which would grow vine and nourish fig tree. The real-estate agents have made as much of that as the poets. Mill managers and owners are talking about it now.

Today houses in the company-owned cotton-mill villages in the South are for sale to the workers. Once that would have been hailed as a full pace in the procession to independence. But now some of the same labor leaders who helped damn the villages are saying that in the new process workers may be paying not only money for property but also the higher price of their mobility for stage properties of the American dream.

When President Roosevelt signed the first NRA code, that for cotton textiles, nearly eight years ago, he said—it sounded then like a promise but it has since seemed more like a pious hope—that soon in an age of enlightenment the old cotton-mill village might disappear. There has been an infinite variety of these villages and towns. Some maintained high housing standards; others were squalid collections of long-legged boxes. But too much in all of them grew the spirit behind the defensive statement, "We are just as good as they are even if we do live on a mill hill." It is not surprising that some of those workers who now march up to buy their houses say, "Well, you can fire me now, but you can't make me move." It sounds like freedom and independence, and maybe it is.

The accountants as well as the reformers are responsible for what Miss Harriet L. Herring, of the University of North Carolina, thinks may be a sign of a national trend—the sale by 35 cotton mills in North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia of 3,700 village houses to employees. The mills taking this step are a small percentage of the 600 mills in the three states, but all mills are involved in the old unprofitableness of operating villages. All of them also, and all company towns in America, are involved in changes around them. Once the low rents charged were regarded as part of the worker's compensation; now wages and hours laws have complicated that. Once a company-owned village was a handy device for keeping out "agitators"; now in case of labor difficulties the very fact of ownership makes a mill suspect before the National Labor Relations Board. Apparently more and more mills are anxious to escape from the villages in which once their workers seemed to be caught. And those who were most anxious to extricate the workers are not so anxious to free the mills.

Some charge that the whole business is a scheme to unload a bad investment on the workers. But in general the prices asked are below those for similar housing nearby. Those labor leaders are probably more candid who say that even an equity in a house, to say nothing of full ownership, will tie a mill worker tighter to the mill than the old village did. When the mill owned the village, the worker left nothing behind when he departed; when he buys, everything he has is there. Labor leaders fear that the process may set up within the ranks of their own people new barriers to group activity just as the workers have gained protection of the right to organize as they will. The mill's old citadel has become part of the union's new strength.

But mill villages and company towns have not gained virtues even if advantages have been transferred in them. At their best they still mean the monotonous conjunction of workers and their work. They mean a social separation of the people who live on mill hills from the community as a whole. Certainly people should not be rushed into purchasing; they ought not to be pressured into it beyond their financial ability by salesmen's interpretations of the American dream. But it is worth risking all that to begin the elimination of the old ghettos of paternalism—even of the old Edens, as they were sometimes called by those who thought benevolence was a fair swap for subservience.

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

Notes by the Way

CROSS the latest solemn book on the "situation" with "Gentlemen Prefer Blondes" and you get "Europe in the Spring" by Clare Boothe (Alfred A. Knopf, $2.50). Miss Boothe is that fabulous debutante of some years back who has "come out" on Broadway and in Hollywood as well as on Park Avenue. (She's married to Henry Luce, who is quite a debutante in his own right.) Miss Boothe had her first big success with a play called "The Women." There were cats who said that she was just a Stakhanovite, meaning that some rank-and-file worker like George Kaufman wrote the best lines. I don't believe it, because Clare obviously knows more about women than any man does, and the best lines in "The Women" were written by a woman. It was inevitable, however, that she should get a "social conscience" and become absorbed in the Nazis and democracy and all that—everybody *is,* you know—and her next hit was "Margin for Error." It seemed to me so bad that I almost decided that woman's place is in the home. In her new "hit" the Miss Boothe of "The Women" and the Miss Boothe of "Margin for Error" have combined, believe it or not, to produce a Ritz-eye view of Europe in the spring which is lively, informative, incredibly silly in spots, and of course very readable.

Last February, Miss Boothe tells us, she made a decision. She decided that she had to go to Europe to "see about" the war—that's her phrase—and to find out whether it was our business. She sailed for Italy, and the first person she met on the boat was—an editor of *Vogue* off for the Paris collections.

The introduction and the first two chapters might be subtitled " 'The Women' Go Abroad," and Miss Boothe's style in these sections is as full of italics, overt or implied, as a coming-out party. She met "everybody" of course; here we have Clare and the Prince and Princess Del D——, Clare and the Pope, Clare and Ciano (he has a crew haircut), Clare and Edda—there's a wonderful shot of, and at, Edda, a cold proud fish about whom "you felt right away that Edda Ciano never 'met' anybody." Who said Clare didn't write those lines in "The Women"? Here, in a footnote, are Clare and Hitler, whom she refused to meet in 1937 because she was afraid that, being a woman, she might smile at him! She stayed in the suite Sumner Welles had occupied —she and Mr. Welles, she says, had come to Europe for exactly the same reason. One of the high points is the discussion of love in Italy.

From Rome Miss Boothe went to Paris, to the Low Countries, where she met an air raid, to London, to Lisbon and the clipper. Beginning with the third chapter, she owes more to Luce than to Loos, and because she really is a bright girl with an absorbent mind and because she continued to meet everybody in and out of embassies and to put down in detail what she heard and saw, we have nine vivid chapters of the confusion, as if self-recorded, that hung over Europe in the spring. Miss Boothe came back convinced that the war is our business; she thinks America at this point has much in common with France before the fall; her message is a warning of disaster. It would be an understatement to say that Miss Boothe does not resolve the confusion. Instead, as a last chapter she gives us fifteen pages of confounding questions without answers and a page or so plumping for a crusade for "Christian democracy."

The book is dedicated to H. R. L., "who understood why I wanted to go." I've no doubt he did.

MISCELLANY: James Thurber's "Fables for Our Time," illustrated by himself, have fortunately been collected in a book (Harper and Brothers, $2.50) along with nine poems, "old favorites" like Curfew Must Not Ring Tonight and Excelsior, also illustrated. In Germany this Aesop in reverse would be burned at the stake as subversive, mad, immoral, decadent, and defeatist. He is also delightful. . . . Knopf has issued a volume of the short stories of Stephen Crane selected and introduced by Carl Van Doren ($2.75). Crane died at twenty-nine in the year that Dreiser published "Sister Carrie," yet in his brief life he wrote enough to fill twelve volumes. His work prefigured the "shocking" realistic fiction of Dreiser; when, for lack of a publisher, he printed "Maggie: A Girl of the Streets" at his own expense, few booksellers would touch it. Maggie is interesting now only as one of the first examples of realism. In general the quality of the stories in this volume is very uneven, but Crane's talent and range are well represented. At his best his use of language is fresh, precise, and sharp; his approach to his material seems "contemporary," which is only another way of saying that it is objective and direct. Crane's work doesn't deserve the obscurity which has been the fate of almost all of it except "The Red Badge of Courage." . . . Ginn and Company has issued a centennial edition of William Graham Sumner's "Folkways" ($4). . . . And speaking of folkways, the Viking Press has published St. Clair McKelway's "The Life and Times of Walter Winchell" ($1.75), who turned that ancient folkway, gossip, into a nation-wide, paying industry.

MARGARET MARSHALL

Why France Fell

J'ACCUSE! THE INSIDE STORY OF THE MEN WHO BETRAYED THE FRENCH NATION. By André Simone. Dial Press. $2.50.

FOUR months ago we believed that France was invincible because it was united. In four weeks it suffered the most complete collapse in history, and its present rulers now condemn everything it fought for in 1914 and in 1939. Such a reverse and such a reversal leave our minds reeling. We crave to understand; and André Simone's lucid account of the tragedy should find a host of avid readers. They will not be disappointed. The "white heat of anger" promised on the jacket will be found in these pages; but also something of far greater value—the restraint of a disciplined mind.

Let it be understood that Simone offers an interpretation, not the objective immutable truth. Even conscientious historians will never know the exact details, technical and psychological, which are the warp and woof of human events—the unrecorded accidents, the secret deals, the tacit compromises, the unconfessed self-delusions, the obscure decisive actions of obscure men. As for the underlying causes, they will remain in dispute, like the origins of the French Revolution. There can be no irreformable verdict: the soundest history is at best a working hypothesis. But Simone's hypothesis is convincing.

The surrender at Compiègne and the coup d'état at Vichy had the same cause: certain elements in France, in their hatred for social democracy, were at heart with the dictators. They were fifth columnists before Franco had coined the term; they longed for an anti-Comintern pact before Hitler had proposed one. They manned *le mur d'argent,* the money wall, against democratic progress.

Simone believes that the turning-point came, not in 1940, but in 1934. Three things happened at that time. In the previous year the Nazis had destroyed a liberal republic faintly tinged with socialism, and Germany under Hitler ceased to be enemy no. 1. In February, 1934, the Stavisky scandal gave the Croix de Feu the chance of attempting a putsch. In October Barthou was killed. Barthou was the last of the conservative statesmen who placed the interests of the nation above those of class or party. He might have kept the French system of alliances in working order and with the cooperation of Russia have secured an eastern Locarno. But he was succeeded by the "fixer" Laval. As early as February, 1934, the French Nazis were proposing a directorate, with Pétain, Doumergue, Laval, Tardieu, Marquet. By November Weygand's name was substituted for Tardieu's. Doumergue is dead; the others rule France.

The French Nazis, although extremely annoying, did not seem likely to prove dangerous. Their cause was harmed rather than served by the pedantic paradoxes of Maurras and the antics of Daudet. There was an embarrassing profusion of saviors: de la Rocque, Doriot, Tardieu, Chiappe worked at cross-purposes. Laval, biding his time, was still a parliamentary republican. The military junta was still thinking, honestly although ineptly, in terms of national defense. In 1936 the victory of the Front Populaire seemed to make the republic secure both against reaction and against revolution. Simone very aptly records that great fugitive hope. At that moment French democracy committed suicide by allowing Spanish democracy to be murdered. Blum, under English pressure, accepted the principle of non-intervention. He did not foresee what a sinister farce it would become. At the end Daladier, by blockading Catalonia, compelled its surrender. Russia, double-crossed in the Spanish and in the Czechoslovak crises, was forced to abandon Litvinov's policy.

The marvelous efficiency of the German war machine must not be minimized, but that machine was hurled against a wall weakened from within. Simone does not accuse the French Nazis of actual treason; even Laval is not quite a Quisling. What they did, most efficiently, was to deprive France of the essential conditions for victory: clear principles to fight for, sacred union at home, honest cooperation with Russia.

Such is the main line of argument. Simone is too good an observer to believe that it constitutes the whole truth. He does not conceal the turpitude of the *Radicaux*—the bewildered, frightened, thoroughly selfish party of the petty bourgeois. A strong case could be made against "perfidious Albion"; repeatedly it was England, under Tories and Laborites alike, who took the wrong turn and compelled France to follow. Tragic irony: France was punished not for her sins but for her virtues; leaders and people were profoundly pacific, and the assurance that the democracies would not fight was the key to Hitler's daring. The republic was sincerely liberal: it hated to censure, to imprison, to purge. Camelots du Roi, Cagoulards, the would-be assassin of Léon Blum, the venomous sheet *Gringoire,* which tortured Salengro into suicide, all were treated with unmerited leniency. Men like Herriot and Blum, the heirs of Briand, wanted discussion, conciliation, genuine appeasement, between classes and between nations. Their crime was to remain civilized in a world which had relapsed into barbarism.

One of the causes of France's fatal hesitancies was that we, American "liberals," unwittingly acted as a fifth column. For twenty years we kept denouncing the iniquities of Versailles. Our attacks sapped France's self-confidence We were as free with our criticism as we were niggardly with our aid. Even last June, André Simone contends, there would have been no complete surrender if the French could have been assured of American assistance. We let them fall, as we are letting China fall. United, the democracies could have stood. If they cannot unite, they deserve to perish.

ALBERT GUERARD

Socialistic Necropolis

ROMANTIC REBEL: THE LIFE AND TIMES OF GEORGE SAND. By Felizia Seyd. The Viking Press. $3.

IT WAS Jules Sandeau, the first of George Sand's more distinguished lovers, who answered the charge that the famous lady's heart was a cemetery. "A cemetery? You mean a necropolis!" There are almost too many personages in Mrs. Seyd's entertaining panorama of nineteenth-century France—Hugo, Balzac, Heine, Sainte-Beuve, Saint-Simon, Stendhal, Mazzini, and the shadow of the Maréchal de Saxe, that indomitable bastard of Poland's Augustus whose energy descends to his own illegitimate great-granddaughter, George Sand herself. And this illustrious mélange is rendered even more complex by the record of Sand's personal conquests. With a sort of breathlessness Mrs. Seyd hurries on from Mérimée to de Musset, from the melodies of Liszt to Chopin's blue strains. Wherever Sand's curiosity wandered, it almost seems, her passion flowed, and with her loves went her artistic beliefs. As a matter of course she embraced socialism after Bourges. And as the guiding principle of Sand's life was not merely intensity but endurance—her career encompassing two Bourbon restorations, two republics, the empire of Napoleon III, and the Paris Commune—it seems clear that her biographer has ample material.

To much of this material Mrs. Seyd does surprising justice. But not to quite enough of it. Though Sand's epic and in the end tragic quest for love evidently resulted from some unanswered inner conflict, the biography doesn't illuminate this psychological struggle. Viewing the foibles of the French Romantics with a nice irony, Mrs. Seyd again does not accord their agony the weight which recent scholarship has given it. Reacting as the Romantics did against the restraints of classicism, they may well reveal to us an aspect of that larger revolt against civilization which was with a Freud a matter for study and with Hitler a method of conquest.

And as George Sand—this stormy petrel of passion—is transformed into the dove of Socialist peace, Mrs. Seyd in turn attempts to "vindicate French republican tradition and with it the democratic tradition of Europe." Yet her book unfortunately neither quite explains nor endears French democracy. George Sand's heart was indeed a necropolis—of nineteenth-century liberal beliefs. But the hopes and confusions of her liberalism still for the most part lie buried with her, where a more analytic treatment might have resolved these enigmas of Sand and her period. In its own terms, nevertheless, of colorful and often amusing presentation, "Romantic Rebel" is a valuable addition to our popular biographies. MAXWELL GEISMAR

None Are So Blind . . .

GUILTY MEN. By "Cato." Frederick A. Stokes. $1.50.

THIS small and readable volume does not reveal any new facts, nor does it narrate a well-known tale from a new point of view. Nevertheless, it performs three useful and important tasks. First, it recalls to our mind in an effective way, with some dramatization but without overstatement, the almost incredible complacency and blindness of British governments—beginning with Mr. MacDonald and Mr. Baldwin and ending only, after ten long and crucial years, in May, 1940, with the coming of the Churchill-Labor government—and the equal blindness of the British public, which until a few months ago followed gladly governments that promised peace and boasted of their strength to avert catastrophe.

Men like Sir Kingsley Wood, Sir Horace Wilson, Mr. Lesley Burgin, Sir Thomas Inskip, and numerous other nearly forgotten figures reappear in the pages of this book, almost comic figures in their naive unawareness of the impending disaster, though the consequences of their opinions and their inactivity were so tragic. This regime of little men was dextrous in smudging the sharp edges of every issue, in promising peace to the electors, and in accusing all critics of their policy of being a "war party." Wishful thinking about the plans and preoccupations of the dictators mingled with all kind of delays in preparing the catastrophe of 1940, which most Englishmen refused to consider possible even in 1939. Whereas Germany armed at full speed, English conservatives wished not to interfere with industry and business in what they called a "time of peace." In January, 1938, a member of the Cabinet said: "I believe it is wrong for people to talk about war as if it were an inevitable calamity.

THIS FALL well-read people are reading and discussing:—

THOMAS MANN'S
novel of Lotte and Goethe at Weimar
THE BELOVED RETURNS

"Into our somber world has come a new book by Thomas Mann of such illuminating joyousness as is seldom encountered, a joyousness replete with wisdom, a smiling earnestness that is all lightness in form but weighty in deep and mysterious implications."—*The New York Times Book Review*
$2.50

SIGRID UNDSET'S
fine new novel
MADAME DORTHEA

A novel of marriage and family life in eighteenth-century Norway, it reveals the heart and spirit of the strong independent people of that country.

"A completely satisfactory demonstration of Sigrid Undset's genius as a novelist."
$2.50 —*New York Herald Tribune 'Books'*

LANGSTON HUGHES'
own story of his surprising life
THE BIG SEA

"It is really lots of books in one and all fine; it is a bang-up travel book, a touching American autobiography, a brief history of Paris and Harlem in the glamour days and, above all, it is a record of a poet's mind and body."
$3.00 —JANET FLANNER, of *The New Yorker*

CLARE BOOTHE'S
first-hand picture of Europe at war
EUROPE IN THE SPRING

"A fascinating and disturbing picture of Western Europe complacent on the eve of catastrophe."
—HENRY J. HASKELL, *Editor, The Kansas City Star*

"A swell book which ought to do an immense amount of good where it's most needed."
$2.50 —ELMER DAVIS

IAGO GALDSTON'S
account of medicine's greatest century
PROGRESS IN MEDICINE
Foreword by Henry E. Sigerist, M.D.

The engrossing story of the major medical developments during the past hundred years told in terms of the men, ideas and circumstances behind them...a magnificent account of trial, experiment and victory. Good reading, valuable for research and reference. 350 pages, with index. $3.00

ALFRED · A · KNOPF

What fools we should all look, if we interfered with industry by building up an artificial system against a war that never happened."

This optimism continued right down to the very day of catastrophe. In his New Year's message on the eve of 1939 Mr. Chamberlain said, reviewing the year 1938: "A year marked by such underlying good-will is one which leaves behind no ground for pessimism." Sir Thomas Inskip, Minister of Defense, said on August 3, 1939: "War today is not only not inevitable, but unlikely. The Government have good reason for saying that." In reading these sentences one should never forget that Mr. Chamberlain was, within his own world, a person of recognized intelligence and of immense experience. "He is a tough old business man, of great vitality and fiber, who has spent his life out in the world interviewing men and assessing characters. Mr. Chamberlain, who was not in the habit of making errors in his assessment of human nature, was convinced that Hitler meant to play ball. This act of faith, achieved by a man whose judgment of his fellow-creatures was respected even by his political opponents, had an immense effect on the whole community."

The second task performed by this book is the proof it offers that even in the midst of a life-and-death struggle British attitude toward criticism remains liberal: it was published in England a short while ago. Even more important for us is its third function—to be a warning to America, where many similarly optimistic and peace-promising utterances are heard today. On the other hand, the fundamental difference between Mr. Chamberlain's and Mr. Roosevelt's governments should not be overlooked. It is idle and dangerous to believe that what happened there must happen here.

HANS KOHN

Is Marriage a Monster?

COSTALS AND THE HIPPOGRIFF. By Henry de Montherlant. Translated from the French by John Rodker. Alfred A. Knopf. $2.75.

I HAVE never read a more brilliant or a more trenchant satire on man and woman in love than "Costals and the Hippogriff." Merciless and good-humored, devastating without the least trace of caricature, it castigates the sentimentalism, shortsightedness, and "dolourism" of the one sex, while pillorying more subtly but just as uncompromisingly the incongruous bluster and self-deception of the other. M. de Montherlant is Cabell, Aldous Huxley, and Oscar Wilde rolled into one, with a liberal dash of Mephistopheles, for his book is wickedly clever and cleverly wicked.

In his hero, to be sure, he does not pretend to portray an ordinary lover; Pierre Costals is a contemporary Don Juan, the epitome of the roving, egotistical, woman-hunting male —in short, what most men secretly aspire to be. A successful novelist and a daring adventurer, he counts his ex-mistresses by the score, and though he has felt genuinely fond of each in her turn, he sincerely believes that in permitting her to serve his physical desires and to provide him with literary material he has bestowed on her a recompense far out of proportion to her significance as a human being. A woman makes a fascinating, though often exasperating, pet; but she only gets in the way when there is serious work to be done.

But in Solange Dandillot, pretty, moderately intelligent, and unequivocally feminine in both her strengths and her weaknesses, he encounters a monster, the determination to marry him, which to Costals is a very hippogriff, with aspect ferocious enough to shrivel up a man's soul and happiness at the first glance. That he may, naturally and spontaneously, love Solange for the rest of his life he will gladly admit; but to be constrained to it, to know that he could not leave her in a moment if he tired of her, that would poison his love forthwith. Several times, through sympathy or inertia or ill health, he is lured to the brink of the pit, almost into the jaws of the hippogriff, only to escape at last, but with such posturings, such circumlocutions, such rationalizings as he could not admit even to himself. For Costals, you see, being in the habit of dramatizing other peoples' lives, could even more easily dramatize his own: if he found himself behaving childishly on a dull evening with Solange, or hopelessly entangled in a dreary conversation with her cloddish mother, he would persuade himself with the utmost facility that the whole incident was a stunt, a tour de force, in which he, Costals, was deliberately acting the part of the clown, to please his own artistic soul.

There is something Shakespearean about M. de Montherlant's comedy; you can never be quite sure whether he is laughing at his hero, at his heroine, or at you the reader. And in addition to the spicy originality of his plot, he sweeps you away with a style that sparkles like champagne, runs the whole gamut from the sprightly wit of drawing-room comedy to the brutal language of the gutter. Fluency and clarity we ordinarily take for granted in a French writer, but M. de Montherlant's epigrams crackle like dry kindling wood. For preserving this verve and freshness in English the translator, John Rodker, deserves hearty congratulations.

I have not read the author's two previously published novels, "Perish in Their Pride" and "Pity for Women," but I certainly intend to.

LOUIS B. SALOMON

Party Government in Crisis

THE POLITICS OF DEMOCRACY: AMERICAN PARTIES IN ACTION. By Pendleton Herring. W. W. Norton and Company. $3.75.

THE first American victim of the war crisis has been the New Deal program of progressive legislation. The second victim is likely to be, in large measure, civil liberties Will the third victim be American party government?

As long ago as last fall, when the war first broke out, so fervent a believer in the two-party system as Walter Lippmann proposed a coalition Cabinet, and Mr. Roosevelt has now made a step in that direction. Dorothy Thompson's plea for a coalition Roosevelt-Willkie slate in the election campaign received wide comment in the press, and later she wrote scornfully of two-party government as an archaic notion and added that in Paris the term "politician" is greeted with bitterness. I have heard it said by men who probably regard themselves with sincerity as democrats that if only this were not an election year they would more freely urge American intervention. The people, yes—but to hell vith them if they stand like ignorant clods in the way of the urposes which our élite have in their superior wisdom de-ermined upon. The two-party system, yes—but not if it tands in the way of the kind of national unity desired by ne particular group.

I am convinced that Pendleton Herring, for one, would ot yield to these clamors. He does not discuss this problem xcept indirectly in a book which was probably written in ie main before the outbreak of the war. Nevertheless, his hole book may stand as an eloquent defense of two-party overnment in America. Therein lies its merit—and, in the ace of an Iron Age to come, perhaps also its weakness.

It is in scope and temper the broadest discussion of the merican party system that we have had. It does not possess ie massiveness and originality of Ostrogorski or the magis-erial quality of Bryce, but it has a quiet depth of its own. he author's mellowness of tone is notable for one who ust still be classed in the younger generation of political iinkers. It draws for its material upon the best in American olitical literature. It is judicious and even-tempered, yet not cking in sharp characterizations. It is objective and yet turated with value judgments. Its weakness lies in its ndency to fall apart into a series of essays on various pects of the American party system, each of them ending n pretty much the same note.

With the underlying thesis of the book—that the vitality f the American party system lies in the chance it offers for vigorous opposition and for the clash of group interests— can have no quarrel. But Herring goes beyond this. He es the American party system primarily as a force blurring ass, group, and sectional differences which might otherwise e intolerably sharp. He sees it as a balancing force against hat might otherwise become absolute rule. "Power," he ys, "must be finally identified with no one class or group; must be handled like a loving cup and passed about lest ne of the company get drunk." He applauds, rather than eplores, the fact that neither of the major parties in merica is an outright liberal or conservative party. He gards benignly the failure of third-party movements. And ere I confess I do not follow him. I know that Mr. Herring sincere in his belief that the party system, by blurring arp divisions on social policy, has performed a service r the national interest. Nevertheless, if a totalitarian merica should ever come it would be partly because of the ay in which our party system has obstructed the relatively wift changes in economic organization necessary for na-onal survival today.

Mr. Herring tries to hold the balance between innovation nd conservatism in American life. He says that both are ecessary. He even goes so far as to say, "I would cheer the reforming] zealots on; they are an essential part of the emocratic process." But this sideline cheering reminds ie of Lincoln's story about the woman who stood watching ie struggle between her husband and a bear and shouted ncouragingly to both, "Go it, husband! Go it bear!" I feel rongly that Herring, like many other commentators on the arty system, should distinguish more sharply between the vo-party system as a democratic essential and the hetero-eneous composition of parties as a democratic brake. What essential is that there should be a continually functioning

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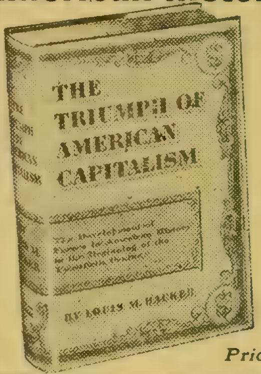

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opposition, scrutinizing and criticizing every act of a government; otherwise we shall find not only tyranny but also ineptitude intrenched indefinitely. But a party system which does not really represent divergent philosophies of social policy will mean that the necessary changes in government will be, in Lloyd George's phrase, "always too little, always too late." That this has been true of England and France the plight of both nations testifies today.

In short, I feel that Mr. Herring has gone too far in following the tradition of John Morley and writing an American version of "On Compromise." The moderation of our party system was achieved to start with only by the extremism of our Revolution, and the chance for all of us to enjoy the amenities of American democracy in the future may depend upon the extreme vigor with which we pursue the imperatives of economic and social planning, whether in war or in peace. I have never wanted the 1940 elections scrapped in the interest of some putative national unity: an election is necessary to turn inefficient administrations out or to keep efficient ones from becoming inefficient. It is the mechanism by which one majority is succeeded by another majority. Since I believe that the essence of totalitarian control in both Germany and Russia lies in the one-party system, I have no patience with attempts to introduce that system here. Nevertheless, the party that wins should come into power with a clear notion of why it was elected and what it wants to do, and within constitutional limits it must be given all the power necessary to do it.

I have selected for discussion the phase of Mr. Herring's book that seems of most immediate relevance. But this review does not begin to suggest the wealth of comment an discussion in the book as a whole. The best thing about it i that it does not adopt a holier-than-thou attitude towar party government. It takes most of the things that men ten to rail at in our party system today and accepts them as pa not only of its normal but of its desirable functioning.

On a psychological plane the book raises a question tha our generation will somehow have to resolve. That questio is the extent to which parties have ceased to be a focus fo men's real loyalties. Mr. Herring says, speaking of the un desirability of introducing the concepts of left and right in party government: "What if our parties do at times resemb Tweedledum and Tweedledee? The pacific relations betwee these two would-be warriors offer an example that is no without point in an age where there is enough conflict. Yet he recognizes elsewhere in his book that if democracie are to survive, men must believe strongly in the democrati dogma. Traditionally in American life parties have engage our very strong loyalties. This is becoming decreasingly tru largely because of Tweedledum and Tweedledee and th effort to avoid conflict. But loyalties that are drained awa at this point are likely to be channeled in another directio If parties become too colorless for real loyalties, what substitute will men come to believe in? One might perhap answer, the nation as a whole; and the present efforts t whip up a factitious national unity testify to the probabili that this will be the trend. But Mr. Herring and others woul do well to note that unless a way can be found to giv parties once more some real meaning, such a unity is like to be achieved at the expense of the party system about whic they care so deeply.

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Works of El Greco

LES ŒUVRES DE GRECO EN ESPAGNE. By Christia Zervos. Edition Cahiers d'Art. New York: E. Weyh $6.

MANY questionable El Grecos are today littering museums and private collections. In fact, Christian Zerv informs us in the introduction to this splendid book on h great countryman that during the Spanish war he discovere a miniature factory devoted to their production in Madri How, then, is authenticity to be established? Mr. Zerv suggests the formation of "tribunals" which can adjudica between the true and the false, and as an immediate step this direction presents his own volume, into which on demonstrably genuine works are admitted.

He concentrates upon twenty-four major works, and abundantly reproduces these in detail—in one case, The Burial Comte d'Orgaz, with fifty-one separate plates. As a resu one knows El Greco much better than before, both in b and little as it were. Superb photography helps the proces Indeed, these are the finest black-and-white reproductio of El Greco obtainable at the price. If one wants reprodu tions of the American works, of course, one will turn to th Oxford volume published some months ago. But for th strictly Spanish *oeuvre* there is no other comparable volum

JEROME MELLQUIST

IN BRIEF

THE FAMILY. By Nina Fedorova. Little, Brown and Company. $2.50.

This story, the Atlantic $10,000 prize novel for 1940, presents a warm-hearted picture of a White Russian refugee family living in Tientsin during the opening phases of the Japanese invasion in 1937. Their selfless devotion to each other and to the eccentric and the unfortunate of many nations whom fate throws in their way, silhouetted against a background of turmoil and blood-letting, lends point to the author's closing appeal to mankind to remember that in spite of social differences and national pride we are all fundamentally one family of human beings.

THE NEGRO IN VIRGINIA. Virginia Writers' Project. Hastings House. $2.50.

This history of the Negro since 1619 in the state to which he was first brought is the first state history of the Negro to be published. Representing the joint efforts of Negro and white workers on the Writers' Project of Virginia, it succeeds in revealing the Negroes of the Old Dominion as they see themselves and as liberal and not so romantic white opinion sees them. The book suffers somewhat from a too ready acceptance of personal reminiscences, which necessarily tend to emphasize the exceptional.

THE FIFTH COLUMN IS HERE. By George Britt. Wilfred Funk. $1.

This book by a veteran newspaperman is perhaps the best account yet published of the personnel, objectives, and methods of German and Italian agents operating in the United States. Only slightly less competent is its treatment of German-American and Italian-American organizations, whose activities Mr. Britt has been reporting in the *World-Telegram* for several years. In fact, much of the material in the book is a reorganization and elaboration of those news stories. Yet, like many a good reporting job, the book tells only a part of the story. Many observers of the fascist movement in the United States believe that its greatest support comes not from foreign agents and hyphenated organizations but rather from native organizations whose only connection with the Rome-Berlin Axis is one of emulation. These groups, of which there are several hundred, are dismissed by Mr. Britt in one short chapter.

PRIVATE ENTERPRISE AND DEMOCRACY. By Charles E. Carpenter. Longmans, Green. $2.50.

This book combines an excellent elementary survey of the defects of our present economic and political "system" with a suggested remedy, designed to avoid recourse to socialism, based on profit-sharing and increased taxation. The author's economic solution sounds naive; he is stronger on constitutional questions.

A MAN NAMED GRANT. By Helen Todd. Illustrated by John O'Hara Cosgrave. Houghton Mifflin Company. $3.50.

One wonders who could have thought up the astounding statement on the jacket that this, the first non-fiction book to receive a Literary Fellowship award, is "a new type of biography," using "many devices of the novel in its presentation." This particular example of a form exemplified every other week is well written and shows considerable talent for dramatic narrative and the direct presentation of personality. The author sticks close to known facts, but gives a somewhat feminized version of her hero's "inmost thoughts and emotions," imbued with a kind of college-girl camaraderie. She calls General Grant "Ulyss."

WHERE ARE THE CUSTOMERS' YACHTS? By Fred Schwed, Jr. Illustrated by Peter Arno. Simon and Schuster. $1.75.

Mr. Schwed derives the title of his treatise from the boom-day story of the naive visitor to New York who was taken to the Battery and shown the handsome yachts of bankers and brokers riding at anchor. "But where are the customers' yachts?" he inquired innocently. Nowadays the brokers' cry is, "Where are the customers?" This book, written by one of their fraternity who has managed to retain a realistic sense of humor about his profession, may help to enlighten them. But it will hardly serve to encourage customers, for Mr. Schwed proves with abundant anecdotes that the odds against making a financial success of stock-trading are overwhelming. Fortunately for Wall Street, there are always those who prefer to lose their shirts in an exciting way than sit at home in well-clothed boredom. These are the fellows that pursue the mirage of an "unbeatable system" and provide a living for the professional chartists—a body which deserves more of the author's illuminating wit than it has received. Mr. Schwed defends Wall Street men from the charge that they are more dishonest than those in other businesses. Millions may be stolen he points out, but *billions* are lost, not through crookedness, but just by "bad luck and bad brains met together in an effort to do something that could not be done in the first place." Without its pictures this book might be rated as a sound speculation; Peter Arno's contribution makes it a gilt-edged investment.

DRAMA

Fun in a Hospital

THERE has been a good deal of discussion in recent years over the question whether or not "movie money" is a blessing to Broadway. Warner Brothers are said to be financing "Jupiter Laughs" at the Biltmore Theater, and while I won't go so far as to say that it disposes of the question once and for all, here at least is a good strong argument for the negative. The author is A. J. Cronin, an English physician whose low opinion of his colleagues as expressed in a novel made him a best seller and who has now been persuaded to express that low opinion all over again in the form of a play. Writers have, of course, been doing that sort of thing ever since authorship became profitable, but it remained for Hollywood to standardize the procedure. When a movie magnate determines to elevate the screen he is almost invariably seized by the same inspiration: "Let's find somebody who has done something that attracted attention and then get him to do the same thing for us—only worse."

As a novelist Dr. Cronin was credited with a certain earnestness of purpose and with the ability to present a sober analysis of some sins of the medical profession. In the play one would hardly suspect the existence of either. Here his theme has become merely an excuse for a melodrama in which characters and motives are simplified and exaggerated out of all verisimilitude and the criticism of organized medicine is achieved by the most elementary of devices—a group of stage villains who call one another "Doctor."

The scene is the "common room" at a fashionable private sanitarium for nervous diseases, and nearly all the characters—including the hero—are very disagreeable people. The hero, however, has an excuse for his bad temper. He is a scientific genius whose experiments with a new drug annoy his colleagues, and everybody is against him from the pompous proprietor of the institution down to the she-devil of a matron who wants his laboratory for her bedroom. Finally the proprietor's wife (a woman scorned and one who must have read "Hedda Gabler") tries to burn his manuscripts. Thereupon the only person who really understood him loses her life to save them, and in the last act everybody except the audience is surprised to find that a medical journal proclaims his discovery the greatest of the century. That is all except that the young scientist indignantly repulses his now fawning enemies and sneaks off to China.

A company which is mostly English except for Edith Meiser as the matron acts the piece rather well in the only way such a piece can be acted—which is to say that one and all recreate with the obvious touches familiar stage types. But what is perhaps worst of all is the fact that Dr. Cronin seems to have mastered much too well just the sort of dramaturgy which can be learned out of textbooks. His play is therefore, like the plays of many amateurs, so theatrically sound that anyone who has ever seen a play before always knows not only what is going to happen but also just when and how it is going to be brought to pass. Every time a character leaves the stage one knows who is going to appear next; every time two persons are left alone together one knows exactly what each is going to say and do. A dozen Hollywood experts doctoring a script could not have eliminated the unexpected more completely or made more absolutely certain that everything would be worked out according to the most familiar formula. Toward the end, when the hero is explaining certain things to a sympathetic hearer, he remarks, "It's good of you not to laugh." And as a matter of fact it was.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

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RECORDS

RECORD companies, as an executive remarked to me last winter, are business organizations which function primarily not to produce Art but to make money; and in the record business, as in the toothpaste business, money is made not on the artistic quality of a product, which may be poor, but on its name, which must be celebrated: if the celebrated artist happens to be a great artist that is just a lucky accident for him and for us. The currently publicized names for which the public is willing to pay dollars—these are what the big broadcasting chains, their affiliated concert management combines, and their affiliated record companies deal in, compete with, try to lure away from each other; these are what Columbia Recording Corporation had to set out to acquire a year or so ago when it resumed domestic recording on a large scale with the money of its newly acquired parent, Columbia Broadcasting System. It began with names that had only moderate sales power—Rodzinski and the Cleveland Orchestra, Stock and the Chicago Symphony, Mitropoulos and the Minneapolis Symphony—the only ones lying around loose at the time; and now it has captured from Victor one of the great names in orchestras, the New York Philharmonic-Symphony, and the biggest selling name in conductors, Leopold Stokowski.

Unfortunately, it offers the New York Philharmonic in a negligible performance of Brahms's Second Symphony, and the mere physical sound of this performance badly distorted by recording (Set 412, $4.50). As for Stokowski, if you care for Dvorak's melodious "New World" Symphony you won't want Stokowski's lurid hash of it at all, but will choose the Szell-Czech Philharmonic version; but if you enjoy the Stokowskian tonal splendors that are to be heard on his recent Victor records, you will find that in the set he has made of Dvorak's symphony for Columbia with the so-called Youth Orchestra (Set 416, $6.25) they are altered by recording into something now sharp, pinched, nasal, now wooden and hollow. However, both these sets sound better on a little Magnavox Concerto with its limited tonal range than on the large high-fidelity machine for which their wide-range recording is supposedly intended.

What is wrong with these two Columbia recordings is apparent as soon as one hears the wonderful depth and fulness and roundness of the sound of the Philadelphia Orchestra in the new Victor recording of Brahms's Second Symphony made by Ormandy (Set 694, $6.50). The performance now is a little lush, now is a little coy, now pauses to tie a ribbon on a chair-leg; but as a whole it is a fairly good job, and certainly one that will satisfy most of the people who like the work (the set issued by the *Post* and the National Committee for Music Appreciation offers the almost identical performance, less well recorded). My own choice would be the musically first-rate performance recorded with adequate clarity and fidelity by Beecham four years ago.

Columbia's best September release is Beethoven's wonderful Piano Sonata Opus 101, available to the general public now for the first time in a performance by Gieseking (X-172, $2.50) that does not give the work its complete effect. Gieseking is capable of the delicacy and subtlety required by Scarlatti and Debussy, but not of the strength and depth required by Beethoven; and in this work not only does he fail to plumb the depths of the Adagio movement but he rushes gracelessly through passages in the last movement to which one would expect him to impart the grace and charm he gave to the finale of the Concerto No. 4. Also good, on the whole, is the set (413, $4.50) of Tschaikovsky's Violin Concerto, with excellent playing by Milstein and a wooden-sounding accompaniment by the Chicago Symphony under Stock.

Readers inform me that the National Committee for Music Appreciation records are now being distributed by so-called Music Appreciation Headquarters at 1016-18 Union Commerce Arcade, Cleveland; 535 Wood Street, Pittsburgh; 245 North Pennsylvania Street, Indianapolis; where they can be ordered by mail. Since one reader asks, my critical comments on them appeared in *The Nation* of March 2, 1940.

B. H. HAGGIN

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Letters to the Editors

Hate into Hitlerism

Dear Sirs: In *The Nation* some time ago Mr. Villard accused the President of trying to drag us into war in order to cover up his failure to solve unemployment. I and many other WPA workers think he hit the nail on the head. Do you realize what the unemployed and the workers on WPA are thinking about capitalism and democracy versus the Hitler-Stalin-Mussolini setup?

By way of introduction let me say a few words about the WPA, which we think is the most idiotic conglomeration of mismanagement ever conceived of by a diseased imagination. You probably don't know it, but every WPA worker and every person on direct relief is the victim of continual surveillance and petty persecution by investigators whose haphazard reports may mean the difference between starvation and a pittance merely sufficient to keep the worker and his family alive. Roosevelt and his liberals raise their hands in pious horror at Ogpu, Gestapo, concentration camps, forced labor, white terror, threats, intimidation, etc. Well, these things all exist in WPA.

There are about a hundred workers on this project, and they are, with very few exceptions, anti-war, anti-capitalism, and anti-Semitic. And there are seven different organizations trying to enlist our sympathies and support. Excuse me if I omit the aims of these outfits. Their arguments are specious, contemptible, cowardly—especially the anti-Semitic approach—and unpatriotic. But, God forgive me, I am weakening.

And now a word about myself. I am a World War veteran, a total abstainer, and I have never been fired off a job. I have never been in a court of justice or a hospital. I have worked hard all my life as auditor and accountant, and now, at forty-eight years of age, I am forced to rake leaves, mix concrete by hand, dig holes in solid rock for trees that are never planted, move piles of gravel with a shovel and wheelbarrow from here to there and then from there to here, get down on all fours and pick weeds in the public parks under the pitying glances of all and sundry, including an occasional acquaintance. An illiterate Negro and I pulled a 2,000-pound roller on a road-making gang for weeks at a time; while I was thus scabbing on a Missouri mule, a pharmacist close by was straining his guts on one end of a seven-foot crosscut saw—a Filipino was riding the other end. And WPA officials tell the taxpayers that "as far as possible, the workers are given jobs in line with their previous experience in private industry, in order to preserve their skill."

If you were in my place would you be the self-respecting, fair-minded, and upright persons you undoubtedly are? If your answer is yes it is because you have never hated. Hatred has never taken possession of your body, your mind, your soul. A person who has never been in love cannot know much about it; and by the same token one who has never been consumed by a fierce, all-devouring hatred cannot know to what depths the human soul can sink. That is why you liberals will never be able to understand the power of the Hitlers.

I have tried to analyze my feelings and reason the whole thing out. I keep on telling myself that my hatred of the present social and economic setup is due to what it has done to me. But I know that is not the true reason. What sends the blood to my head is seeing, day in and day out, the widespread poverty, misery, sickness, ignorance, filth, and stupidity that are so unnecessary. My hatred of this "system" with its callous indifference to the suffering of millions of bewildered and innocent people is doing something to me. I am weakening, and almost ready to cast myself into the filthy slime of Hitlerism.

A WPA WORKER

San Francisco, September 2

Look at the Record

Dear Sirs: Some genuine liberals—not many—have shown surprising, not to say suspicious, haste in assuring Mr. Willkie that he, not Roosevelt, will have their votes this time. What is the matter with these liberals? Are they really deceived by the claptrap about a third term spelling serious danger of a dictatorship?

There must be another explanation of this strange about-face. Two college presidents have, in a signed statement, hinted at it. They declared that in his second term Roosevelt misapplied the New Deal philosophy, which they had supported, by his gratuitous attacks on honest business, by his vindictive "stretching" of reform measures, intrinsically sound, and by developing extreme un-American tendencies. They failed to produce a bill of particulars, however, and there are no facts to sustain their vague charges.

The truth is, Roosevelt has been opposed to unnecessary concessions to the economic tories, has been demanding adherence to the New Deal reforms, and has not gained any friends in the plutocratic camp. Whom are the industrial autocrats, the foes of unionism, the bourbons of all types supporting now? The answer is, Willkie.

Let the liberals who think they prefer Willkie to Roosevelt at this juncture consult the complete Willkie record, as well as the records and known sentiments of his backers.

VICTOR S. YARROS

Chicago, September 4

The Militarists' Big Chance

Dear Sirs: During the past year or two, since the international situation became ominous, a significant change has come over the American people. Two years ago we were a nation of peace-minded citizens; today, though we still love peace, we say so with a firm "but." Now there is nothing wrong about that "but" except that it has been applied to subjects other than peace, including democracy itself.

All over the world are men who believe in the virtue of regimented thought and action, that the state is everything and the individual nothing. They are the men who believe that the people are not fit to govern themselves. They can be found almost everywhere: among the would-be dictators who believe that democracy is a barnyard where all the hens cackle at the same time, among the super-patriots, among the aristocrats who believe in royalty, among those pure churchmen like Father Coughlin and Bishop Manning who think they have a monopoly on morality and who want to censor everything in order to protect their flock from men like Bertrand Russell, among the industrialists and capitalists who want to keep labor under their thumbs, and among the big bankers and financiers who think that wars are terrible but profitable. These are the fascists.

In this eventful year of 1940 arises the perfect opportunity for these fascists and militarists to have their say and their way, because fascism thrives on the extreme patriotism which results from mass hysteria. Two years ago no editor or prominent individual would have dared to come out in favor of peace-time military conscription. Yet now this tyranny has become law. It should be clearly understood that *The Nation's* reasons for advocating conscription are very different from those of our army officers. Even if the army could get all the men it needed by the volunteer system, it would still favor compulsory military service during peace time. This is the big chance that military men have been waiting for.

We are already off the road of democracy. Back at the junction the road to fascism looked safer at the time. It was decorated with American flags and lined with beautiful girls singing "God Bless America"—and we took it.

CLEMONT DROZ
Lyndhurst, N. J., September 12

The Atlantic May Shrink

Dear Sirs: Many have said, among them Mr. Villard, I think, that the Atlantic Ocean is still a 3,000-mile moat in front of our castle. Such persons should consider that the width of the moat may shrink overnight from 3,000 to 2,000 miles. If the British fleet loses control of the Atlantic, Germany is certain to seize Portugal, either by force or by penetration. The move may be postponed till after a Balkan settlement, but in the end it is inevitable. With Portugal go Madeira and the Azores. The latter include the island of Fayal, with its port Horta, one of the finest natural harbors in the Atantic. If this were fortified and in German hands, the security of our skyscrapers would be notably diminished.
S. G. MORLEY
Berkeley, Cal., August 27

Barter and Fascism

Dear Sirs: The major force making for distrust of democracy is economic despair, for the prevalence of which in the world barter trade among nations is chiefly responsible. We all fear the impoverishment that the declared intentions of Germany to engage in barter would produce, but it is quite evident that British mastery of the seas will no more eliminate barter after the war than it did before the war. England's trade with Latin America at the present time is on a barter basis, and since barter always impoverishes countries and lends support to fascism within them, England is now unwittingly or stupidly playing into the hands of Germany, Italy, and Japan.

Those in our country who either hate England or sympathize with Germany are chuckling in the assurance that so long as we close our eyes to England's barter in Latin America we are really supporting Germany, because we are leaving unopposed the economic forces that strengthen fascism at our back door and at home.
L. B. POTTER,
Secretary, Reciprocal Trade Council
New York, September 12

Two Different Animals

Dear Sirs: I should like to point out the way in which Mr. Munz has repeated a stock error in his interesting article in your issue of September 7. He talks about the "rural downstate areas" in Illinois when he plainly means the rural downstate vote plus the small-town vote.

These are two different animals. In Iowa, in 1936, the farm precincts gave Mr. Roosevelt 62.4 per cent of the vote; the towns under 10,000 gave him 48 per cent of the vote. Elections in Iowa are contests between the farm vote and the small-town vote, with the cities balancing between the two.

My point is that any intelligent discussion of the farm vote in the Middle West must make a careful distinction between farm and small-town voting habits. In most states, I would guess, these two sections of the population are headed in opposite directions. I have no exact data, however, except for Iowa.
DONALD R. MURPHY,
Editor, *Wallaces' Farmer*
Des Moines, Iowa, September 10

McWilliams in Yorkville

Dear Sirs: Thank you for the splendid articles you have been running about the alien-persecution bills and the anti-Semitic attacks of Joe McWilliams here in Yorkville. I want, however, to state that McWilliams is not representative of Yorkville people on the whole.

I am a Jew and live in Yorkville, and yet I can say that a large majority of our people are opposed to him and his Nazi followers. Germans make up only about 20 per cent of Yorkville's population of 200,000; and fully four out of five of this German population are anti-Nazi and anti-Joe McWilliams. Th crowds you see at his meetings are cruited from the entire city.

The adherents he has picked up Yorkville are unemployed hoodlums wh will follow anybody for a drink. Sor are followers of Father Coughlin wh formerly followed Huey Long; some a the former followers of Fritz Kuhn. don't blame the good German peo here, or the Irish, either; they call J "shanty Irish."
IRVING D. LASHER
New York, September 13

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The Shape of Things

GENERAL DE GAULLE'S EXPEDITION TO Dakar is wrapped in mystery at the time of going to press. Early reports from Vichy spoke of a prolonged bombardment of the town and its defenses by a British squadron, but a later communiqué from London stated that after De Gaulle found it impossible to land his troops peacefully he withdrew, not wishing to provoke a conflict between Frenchmen. It is reasonable to suppose that, knowing the allegiance of the colony to Vichy was strained, he believed his mere appearance in force would suffice to bring it into the company of "Free Frenchmen." There is no clue as to what steps he will now take, but it would not be surprising if he disembarked in the little British colony of Gambia, which forms an enclave in French Senegal, and sought to spread from there his propaganda for a breakaway from Vichy. It is easy to understand why the British would like to control Dakar, for if Gibraltar should become untenable this most westerly point of Africa would be of great importance in protecting the route to the Cape.

*

THE AXIS CONFERENCE IN ROME SEEMS TO have been largely devoted to planning a winter campaign in the Mediterranean designed to expel the British from that sea. Obviously Gibraltar must have occupied an important place on the agenda, but we have yet to learn whether it is to be attacked simultaneously with the drive toward the Suez Canal, thus making it necessary to bring Spain into the war at an early date, or whether a resounding victory in the Near East is to be sought first. As Jay Allen points out in an article on page 263, any notion that Spain will remain "non-belligerent" throughout the war is pure wish-fulfilment. But in view of its weakened condition, and the probability that Britain can still strike a hard counter-blow, the right moment for discarding the mask is a matter for nice calculation. It is likely, therefore, that the next Axis move will be an intensification of the conflict in the eastern Mediterranean, and many signs point to Greece as the next victim.

BAD WEATHER AND THE SYSTEMATIC RAIDS of the R. A. F. on coastal concentration points have encouraged the British in the belief that attempts at invasion have been postponed, perhaps for months. But they realize that they must be prepared to withstand a heavy pounding from the air until such time as the British air fleet attains a definite preponderance. In the past week the defenses of London have shown no signs of weakening and few daylight raiders have succeeded in breaking through. Night attacks, however, continue to cause heavy damage and loss of life, and there can be no doubt that industrial production in the London area has been seriously hampered. Showing quick responsiveness to public opinion, the British government is now rapidly moving to make up for the lack of deep shelters. The cellars of office buildings and large houses are being opened to the unprotected East End workers, and a spur of the subway system has been closed to traffic and will provide cover for three-quarters of a million people. In view of the skepticism aroused here by reports of British aerial successes, it is encouraging to note that Brigadier General George V. Strong, an official U. S. Army observer, stated on his return from London a belief that the British had been frank about their own losses and conservative in their claims of successes. He also expressed the opinion that British pilots were generally superior to the German.

*

JAPAN HAS MOVED INTO INDO-CHINA IN what appears to be full agreement with the local French authorities. Some French troops, presumably those in sympathy with General de Gaulle, offered stubborn resistance to the Japanese invader, but at this writing it is not certain whether or not the fighting is still going on. The agreement is said to give the Japanese the privilege of establishing three air bases in northern Indo-China near the Chinese border and of garrisoning these bases with 6,000 Japanese troops. A "limited" number of Japanese have also been allowed to land at Haiphong, which is to serve as a base for the invaders. No figures are as yet available here, but it is obvious that once permission for entry has been won, Japan will insist on as large a force as proves necessary to

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conduct successful operations against Yunnan province in China and to garrison a base for further operations in the South Seas. Secretary Hull has condemned Japan's move into Indo-China, declaring that it has upset the international status quo under duress and in face of the expressed disapproval of the United States. The fact that the French authorities have offered no resistance to Japan makes military action by this country unlikely. But it may speed negotiations to give the American fleet access to Singapore, and may precipitate the embargo on the export of oil and scrap iron to Japan.

*

THE MEETING OF THE NEW YORK STATE C. I. O. was a stormy one, in which the pro-Roosevelt followers of Sidney Hillman clashed head on with John L. Lewis's anti-Roosevelt followers, backed by the Communists and near-Communists. The seething pot boiled over before the convention got under way when the Hillman "right-wing" group challenged the credentials of 91 delegates on such technicalities as lateness in filing credentials. The left-wingers, headed by Michael Quill, charged in turn that 37 Hillman delegates came from locals which had not been affiliated the full three months required for representation. Leaders of the pro-Hillman faction insist that there was no intention to bar some of the 91 delegates, such as those from the American Newspaper Guild, but that they were being kept out only until the credentials committee could complete its check-up and bring in a final report. They maintain furthermore that they had informed the minority group after the first clash on the floor that they would agree to seat all 91 of the challenged left-wing delegates if the Quill group would withdraw their challenges against the 37 pro-Hillman delegates. According to this version, the anti-Hillmanites refused unless the majority would agree in advance not to introduce a resolution favoring the reelection of President Roosevelt. When this proposal was turned down and before some of the 91 delegates could be admitted, the left-wingers bolted, with the blessing of Lewis.

*

MR. QUILL AND OTHER MEMBERS OF THE anti-Hillman bloc strenuously repudiate this explanation, and there is no way of getting at the truth of the matter. But it is not necessary to know whether such a deal was suggested to note the compelling external evidence that the left-wingers could have avoided the split. If all the delegates had been seated, the Hillman faction would have had a majority for their pro-Roosevelt resolution. Therefore they could have afforded an agreement to abandon challenges on both sides. The faction led by Quill, on the other hand, had everything to lose by such an agreement, and, given the objective of blocking a Roosevelt indorsement at any price, they had no choice but to bolt. This interpretation is admittedly based on circumstantial evidence and subject to change, but nothing has emerged so far to lead one to suppose that Roosevelt was not the major issue at Rochester, with Hillman only a convenient target. A clear-cut stand by Lewis would have prevented the Rochester fiasco. Was this a last desperate move designed to show the President that Lewis is still a political factor to be reckoned with? It is significant that in taking sides at Rochester Lewis refrained from mentioning Roosevelt, leaving a line of retreat still open. Recently some 500 out of 700 locals of Lewis's own union nominated Philip Murray for president of the Mine Workers. The nomination will not be made public unless Murray, a Roosevelt supporter, indicates a willingness to oppose his old chief—and that in turn may hinge upon Lewis's political conduct in the next few weeks.

*

THE PRESIDENT SHOULD DELAY NO LONGER in reappointing J. Warren Madden to the vacancy on the National Labor Relations Board. For weeks the board's work has been seriously hampered by the lack of a chairman. Mr. Madden is by all odds the ablest candidate for the position. Although the two other members of the board have shown great ability, Mr. Madden's fairness and sound interpretation of the law have made his record a brilliant one in face of great practical difficulties. To allow considerations of political expediency to rise above recognition of ability and experience would be a calamity at this delicate stage in the board's development.

*

RECENT RECRUITS TO WENDELL WILLKIE'S banner include the New York *Times*, the Steuben Society, and Dr. Francis E. Townsend of the Townsend Pension Plan. The *Times's* support is partly based on the fact that the Republican candidate has adopted the President's foreign policy. The Steuben Society and Dr. Townsend, on the other hand, evidently believe that he is nearer to isolationism than Mr. Roosevelt. Again the *Times* looks to Mr. Willkie to reverse the New Deal's spending policy, while Dr. Townsend, without claiming any indorsement for his pension plan, says: "We have a long statement on the matter from his running-mate, Senator McNary, and I know without a doubt that if Mr. Willkie goes to Washington this legislation will be adopted." We hope that Mr. Willkie will find some public opportunity to discuss the Townsend plan with particular attention to the proposed method of financing it. We shall not, however, be surprised if he avoids the subject, for his boasted habit of candor appears a little wilted by the heat of the campaign. He now seems to be baiting his speeches to attract his immediate audience just like an ordinary politician. For instance, in the Arizona cattle country he promised to maintain the embargo against Argentine meat, although he has often spoken of the importance of overthrowing trade barriers. Moreover, he went on to indulge in a cheap gibe by declaring that one way to rehabilitate our domestic economy was to "have the American navy eat American beef instead of Argentine beef." Apart from its ludricrous inadequacy as a recipe for prosperity, this kind of wisecracking is hardly helpful in promoting good-will in Argentina.

*

AND GOOD-WILL IS BADLY NEEDED IN Argentina, which has just imposed what amounts to an embargo on imports from the United States under the guise of restrictions to safeguard its foreign exchange. Officially no discriminatory measures have been taken against American trade. But the Exchange Control Board has quietly refused to issue the necessary licenses for the entry of goods from the United States or Canada. Since many of the articles excluded under the action are indispensable to Argentina, it may be assumed that the ban is a temporary one. It may have been imposed to strengthen Argentina's bargaining power in the forthcoming negotiations with Warren Pierson for a loan from the Export-Import Bank. On the surface, Argentina would seem guilty of playing into the hands of the totalitarian powers by endangering pan-American solidarity at this critical time. But it must be remembered that the United States has treated Argentina rather shabbily in this matter of trade. Using health regulations as a pretext, we have barred the import of Argentine beef and mutton and the Senate has persistently refused to ratify a convention permitting the shipment of meat from the province of Patagonia, which American experts have declared free of hoof-and-mouth disease. Hemispherical solidarity cannot be based on the one-sided interests of this country. If we persist in trying to maintain these interests at the expense of the common welfare, we cannot complain if we receive a dose of our own medicine.

*

THE DEMORALIZATION OF FRANCE GOES ON apace. An increasing number of scapegoats have been imprisoned while awaiting trial at Riom, and the municipal governments of six cities, including Lyons, of which M. Herriot is mayor, have been suspended. But such actions are no compensation to the people for the severe rationing which has been introduced and the scarcity of numerous necessities and modest luxuries. Perhaps the greatest present hardship is the barrier maintained between occupied and unoccupied France, which makes communication between the two areas almost impossible. This is undermining the authority of the Vichy government and assisting the spread of pro-fascist propaganda by such "patriots" as Déat and Doriot among the unemployed masses of Paris and the industrial north. At the same time French finances are rapidly being reduced to chaos by Nazi exactions coupled with the economic paralysis of the country. In order to meet the bill for the German army of occupation, amounting to 150 billion francs annually, or about one-half of the national income, the Vichy government is compelled to resort to the printing press. With production of the means of payment thus swollen and the supply of goods shrinking daily, a collapse of the franc appears inevitable. Meanwhile, in unoccupied France, where the press still prints some outside news, people are watching the Battle of Britain with feverish interest, knowing that their own future depends on the outcome. General Pétain and his associates evidently believed when they capitulated that Britain would have to follow suit within a few weeks. Now the strength of British resistance suggests that France might have been wiser to have adopted Reynaud's plan of carrying on the war overseas. If such thoughts spread, Pétain's prestige will be undermined and General de Gaulle's agitation in the colonies greatly aided.

*

WHEN CHILDREN ARE BOMBED IN A GREAT city the excuse of a "military objective" may be claimed, whether or not it is justified. No circumstances so far revealed indicate any excuse whatsoever for torpedoing a ship loaded with refugees, at night, without warning, in a raging Atlantic storm. Its passengers included ninety children; eighty-three died by drowning or exposure in what must be set down as the most horrible and uselessly cruel incident of a cruel war.

*

AMONG THE GERMAN ANTI-NAZIS ALSO ON board the ship was Rudolf Olden, formerly one of the most prominent political writers in Germany. He was long the foreign editor of the *Berliner Tageblatt;* he also wrote about internal legal questions, thereby incurring the hatred of the Nazis. His last book written in Germany was "Hindenburg." It was in fact a history of the Prussian army, for which he appropriated the phrase of Mirabeau, "Prussia is not a country which has an army but an army which has a country." He left Germany immediately after Hitler came to power and went to Oxford University, where he lectured in history. He wrote a brilliant book on Hitler, which included a political analysis of the post-war period in Europe. For the past few years he had been engaged on a voluminous work on European post-war history sponsored by the Royal Institute for Foreign Affairs. Mr. Olden was interned in June along with other anti-Nazi Germans in England but was released when he obtained an appointment to an American university.

Hart on Democracy

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

IT WOULD be nice if one dared laugh at the meeting on "Americanism" (quotes mine) held the other day at the Union League Club in New York. It was funny; no one would deny it. But a lot of funny things are grim in their context, and the context of present events gave a sardonic complexion to the whole affair. At that meeting democracy was denounced in an address by Merwin K. Hart as a sort of alien "ism." Mr. Hart has made the discovery that the United States is a republic, not a democracy. It is not a recent discovery, for he expounded it at length in his book, "America, Look at Spain," published in 1939, and it is a stock contention of the Coughlinites and the Bundists and the assorted domestic fascists who are Mr. Hart's associates. More surprising is Mr. Hart's contention that democracy is a rather new heresy. In his speech he said that "Governor Lehman found it unnecessary to use the word a single time in his inaugural address in 1933 or 1935, but in his address of 1939 he used it twenty-five times and in his annual message to the Legislature last January he used it no less than thirty-three times!" (This sentence, incidentally, is lifted verbatim from his book on Spain.) The Governor's repetition of the word is not attributed by Mr. Hart to the straits in which democracy today finds itself. On the contrary, he "suspects" it was the Communist International which popularized the sinister word at its meeting in 1935. After that date democracy "became substituted almost entirely for the word 'republic.'" In any case, prior to the present European imbroglio, public men in America didn't talk about democracy. You may think you heard the word now and then, but if you did, it was probably from the lips of Communists or fellow-travelers; which recalls another discovery of this same social theorist, announced during the Spanish civil war. He then deplored the popular habit of calling Franco a fascist—a term Franco himself never for a moment disowned—and traced its use to a speech made by Dimitrov at a meeting of the Third International, probably the same meeting at which "democracy" was launched. In other words, fascism is not anything, really, but an epithet; no wonder Mr. Hart doesn't think much of the present struggle in Europe.

Mr. Hart links the term democracy with other menaces, such as aid to Britain and all sentiment in favor of stopping the dictators. I think I shall be doing the gentleman no injustice if I interpret this section of his speech as a slightly oblique expression of anti-Semitism. The war, according to Mr. Hart's remarkable exegesis, would never have been started by France and Britain were it not for some "irresponsible force" which blinded both to the fact that they were unprepared. What this force was is suggested in other paragraphs. He points out that "lawfully or unlawfully" the United States has been flooded by 200,000 to 500,000 refugees. Certain South American countries, he says, "have been invaded likewise and by similar mysterious methods." And he thinks the force which drove France and Britain to declare war may be "the same force that is urging our own Administration on. Blinded by fury at the persecution of minorities in Germany, this force would be as willing to engulf us in this [war] . . . as it was willing to engulf Britain and France a year ago." Translate this innuendo into good honest Joe McWilliams dialect and it makes more sense: The Jews got Britain and France into the war, and they are trying to get the United States in, too, to avenge their injuries at the hands of Adolf Hitler.

The New York *Times* printed an editorial on Mr. Hart's speech. It said that his attack on democracy must have "surprised his Union League Club audience," and it deplored the effect of such an attack at a moment when we are making costly preparations to make sure that no enemy will be able to force a different kind of government upon us. The *Times* is very gentle. It doesn't think Mr. Hart meant to align himself with the enemies of democracy; it only believes that he ought "to have been more careful of his words." Somewhere, off in the distance, I can hear an echo of this same editorial. It appeared in 1930 or 1931 in a German newspaper, perhaps the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, perhaps the *Vossiche Zeitung*. It urged the supporters of Adolf Hitler to think twice; it gently doubted the advisability of stamping out democratic processes. Of course it wasn't questioning anybody's motives; but one must regret expressions of contempt for established institutions which, while far from perfect, were after all . . .

The *Times* has no excuse to soft-pedal the activities of Merwin K. Hart. He is as consistent a fascist as American reaction has developed. He supported Franco openly and proudly. He went to Spain during the civil war to "investigate" the situation in rebel territory and reported that peace and plenty reigned. The bombing of Guernica had been disproved by a (Franco) government inquiry on the spot, and the massacre of Badajoz had also never occurred. All the terror was on the other side; he had not been in Loyalist Spain, but he had been told about conditions there. After the Loyalist defeat he wrote Franco's agent in the United States offering to convert his pro-rebel organization into a permanent committee to promote closer relations between Franco Spain and the United States.

But Hart's affection for fascism is not limited to Spain. He heads various organizations clustering around his New York State Economic Council, and every one is devoted to some phase of reactionary propaganda. He has collaborated actively with Mr. Dies in dredging up evidences of subversive activities on the left. On the right, however, he has consorted with all the anti-democratic, anti-Semitic, anti-labor, anti-government organizations and individuals that clutter our street corners and public halls. Our most prominent native Streichers are Hart's active collaborators and friends. Allen Zoll, Van Horn Moseley, John E. Kelly, James True, John B. Trevor, not to mention the redoubtable Joe McWilliams, have all at one time or another been associated publicly with Hart. He has worked with the Christian Front and the Mobilizers, with the American Coalition and the American Patriots. At a luncheon sponsored by the Economic Council, Fritz Kuhn and James Wheeler-Hill, secretary of the Bund, were invited guests. Hart's record was detailed at some length in an article by James Wechsler in *The Nation* for January 27, 1940; it is worth rereading.

This is the man whose views on democracy, the *Times* thinks, must have surprised his Union League Club audience. Since they have been proclaimed by the speaker in act and word for years past they can surprise only those who choose to be surprised. Certainly there is no evidence that the Union League Club audience reacted as the *Times* assumes it did. According to the news account of the meeting published in the columns of the *Times* itself, Mr. Hart's "audience heard him in grim silence. Many came up to shake his hand afterward."

China's New Victories

ATTENTION in this country has been focused so closely on the Japanese threat to Indo-China and the Dutch East Indies that China's recent remarkable successes against the invader have been all but ignored. With the closing of the Burma road and the route through Indo-China many observers wrote China off as another lost cause. If these routes remain closed, China's position must ultimately become desperate. But the really significant fact at the moment is that in spite of tremendous handicaps China has been striking back at the invader with unprecedented success.

It is true that the Chinese victories have all been local in scope. Most of them have been achieved by guerrillas operating on the Japanese flanks and behind the Japanese lines. Successes of this type have been won throughout the war, but there has never been a period when such local successes have been more widespread. And in several instances important positions held by Japan since early in the war have been recaptured. The most extensive engagements have occurred in southern Shansi, where the Eighth Route Army, intact despite a score of full-dress Japanese offensives to drive it out of the province, has reoccupied the strategically important mountain pass of Niangtzekwan. This pass is the only gateway to Shansi province from Hopei, and it dominates valuable coal mines, which the Chinese are reported to have flooded. Several thousand Japanese were killed, and the Chinese succeeded in capturing a number of heavy guns and other supplies. The railway linking Taiyuan, capital of Shansi, with Peiping has been cut in a dozen places in a fortnight of fighting. Following up their success, the Chinese within the past few days have recaptured Lichuanchen and Chingcheng, repulsing Japanese counter-attacks with heavy losses to the enemy. The Japanese admit that the reverses have disarranged their plans for an autumn offensive in northern Shansi.

Another rather notable victory was achieved late in August when Taierchwang, site of China's first great triumph over Japan, was reoccupied. All the railway lines in North China have been subject to constant guerrilla attack in recent weeks and have been kept more or less continuously out of operation. Chinese mobile units have once more been in evidence in the vicinity of Peiping, forcing the Japanese to close the city gates. Guerrillas have also been active outside of Canton.

In Central China mobile units have penetrated several times into the important city of Anking, capital of Anhwei province. The Japanese garrison of the city is reported to be seriously weakened by disease. Nearby, in northern Honan, the Chinese entered Chihsien, inflicting heavy casualties, tearing up fifteen kilometers of road-bed, and destroying thirteen bridges.

During recent months the Japanese have been continually on the defensive except on the coast in the extreme south, where landings have been made against Chinese opposition. Japan's one offensive weapon has been aerial bombardment. Within the fortnight air attacks on the Chinese capital at Chungking have been resumed in the obvious hope of terrorizing China into surrender. Early this month it was estimated that more than 7,000 demolition and 2,500 incendiary bombs had been dropped in some forty air raids on the capital during 1940. Despite this terrible punishment, air-raid precautions have kept the number of deaths to around 1,250—many less than were suffered in several single raids earlier in the war. Other cities have also experienced heavy raids in the past few weeks. But China has demonstrated, even more conclusively than Barcelona or London, the futility of air raids as a means of destroying the morale of the civilian population. This demonstration is particularly significant because their lack of effective defenses and their flimsy construction make Chinese cities far more vulnerable to air attacks than Western cities.

The one great threat to China at the moment is, of course, an attack in the southwest through Indo-China. Such an attack would strike at the heart of free China and might offset years of valiant resistance. China is doing what it can to protect itself. But it desperately needs aid from the democracies of the West, which have so shamefully let it down in recent months.

Nazis in the New World

IN A recent statement Dr. Albert Degner, secretary of the Board of Trade for German-American Commerce, attempted to reassure Americans about Nazi aims in Latin America. After the war, he said, Germany would offer "tremendous trade possibilities" to our southern neighbors, but it had not the slightest intention of destroying United States trade or threatening our interests.

It is instructive after reading these soothing sentiments to turn to an article by Hans W. Aust in a recent issue of the *Deutsche Volkswirt*, the most authoritative German economic weekly. There we learn that with all the preoccupations of the war Germany has not forgotten Latin America. Eager to assist the southern republics to defend themselves from "capitalist maneuvers to exploit them," young Germans are studying Spanish and Portuguese and the history, geography, and economic problems of the lands below the Rio Grande.

One conclusion reached, apparently, is that Latin American countries stand in need of a helping hand with rearmament. The *Deutsche Volkswirt* writes:

> Among the things which Germany has to offer to those who trade with it, armaments will play a very specific role. Germany's overwhelming military successes have unequivocally proved German technical superiority. Its potential industrial capacity for the supply of ammunition is virtually unlimited, and it is in a position to meet any special requirements in this field. Therefore this part of the business will probably assume considerably greater proportions than hitherto, since every army in the world will desire to examine its equipment on the basis of the latest war experiences.

In addition to this alluring prospect, the *Deutsche Volkswirt* holds out hopes of a large influx of free-spending "tourists." "Many Germans," it says, "have a burning desire to get acquainted with the beautiful countries of South and Central America, and since, after the war, it will no longer be necessary to economize on foreign exchange, they will no longer be compelled to eat in the cheapest restaurants." We seem to remember that in the years before the war many young Germans acted on a "burning desire" to explore the beauties of the fjords, but it was Norway that burst into flames.

The combination of German arms and German tourists with well-lined purses is not likely to prove a mixture conducive to the peace and prosperity of this hemisphere. Moreover, the *Deutsche Volkswirt* gives us hints of the kind of propaganda that is already being assiduously spread through Latin America.

> It is equally important for the Latin American states to know that Germany is willing and able to cooperate unselfishly in the further opening up of these regions. Previous experience has taught us that this willingness is by no means equally present among other modern industrial powers. Their chief aim so far has been to control industry and plantations. Thus the major part of the proceeds did not remain in the country of their origin but flowed into the pockets of foreign companies and their stockholders. . . . Germany, which abhors and fights these methods, offers sincere aid to Latin America. . . . German industry merely wants to participate and would leave the leadership to those who represent Latin American interests. It would be satisfied with supplying the machinery, building the plants, and *with the role of adviser to the Latin American managers.*

The ability of Nazis propaganda to be all things to all men is an old story. To the governing classes of Europe it talked anti-communism; to the working classes it spoke of the evils of capitalism; and now, in Latin America, it seizes on the potent appeal of the struggle against "Yankee imperialism." We have no doubt that if Latin America heeds this siren call it will learn that Nazi methods of exploitation are more strangling than anything the "Northern Colossus" has yet contrived.

CONTENTS

THE SHAPE OF THINGS 257

EDITORIALS:

HART ON DEMOCRACY by Freda Kirchwey 260
CHINA'S NEW VICTORIES 261
NAZIS IN THE NEW WORLD 262
FRANCO AWAITS ORDERS by Jay Allen 263
THE BLIND ALLEY OF MARXISM by Granville Hicks 264
WHERE McNARY HEADS THE TICKET by Richard L. Neuberger 268
ALMAZAN'S TEXAS JUNTA by Charles Curtis Munz 270
EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS by Keith Hutchison 271
IN THE WIND 272
A NATIVE AT LARGE by Jonathan Daniels 273

BOOKS AND THE ARTS:

CHANSON DE FRANCE. PRINTEMPS 1940 by Ivan Goll 274
THE GODDESS HISTORY by Reinhold Niebuhr 274
A GREAT LETTER WRITER by Joseph Wood Krutch 276
DIALOGUE BY WELLS by Hassoldt Davis 276
RADIO AND IDEAS by Frederick A. Gutheim 277
LOOK HOMEWARD by Louis B. Salomon 278
ONLY THE NINETY AND NINE by Sherman Conrad 278
EDITOR HOUGH by McAlister Coleman 279
IN BRIEF 281
DRAMA: AL JOLSON AND HIS MAMMY by Joseph Wood Krutch 281
MUSIC by B. H. Haggin 282

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Franco Awaits Orders

BY JAY ALLEN

AXIS plans for Spain, whatever they are, have obviously been perfected in the highly publicized parleys in Berlin between Señor Serrano Suñer and the Nazi chiefs, and in Rome between Messrs. Ribbentrop and Mussolini. Interest in these developments has everywhere been great but nowhere greater than in Madrid, where Franco is waiting for instructions.

The Generalissimo would probably be amazed to learn that in this country press interest in his problems has taken the curious form of discussion as to whether he will "enter the war." On this point we are being given owlish opinions much like those we used to get from the experts last winter and spring when Mussolini was "non-belligerent," like Franco now, and Franco was a mere "neutral." Many of the experts inclined to the view that Mussolini would "stay out," and one, of great repute, was able to reveal along about last Christmas that the Duce had taken secret decisions that would bring him in on the side of the "democracies" by Easter!

Franco is already in the war, and the only thing that could keep him from formal belligerency would be the certain knowledge that the Axis would lose. Interest in Serrano Suñer's negotiations in Berlin and Ribbentrop's talks in Rome should center on any indications they may offer about the new role that General Franco is to be asked—or ordered—to play. One might inquire what are the facts that justify these limelighted conferences in Berlin and Rome. Franco's war aims and the war aims of the Axis have long been known to each other. What is new is that the invasion of Britain has been held up, perhaps indefinitely postponed. Franco's chance to come in against Britain as Mussolini came in against France—for the knockout—is in abeyance. If things had worked out as planned, Franco would have needed no directions to come and take Gibraltar—he could easily have done it alone under such circumstances.

Until now the cautious Axis plan for a weaker member has always been to save him for the kill, meanwhile appealing to the appeasement instincts of the "democracies"—which we know are deeply rooted—to keep him fit and in the pink until the time when he can safely enter the ring. With Britain unbeaten and the striking power of its fleet intact, and with the influence of General de Gaulle slowly spreading up the West African coast toward French Morocco, a new role has to be worked out for Franco. Either he will have the assistance of German and Italian troops in striking at Gibraltar, and possibly at Portugal and French Morocco, or he will be kept a "non-belligerent," and so convincingly one that Britain and the United States will redouble their efforts to buy him, as they tried to buy Mussolini.

General Franco

In many quarters his "non-belligerency" would still be believed. As late as August 27 the New York *Times* referred editorially to the chances of "one powerful group in Madrid" being able to "resist the opposing group and stick to the policy of non-belligerency." Colonel Sosthenes Behn, of the I. T. and T., still thinks Franco *wants* to "stay out." On September 18, while Serrano Suñer was in Berlin, Raymond Clapper discussed the report that Franco might still be willing to take another American loan, though the chances, Clapper thought, were slight. Given the least encouragement, —which they may well receive one of these days—the powerful business and religious groups that have supported Franco from the start would react eagerly, even though they now know what he stands for. General Franco's champions are franker these days. They are no longer counting on him to save "democracy."

This is Franco's war. The actual fighting stopped for him in March, 1939, but he hadn't won. He had a country in ruins, bankrupt, starving, a million enemies in his jails, a half-million just across the frontier. He could not count himself safe until the Axis triumphed. And only the Axis could give him an empire. Otherwise he would have listened to the siren voices of the pluto-democracies, promising loans and cotton credits. Franco knows what he wants and who can give it to him. If he wavered for an instant, the Falange would take care of him. If not the Falange, the Gestapo, or the thousands of German troops already in Spain.

He declared himself a "neutral" in the fall of 1939 when Mussolini came out as a "non-belligerent." When Mussolini declared war, Franco, twenty-four hours later, promoted himself to "non-belligerency" and as a "non-belligerent" three days later seized Tangier, which would have started a European war at any other time. Within the next few days he brought about—very ably it seems—the capitulation of his friend Marshal Pétain and helped write *finis* to whatever hopes there were of continuing French resistance in Africa.

Until Britain's fleet can no longer strike at him by bombarding Cadiz, El Ferrol, or Barcelona, by convoying a new Wellington and an army to Portugal or to French Morocco, he is terribly vulnerable. The nation needs food. He is dependent on British and American patience—wearing thin—for oil. His people could be aroused against him. It is significant for us that in Berlin and Rome they must have talked not only of "the partition of Africa" but of ways of doing it. If the Axis attacks by way of Spain, it will have to think of the backdoors, Portugal and Morocco. It may even recall that Vigo is the European port closest to American shores and that here, on this side of the ocean, is a people, with a navy, that is fast learning all the tricks of "non-belligerency."

Franco wants much—Morocco (the good part, not the dry region that he has), Algiers, and an empire. He wants that empire in lands which speak his language, practice his faith, and may yet be taught to hate not only "pluto-democracy" but even progress. He is "in the war" for a purpose. Vulnerable though he is now, he is the spearhead of the great counter-revolution. And he knows it. Did we know it when we paralyzed the Spanish republic under the pretext of maintaining neutrality? It is important that we know it at least now, because if there is no immediate German-Italian attack on Gibraltar through Spain we may be asked to keep Franco supplied with oil, loans, and food until he can gamble on a sure thing.

The Blind Alley of Marxism

BY GRANVILLE HICKS

KARL MARX and Friedrich Engels thought of themselves as the founders of scientific socialism. The utopians were eloquent in their attacks on capitalism, and they understood the general pattern of a better society, but they had no way of getting from here to there. Marx and Engels convinced themselves that history was going there anyhow, and what we had to do was get aboard. Yet it was not, after all, simply a matter of taking a ride, for when history was analyzed, it boiled down to the way men functioned. If you could say certain things about history, it was because you could say certain things about men. "If socialism is inevitable, why should we struggle?" "Because the inevitability of our struggle is antecedent to the inevitability of socialism."

Marx and Engels taught an important lesson. They saw that in the past change had come only when men desperately wanted it and when old institutions were breaking down. Institutions broke down, they thought, because economic systems, after they reached a certain stage of development, fell into decay. That was the way the bourgeois revolution had worked, and if the process was less clear in earlier transformations, something like it could be discerned. Economics, then, was fundamental—on its face not an unreasonable proposition in view of the overwhelming proportion of human energy devoted to the production of food, clothes, and shelter. Since, moreover, production in historic times has involved exploitation, there is always a struggle between the workers and the bosses; and the intensification of this struggle to its highest pitch, when economic breakdown strengthens the desperation of the former and weakens the power of the latter, is revolution.

If this is the process of change, if this is the way history works, we must understand it. Earlier revolutions, Marx and Engels insisted, have been blind, but now we can have a conscious revolution, doing intelligently what our forbears did in desperation. We want, they said, what the utopians want, but we know that it cannot be obtained by their schemes. It can be obtained by the driving force of the exploited, led by those who understand the direction of history.

In a general way all this seems true today. Capitalism, where it still exists, cannot give full employment, cannot avoid depressions, cannot wage war efficiently, cannot in the end escape stagnation. It has given birth to imperialism, which has intensified its evils without solving its problems. And it has fostered discontent by creating the possibility of abundance. Men may put up with misery for a long time. They may, as we well know, try fascism as a remedy for capitalism's failures. But if only socialism will work, as Marx and Engels taught and as there is still plenty of reason to believe—far more reason, in fact, than in their time—men will eventually come to it.

No matter how much it needs to be qualified, Marx's analysis of history, I believe, remains basic in socialist thought, guarding us not merely from futile utopian schemes but also from fantastic plans for the reformation of capitalism. Yet for most Socialists socialism has not been and is not merely an economic concept. That is to say, the demand for socialism has been a conscious demand for a richer, fuller, more generous life, not merely an attempt to escape from hunger and exploitation. Modern socialism was born out of the intellectual turmoil of the bourgeois revolution, especially in its concentrated form in eighteenth-century France. Religion and philosophy had long raised the standard of the intrinsic importance of the individual, but such a standard could be adjusted to the realities of ancient and medieval social organization only by postulating a spiritual equality and a heavenly compensation for earth's injustices. The eighteenth century dared to declare that human society could be organized on the principle of equality and justice, and it promised that the bourgeois revolution would accomplish that end. The judging of the revolution by its own promises was the source of socialism.

WHAT MARX OMITTED

Let us say, then, that in the nineteenth century two forces worked toward socialism. One was the unrest of the victims of capitalism. The other was the desire for a juster, more rational society. In theory Marx and Engels put all emphasis on the former. Impatient with the futility of mere preaching, disillusioned by the way in which the bourgeoisie had bent the revolutionary idea to its own class ends, appalled by all the crackpot schemes for producing a perfect society overnight, they trusted in the revolt of the exploited. It is the collapse of capitalism, Engels insists, that will bring the revolution:

> On this tangible, material fact, which is impressing itself in a more or less clear form, but with invincible necessity, on the minds of the exploited proletarians—it is on this fact, and not on the conceptions of justice and injustice held by any armchair philosopher, that modern socialism's confidence of victory is founded.

In practice, as has often been pointed out, Marx and Engels exhibited humanitarian motives for which their theory made no room. With both of them the desire for a just society preceded the development of the class-struggle theory, and it was that desire—and certainly not self-interest or class loyalty—that made them hope and work for the triumph of the proletariat. Moral indignation against capitalism breathes through their writings and, in spite of their vigilance, every now and then becomes explicit. The climax of "Capital" is the chapter on primary accumulation, in which Marx, answering the argument that the socialist expropriation of capitalist property would be immoral, brilliantly demonstrates that the bourgeoisie secured the means of production by a process brutal and immoral in the extreme. It is true that he wrote into the preface a kind of disclaimer of this moral indignation, but it is also true that, when the book was finished, he told Engels, "I hope the bourgeoisie will remember my carbuncles all the rest of their lives." And if this seems mere spleen, it must be remembered that the letter continues, "Here is yet another proof of what swine they are," and goes on to describe a stratagem that had been employed by powerful manufacturers to dispose of a report on child labor. "The thing is of the most enormous importance," Marx insists. "It is a question of abolishing the torture of one and a half million human beings."

It is characteristic of Marx and Engels to ignore their own motives. Their whole theory rests upon a psychological assumption, a generalization about the way men will act under certain circumstances, which is never examined. In the broadest possible terms, as we have acknowledged, the generalization is supported by considerable evidence, but no practical Socialist can be satisfied with so approximate an analysis. Marx and Engels were not describing historical processes just for the sake of describing them. They proposed to use their knowledge to change the world. They wanted to shortcut, just as much as possible, the bloody blundering transition to socialism that would be the result of blind reaction to exploitation. They wanted to arm the proletariat with the knowledge that capitalism must collapse so that it would not have to wait for the collapse to demonstrate itself in all its horrible consequences. From the first it seemed clear to them that the revolting proletariat must be given direction by a group of men who understood the whole process.

But what about the motives of these men? How do you build a revolutionary party? For the masses who make the revolution conceivably no motive is necessary but the conviction that nothing can be worse than the suffering that is at that moment being endured. Socialists, however, men who propose to give a lifetime, if not a life, to the long struggle for socialism, must be moved in other ways. Since the motive obviously cannot be self-interest, the orthodox Marxist would say it was class loyalty. But why, then, should a man be loyal to his class—or, since Socialists have so often come from the bourgeoisie, to somebody else's class? No one expects a simple solution to a psychological problem of this kind, but Marxism offers no solution at all.

There is another of Marx's assumptions that has to be examined: his belief that the elimination of the economic contradictions of capitalism inevitably and automatically leads to the higher stage of social development envisaged by the philosophers of the bourgeois revolution and, in more concrete terms, by the utopian Socialists. Engels declares that, with socialism, man for the first time "enters conditions which are truly human." Lenin, in "The State and Revolution," promises the noblest kind of civilization once the state has withered away. But all orthodox Marxists insist that it is not merely unnecessary but dangerous to devote attention to anything but economic and political ends. Help the proletariat to get power, they exhort, and it will socialize the means of production. Classes will thereupon disappear, the state vanish, and a just, humane, and noble society be born.

The two omissions of Marxism are closely related. On the one hand, Marxism assumes that we cannot rely on good-will and humanitarian aspirations to bring change because in its view they are powerless in the conflict of economic forces. On the other hand, it assumes that economic forces can and will achieve the ends that humanitarianism points to. In so far as Marxism helps us to understand what the economic forces are and compels us to turn to the solution of economic problems, we can learn from it. But when it ignores motives other than self-interest and class interest, even though its own existence cannot be explained in terms of such motives, we have a right to be suspicious. And when, in the face of a growing body of evidence, it insists that economic change is the only change that is necessary, we are obliged to challenge it.

LENIN'S MORALITY

The basis for challenge may be found in the teachings of Lenin and the experiences of the Russian Revolution. Marx and Engels relied, often to a surprising extent, on the humanitarian appeal, even though they theoretically discarded it as useless. Lenin did without humanitarianism in practice as well as in theory. In all his writings there is scarcely a lapse into moral indignation, hardly a word that can be said to imply a moral judgment.

Communists rightly point to Lenin's conception of the revolutionary party as his notable contribution to Marxist thought. Marx and Engels, though they were constantly occupied with the specific problems of socialist and other radical parties, paid little attention to the idea of the party. They were interested primarily in the movements of the masses, and though they acknowledged in practice the need for leadership by a party, that was never where their emphasis fell. Lenin, on the other hand, thought of little else. He talked steadily about the need for a party of professional revolutionaries, and he devoted more than twenty years to building the kind of party he wanted.

Marx and Engels had spurned bourgeois morality as a bourgeois prejudice behind which class interests lurked, and they had spoken of proletarian morality. Lenin echoed their words, but transformed proletarian morality into party morality. "Our morality," he told the Young Communists in 1920, "is deduced from the class struggle of the proletariat. . . . We say: Morality is that which serves to destroy the old exploiting society and to unite all the toilers around the proletariat which is creating a new Communist society. . . . For the Communist, morality consists entirely of compact united discipline and conscious mass struggle against the exploiters."

This is a military code, and the Bolshevik Party was organized on a military basis. The Socialist parties of Western Europe, which Marx and especially Engels had alternately blessed and cursed, offered Lenin no model, for they were operating legally. His problem was to create a Marxist party in a country that had not yet had its bourgeois revolution and was suffering from Czarist oppression. A disciplined, monolithic party, taught by Marxism to occupy itself with the class struggle of the proletariat, could, he predicted, become invincible.

History gave him his chance, and in 1917 the Bolsheviks controlled Russia. Power had been his goal, power for the proletariat. But the dictatorship of the proletariat, which he called the central teaching of Marxism, meant in practice the dictatorship of the Communist Party. From 1917 to his death Lenin boasted that Soviet Russia was the most democratic country in the world, in that its rulers maintained close contact with the masses and served their interests. But the Communist Party held the power, and Lenin was quick to suppress the slightest threat to its control. Speaking in 1920 to the delegates to the second congress of the Communist International, he said frankly, "Not a single important political or organizational question is decided by any state institution in our republic without the guiding instructions of the Central Committee of our party."

A year earlier Rosa Luxemburg had written in jail:

> Without general elections, without unrestricted freedom of press and assembly, without a free struggle of opinion, life dies out in every public institution, becomes a mere semblance of life, in which only the bureaucracy remains as the active element. Public life gradually falls asleep; a few dozen party leaders of inexhaustible energy and boundless experience direct and rule. Among them, in reality, only a dozen outstanding heads do the leading, and an élite of the working class is invited from time to time to meetings where they are to applaud the speeches of the leaders and to approve proposed resolutions unanimously. At bottom, then, a clique affair—a dictatorship, to be sure, not the dictatorship of the proletariat, however, but only the dictatorship of a handful of politicians.

Long before Lenin died her prophecy was being fulfilled. We may grant that power could not have been won and held in Russia by any other methods than Lenin's. We may grant that his regime was preferable to any practical alternative, since the Kerensky government was breaking down long before the Bolshevik insurrection and, if there had been no Bolshevik Party, would have yielded either to military dictatorship or to abysmal chaos. But we cannot grant that Lenin's methods did lead, or could lead, to the kind of proletarian democracy he believed in.

Lenin never underestimated the backwardness of Russia or the difficulty of building socialism in one country, but he did believe that under the leadership of the Communist Party the conditions for socialism could be created relatively quickly and with a minimum of suffering for the masses. The machine he had built, however, being designed primarily for the extension of its own power, could only with difficulty be adapted to the constructive task. Lenin made the effort. He tried to maintain power the hard way, dealing honestly with the people, seeking their opinions and carrying out their wishes as far as he safely could. But Lenin could not live forever, and what was to prevent his successor from adopting the traditional techniques of power politicians for deceiving and manipulating the masses?

This is essentially what happened. Stalin is no Lenin, certainly not in intellect and presumably not in capacity for devotion to an ideal. He took over a machine that was already geared to the maintenance of power at all costs, and lacking Lenin's prestige, he had to fight enemies inside as well as outside the party. There was little revolutionary enthusiasm for him to count on, either in the briefly convalescent capitalist world or in the Russia of the NEP. Lenin was strong enough to hold on to power, his power over the party and the party's power over Russia, and at the same time work for socialism. One may doubt whether Lenin could have accomplished as much as he hoped, but obviously the most that Stalin could do was hang on to power. I see no reason to think that Trotsky or any other rival of Stalin's could have done better.

It does not matter whether or not Stalin has his moments in which he remembers the ideals of the revolution; the simple fact is that, whatever he wants to do, he cannot work for those ideals. Lenin had hoped to see the disappearance of the bureaucracy, but Stalin finds in the bureaucracy the only firm foundation for his power. Lenin told the truth to the masses even when it hurt; Stalin uses the old mechanics of concealment and falsehood. Lenin murdered the enemies of the party when he thought it necessary, but he explained why he murdered them. Stalin murders his enemies within the party, and has a Vishinsky to shower them with abuse that Lenin would have considered a pollution on his tongue. So one could go on. The explanation is not that Stalin is a villain but that, as a lesser man working in even more difficult circumstances, he can only maintain power by methods Lenin scorned. But it was Lenin who taught him and his followers that power must be maintained at all costs, and Lenin's technique not only led to Stalinism but gave the fascists lessons by which they have profited.

POWER FOR WHAT?

If one thus indicts Leninism, it is not to deny that Lenin was a great man. In the long and bloody procession that is history he did his work with heroism and distinction. But he did not bring socialism, and socialism can never be brought by his methods.

As Rosa Luxemburg long ago pointed out, it was Lenin's folly that, obsessed with power, he tried to turn evils that had some justification in Russia into virtues to be emulated by revolutionary parties elsewhere. Transferred to such a country as the United States, the Leninist concept of the party is purely romantic. Like all romantic ideas, however, it has its attractive aspects. The enemy, the people in power, seemingly have all the advantages, well-intrenched as they are and untroubled by scruples. Why not, then, train a corps of professional revolutionaries, an army, ready to fight fire with fire? The answer is obvious, though it never seems to occur to some people. You must have the blindest faith in the leaders of this fighting corps, and not merely in their intelligence and courage, but also in their integrity. You tell them there is only one ideal to which they need to be true, the victory of the party, and turn them loose. Only when they are in power, when, in other words, it is too late to do anything about it if they have betrayed you, can you clearly discern their intentions.

And this is not all. In practice today supporting the Communist Party means giving carte blanche not merely to the leaders in this country but also to a little group of men, five thousand miles away. It is easy to see what Lenin was thinking about: the revolution was successful in one country, and that became the center of all subsequent campaigns. But the rest of the world didn't revolt, and Lenin discovered that Russia couldn't maintain itself forever as a fortress. Its national life had to go on. Immediately the practical reconciliation of Russia's interests and the interests of world socialism became a difficult problem, and it has been constantly intensified by developments since Lenin's death. Yet the Russian leaders have insisted on remaining the strategists of the Communist International, ever tightening their grip on the constituent parties, so that, as the events of last August and September demonstrate, the only Communist principle that never changes is the doctrine that Stalin knows best.

We err, however, if we put the blame solely on Stalin or on the Communist International or on Mr. Browder. The fault, as I have tried to show, goes farther back, and its roots are in the Marxist concept of power and the Marxist concept of history. Both are partly right, but both mislead us. Whoever is interested in a better social order must be concerned with power, but the question we have to ask is the wholly non-Marxist one, "Power for what?" We cannot leave it to history, as Marx and Engels did, to put the brake on the misuse of power. On the contrary, the whole process of social reconstruction must be controlled. We want power for socialism's sake, not for power's sake, and if the Leninist way does not take us to that goal we must find another.

Where McNary Heads the Ticket

BY RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

Portland, Oregon, September 14

NOT since Thomas Jefferson sent Lewis and Clark on their great journey in 1804 has the Pacific Northwest fired the imagination of any President more completely than it has that of Franklin D. Roosevelt. Evidences of this for all the world to see are the huge dams at Bonneville and Grand Coulee, a dozen lesser reclamation projects, Farm Security camps for migrants, and a genuine attempt by the Forest Service to place the vital lumber industry on a sustained-yield basis.

Competing on his own against such a demonstration, Wendell Willkie would never get to first base. His chance of carrying the Northwest and the adjacent Rocky Mountain area rests primarily with a man who shares practically all Mr. Roosevelt's views with respect to the West—Charles Linza McNary, senior Senator from Oregon and Republican vice-presidential candidate. Most independent voters along this coast share the sentiment of Eugene Allen, editor of the A. F. of L. *Oregon Labor Press:* "If McNary were the nominee for President and Willkie the nominee for Vice-President, the Republicans would be a 100 per cent better bet out this way."

Nothing succeeds like success, and the Columbia River program has been a success beyond all expectations. This was apparent as early as 1936, and in that year the seven states wholly or partly in the Columbia Basin—Washington, Idaho, Oregon, Montana, Nevada, Wyoming, and Utah—gave President Roosevelt the heaviest proportionate majority he obtained anywhere outside the solid South.

Events have given a prophetic quality to the words of the sponsors of Bonneville and Grand Coulee. The 25,000 farms that will be rescued from the upland desert at Coulee, farms which opponents of the project once pointed to as needless in a nation of crop surpluses, are now sorely needed by homeless wanderers from the Dust Bowl. Bonneville Dam dovetails perfectly with the requirements of the present national-defense emergency. Economists and military strategists agree that a wider geographic distribution of industries is imperative, and Bonneville hydroelectric power already operates a new $3,000,000 aluminum plant twenty-eight miles downstream. Plans also have been drawn for other factories which use large quantities of power and produce goods essential to rearmament. Moreover, Bonneville kilowatts, transmitted to the People's Utility District of Pacific County in Washington, for example, will reduce rates to farm and home owners next month by at least 27 per cent.

Wendell Willkie's original political build-up was as the adversary of such a program as this. Without Senator McNary, therefore, he might expect to be massacred by voters in the Northwest. Local Republicans talk at greater length about the vice-presidential nominee than about the candidate for the Presidency. McNary's portrait in campaign headquarters here is as big as Willkie's. The name of Henry Wallace decorates no Democratic buttons in the West, but everywhere this side of the Continental Divide the official Republican button is blazoned "Willkie and McNary." In some of the G. O. P. literature being distributed to the rank and file McNary is mentioned more often than the head of the ticket.

This strategy is not without reason. The death of Senator Borah last winter left McNary as the man who has served longer in Congress than anyone else from the Northwest. He is immensely popular personally as well as politically, and much of his popularity is with groups ordinarily regarded as committed to the New Deal—labor unions, farm organizations, public-ownership clubs and liberals generally. Slight though the compliment may be, the Oregon Senator is probably the most progressive individual who has had a place on a Republican national ticket since Theodore Roosevelt's day. Many times in the recent past he has complained that the management of the party was "in the hands of men who have been directing it away from social and governmental reforms demanded by the masses."

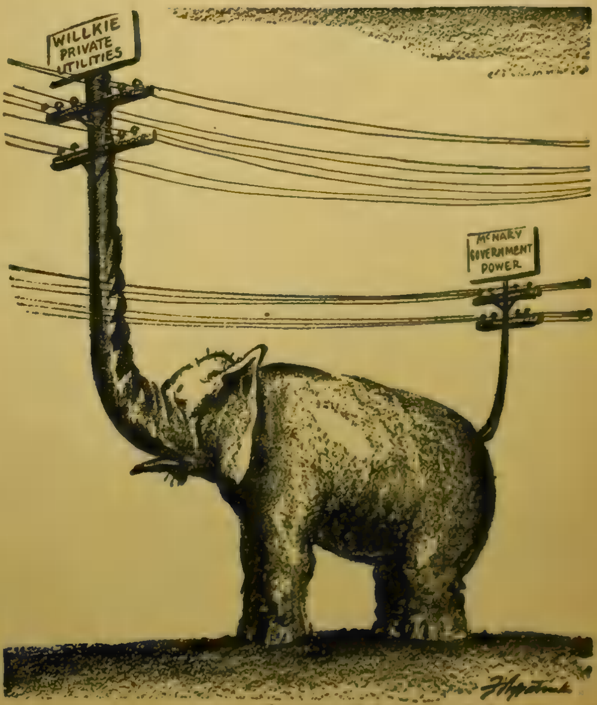
Because in many minds Willkie seems generally to fit this description, there was considerable astonishment in the West when McNary consented to run with him. The night before he was nominated McNary had wired his wife at their farm home in Oregon that he would not consider it, and desperate pleading by G. O. P. leaders was required to make him change his mind. In his acceptance speech appeared this observation on his tenure in the Senate, a tenure dating from 1917: "My record has been open to the view of my countrymen. I have supported progressive measures. I have sought to conserve and employ, for the benefit of all, our heritage of soil, water power, and forest. I stand on that record. Not one uttered word can be expunged, not one vote recalled; nor would I wish it otherwise, considering the light that has guided me." This served notice on the tories in the Republican Party that the candidate for Vice-President did not intend to disown measures which had made him the best-liked Senator in Oregon's history. The record proudly referred to by McNary has been distinguished, not for opposition to the New Deal, but for opposition to the views expressed for many years by Wendell Willkie. As late as April of this year McNary made a brave fight in the Senate for a third federal dam on the Columbia River, and lost thirty-three to thirty-six when the bulk of the leading Republicans turned him down. All during the time that Willkie was becoming a national figure by harassing the TVA, Senator McNary was supporting TVA policies and appropriations. He even voted with Norris, Bone, La Follette, and other liberals for the bond issue with which TVA bought out the Tennessee properties of Willkie's holding company.

When it became known that McNary planned to discuss hydroelectric power in his speech of acceptance, a prominent figure in the Republican campaign phoned and timidly asked, "Senator, is power an issue in this election?" "It's an issue in two places," replied McNary, "in my part of the country and in my conscience." His subsequent statement minced few words. He indorsed Bonneville and Boulder Dam and predicted great benefits from Grand Coulee. He said water power was "a common heritage" and praised the TVA method of purchasing private utility companies. The independence of these declarations may be gauged by their contrast with Willkie's known attitude. Not long ago Willkie denounced all government power dams as "uneconomic and fallacious." And who has forgotten his famous "Tonight at Midnight" full-page advertisements deploring "government-subsidized competition," inserted in the press when the TVA purchase of his companies took effect in August, 1939? After McNary's speech Rufus Woods of the Wenatchee, Washington, *World* summed up the opinion of public-power advocates in these words: "Fine, fine! Senator McNary has always been right down the line with us. What we want to know, though, is where Willkie stands."

No one believes that the Republican running-mates are in much greater harmony with respect to foreign policy. McNary has an isolationist record. He joined with the Senate isolationists in voting to restrict the service of the National Guard to the United States and its possessions. He approved the amendment to delay conscription, an amendment specifically opposed by Willkie. In fact, many of McNary's progressive friends believe Willkie botched his big opportunity in the West when he refused to make issues of peace and the draft. In four of five recent elections in this section, men hostile to conscription have won.

Judged by his past record and utterances Willkie represents things which are political dynamite in the great open spaces—low tariffs, private power corporations, internationalism, Wall Street. McNary stands for just the opposite. Like Sinbad the sailor struggling along with the Old Man of the Sea on his shoulders, he is supposed to carry Willkie through the Far West. Can he do it? Gregarious and affable himself, McNary has been attracted by Willkie's personality. He will try to sell Willkie to the people. Perhaps he will attempt to minimize the previous differences between them. He will speak on reclamation at Spokane, eighty-five miles from Grand Coulee, and on other Western problems at Salt Lake City; the Republicans want a lot of people to see their genuine, live sponsor of public power projects. But whereas Wallace referred constantly to Mr. Roosevelt in his message of acceptance, McNary mentioned Willkie only once. He described his running-mate as "able, magnetic, and forceful," and a few minutes later gave Wallace nearly as enthusiastic an O. K. as a "high-minded and sympathetic Secretary of Agriculture."

The presence of Senator McNary on the Republican ticket is symptomatic of the change the New Deal has wrought in American political thinking. Years ago he was helping George W. Norris resist the sale of Muscle Shoals to Henry Ford. He sponsored a farm bill vetoed by two Republican Presidents. He continually asked for Bonneville Dam during Republican administrations, and did not get it until Roosevelt entered the White House. He refused to take the stump for Hoover in 1932 and for Landon in 1936. William Allen White once wrote, "It just seems out of the realm of possibility that so fine a man as McNary should be a Republican nominee." And now McNary has to be a Republican nominee to give the party even a long-odds chance in the Far West.



Courtesy of the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*

All Connected Up

Almazán's Texas Junta

BY CHARLES CURTIS MUNZ

San Antonio, Texas, September 18

FOR a week now the Almazanistas have been gathering here, exchanging Latin embraces, and waiting—for the distant sound of shots. There is no doubt in their minds about the Almazán revolution. "The people," they say, "will know what to do. We do not have to urge them on; we have to hold them back—until the proper time."

When will that "proper time" come? As these words are written, a rumor spreads that General Almazán is either back in Mexico already or on the way, and so perhaps the "proper time" is not far off. But whenever the time comes, soon or late, the Almazanistas here are ready. They say, "We wait only for the word of General Almazán."

San Antonio has harbored Mexican revolutionists before. In one sense San Antonio may be called the cradle of the Mexican Revolution. This half-Mexican, half-American city knew the burning Madero before the world knew him; it knew him before even most of Mexico knew him. Here in the warrens of the Mexican quarter Francisco Madero laid his plans and spun his dreams. Then he slipped across the border into Mexico and breathed his passionate love of freedom into the withered body of his native land. The power of Porfirio Díaz crumbled, and the Mexican Revolution began. Now, after thirty years, a new revolution is cradled that would bring the old to an end.

Of course the Almazanistas here deny that they have actually formed a junta. To admit having done so would probably bring them under the frown of the United States neutrality laws. But I do not think that they expect their protestations to be taken too seriously. They smile even when they are making them. It is virtually certain that an Almazanista junta has been formed here and is in operation.

Let us call it a sort of unofficial junta, subject to some later changes in membership and to transfer to Mexican soil as soon as hostilities break out. For the present at the head of the junta are Eduardo Neri and Francisco Cárdenas, who is no relation to President Lazaro Cárdenas. Francisco Cárdenas has taken the lead here, and Neri has stayed in the background, but Neri is really closer to Almazán and will have more to say when the shooting starts.

Both men are, or at least have been, powerful figures in Mexico. Neri was campaign manager for Almazán in the southern states, Cárdenas in the northern states. Neri is a famous lawyer, and was attorney general of the republic under Alvaro Obregón. Francisco Cárdenas is a former governor of Nuevo León, of which Monterrey is the capital. He was civil governor at the time that Almazán was military chief at Monterrey. Cárdenas's duty here seems to be to organize the Almazanistas and hold them steady against the day when Almazán will proclaim the revolution. But he is important also because Nuevo León and Monterrey are strategically important, and he has many political friends there. A good many persons here think that Monterrey will see the first standard of the Almazán revolt.

There are at least two military leaders on the junta—General José Mijares Palencia, a former governor of Puebla, and General José Dorantes, who was until just recently chief of the military post at Matamoros. Palencia took a leave of absence to campaign for Almazán. He has ignored a command to return to army service. Palencia is said by some to be the real head of the junta here, but I do not think that is true. He is the man who will probably lead the Almazán forces in the field—if they take it.

General Dorantes was given his post by Almazán while the latter was military chief at Monterrey. Almazán of course has been preparing for this revolt for a long time, probably as long as two years. At one time his adherents held practically all the military posts in northern Mexico, but many of them have been removed. Dorantes was removed by President Cárdenas only a few weeks ago. But have enough of the Almazán officers been removed? Every military post in northern Mexico must be regarded as a danger point. Francisco Cárdenas told me that 90 per cent of the army is with the Almazanistas. I am sure that is an extremely partisan view, but it may be true in some of the northern states, which are undoubtedly strong for Almazán.

Another Almazanista who may not actually be a member of the junta but who is working closely with it is Luis Montes de Oca, who was until last week director general of the Bank of Mexico. Señor Montes de Oca has been an Almazán supporter from the start. He is also, or was, a good friend of President Cárdenas. At the beginning of the campaign Montes de Oca told the President he was for Almazán and offered to resign. I am told that Cárdenas asked him to stay on his job and assured him that the election was to be free and fair. So Montes de Oca kept his job and campaigned for Almazán, appearing with him often at election rallies. Last week, with the showdown between Cárdenas and Almazán coming closer and closer, he resigned—whether voluntarily or under pressure I don't know, but probably under pressure.

Anyway, he arrived here in great haste one night this week, a few minutes after midnight, and registered at the St. Anthony Hotel. He slept a few hours, conferred a few hours with Eduardo Neri, Francisco Cárdenas, and General Palencia, and then at ten minutes after twelve noon he was off again, with a great show of secrecy. It was reported that he would see Almazán himself, presumably in Baltimore, but if not there, somewhere in the United States, and then go on to New York, where he would seek to gain the support of American financiers and political leaders.

Señor Montes de Oca is well fitted for this role of unofficial ambassador for an unofficial junta. He speaks fluent English and is reputed to be extremely wealthy. He has had a long and colorful career in Mexican political and financial history. Those who regard the Almazán movement as somewhat too close to Germany for comfort remember that Señor Montes de Oca was once consul general in Hamburg and has many friends in Germany. He later became Secretary of the Treasury under President Calles and continued in that important post under Ortiz Rubio and Portes Gil. In 1924, under Calles, he negotiated the famous Montes de Oca–Thomas W. Lamont debt-refunding agreement, and he is favorably recalled for it in American financial circles.

Señor Montes de Oca is regarded as the financial brains of the Almazán movement. But his present mission is more political than financial. The first thing he will try to do is to turn the American government away from its present rather favorable attitude toward Cárdenas and Avila Camacho. An invitation to Camacho to visit the White House, for example, might be a serious blow to the Almazán revolution. It is the duty of Señor Montes de Oca to ward off such a blow.

However, the Almazanistas here are confident almost to the point of cockiness. They think that the United States, because of its good-neighbor policy, will not be willing to intervene, and so the revolution will be a strictly Mexican fight, with their side winning easily. I have often wondered, talking to these Almazanistas here in the last few days, if they half realized what they were planning to do to their native land. I do not think they do. What they are planning to have is a short and merry revolution, a few shots here, a few shots there, the crumbling of the Cárdenas-Camacho regime, and—*Viva Almazán! Viva el Presidente!*

Well, maybe so. Maybe it will be over in a few days or a few weeks. The majority of Mexicans here in San Antonio are for Almazán, and they probably reflect fairly well the opinion of Mexicans in the northern states, especially in cities like Monterrey. But it seems to me that times have changed since Escobar revolted eleven years ago. The balance of power has very possibly passed from the ill-trained army to Toledano's armed workers and Graciano Sanchez's armed peasants. It may look like a little revolution to the Almazanistas, but to me it looks like civil war.

Everybody's Business

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

Prices and Bottlenecks

NOW that defense orders are reaching industry in large volume, there is need to guard against the danger of a general advance in commodity prices. Once a strongly rising trend were established, its effects would be cumulative, since fear of being cut short of supplies would induce business men to stock up far ahead of needs. Moreover, a sharp rise in basic materials would quickly be used to justify an increase in prices of finished goods. A vicious spiral thus started could not easily be halted by the usual remedy—a buyers' strike—owing to the important share of the market that is influenced by government "must" orders.

At the present time raw-material prices are still below the level of a year ago, when we were in the middle of a hectic but short-lived war boom. On September 27, 1939, *Barron's* sensitive-spot commodity index reached a peak of 72.5. On September 11 this year it was 59.1, which compares with 57.7 a week earlier and 56.0 at the end of August. It may be said, therefore, that the situation is not yet out of hand, but recent movements in individual commodities such as lumber, steel scrap, and hides justify vigilance. This is primarily the job of Leon Henderson, who is in charge of the price-stabilization division of the National Defense Advisory Committee. Mr. Henderson is believed to take the view that the supply-demand situation for most raw materials is not such as to excuse any considerable rise in prices. It has been pointed out, for instance, that quotations for certain non-ferrous metals have been moving forward although producers are operating far below capacity. In such a case the obvious remedy is an increase in output, but the Defense Commission has no authority to compel mine owners and others to extend operations. It can only use the methods of moral suasion and publicity.

These, however, are weapons not wholly to be despised, and both were called into play a short while ago when Mr. Henderson drew attention to a sharp rise in lumber prices, stating that it was not warranted by the defense program. Actually the movement appears to have been caused by exaggerated rumors of the amount of lumber which would be required for new army cantonments. However, it has now been pointed out by the Defense Commission that this building program will absorb less than one billion feet, whereas annual production of the lumber industry, operating at only 75 per cent of capacity, is around twenty-eight billion feet. Since this statement was issued, the Weyerhaeuser Sales Company, one of the leading units in the industry, has announced the stabilization of prices on a number of varieties of building timber, and the danger of a runaway lumber market appears to have been checked. Another possible factor in the situation is the government's control, through the Federal Surplus Commodity Corporation, of large holdings of timber salvaged in New England after the great hurricane of 1938. It now has a good opportunity to liquidate this asset.

Another branch of the government able to exercise a healthy influence on prices is the Department of Justice. Appreciation of the eagle eye of Mr. Thurman Arnold is growing, and the fear of attracting a Sherman Act investigation has probably curbed the appetite of many an industrialist able to influence prices. Recently the Anti-Trust Division brought an indictment against the Carboloy Corporation, a subsidiary of General Electric, charging it was fixing the price of tungsten-carbide tools, which play an important part in a number of defense industries. The corporation denied the allegations but by a curious coincidence announced a few days later drastic price reductions.

Although industry, by and large, is in a position to meet the increased demand caused both by the defense program and by greater purchasing power, it must be admitted that there are likely to be certain bottlenecks which, under normal circumstances, would only be enlarged by the pressure of higher prices. The steel industry is an example. Ingot production is now approaching practical capacity, and there is at least a prospect that during the next twelve months demand will oustrip supply. Is a rise in price necessary to induce a greater output? Judging by income statements, leading steel producers cannot grumble at the present price structure, for although costs of raw materials are somewhat higher, near-capacity operations have resulted in an impressive shrinkage of overhead charges per ton. However, there may be some owners of semi-obsolete high-cost plant now idle who do not find it profitable to resume production at present prices. The government would, I think, be making a great mistake to allow a general rise in steel quotations in order to make available the comparatively small additional output which high-cost producers might contribute. Rather than raise the price of steel to all consumers, including the defense industries, it would be far cheaper to guarantee such plants a modest profit as an inducement to reopen during the emergency period.

The question remains, however, whether the prospective demand for steel is such as to necessitate the building of new plants and if so whether higher prices would be sufficient to encourage the necessary capital investment? Unless it was assured sufficient profit to amortize its investment during the emergency period, it is improbable that any steel company would be willing to undertake an expansion program. For industry generally is very defeatist about the economic outlook once the present defense program is completed and hence is fearful of creating redundant capacity. Under these circumstances higher prices would not prove a remedy, and if steel demand outstrips supply to a critical extent, the government may be forced to institute priority schedules in order to prevent delays in the defense program. That could have very undesirable consequences, for it would mean rationing other steel users, such as the automobile and refrigerator industries, and might lead to a customers' scramble which would start prices rocketing.

In the Wind

A RESEARCH WORKER recently telephoned the New York Public Library to find out if it had a magazine called *Progress.* A library spokesman said that he had never heard of it and suggested that the inquirer call the *New Masses. "Progress* sounds like a radical paper," he said.

WILLKIE NEWS: When Russell Davenport, formerly managing editor of *Fortune,* joined the Willkie campaign forces, he appointed a secretary for the Associated Willkie Clubs. She intends to vote for Roosevelt and told him so, but she took the job because she believes in the two-party system, wants the G. O. P. to remain alive.

DEFINITE DISUNITY exists inside the "Union Now" movement, although the leaders are trying to keep it quiet. The dispute is chiefly over how hard to press for "Union Now," with Britain virtually the only nation left to unite with

THURMAN ARNOLD is a good deal more sympathetic to Wendell Willkie than are most of his New Deal colleagues He has told intimates that all "liberal governments" have failed, and that maybe "a good reactionary" wouldn't hurt now.

MARK SULLIVAN had an unhappy experience recently. In his column in the New York *Herald Tribune* he quoted from an earlier column by Walter Lippmann in which Lippmann charged that the President was showing too much lust for power. But on the same day, in the same paper—just four columns away—Lippmann insisted that he saw no evidence that the President wanted to be a dictator.

AN ITALIAN DOCTOR who has just arrived in New York insists this tale is true: A young Fascist militiaman was operated on in the hospital where the doctor worked. As the young man was coming out of the anaesthetic, he sang the old Socialist fighting song, "Bandiera Rossa"—the "Red Flag." When he realized what he was doing he begged the doctor to forget about it and not to tell.

A RECENT EDITORIAL in the Toledo *Blade* praised Wendell Willkie for disavowing Coughlin, citing Willkie's "leadership in a tolerance which has been too long delayed in America." The same editorial column carried a piece commending a judge who had refused to prevent publication of the names of signers of Communist petitions; the *Blade* warned that signers "must be prepared to face unpleasant consequences."

THE *SATURDAY EVENING POST* ran an ad recently promising a piece about the man who exposed a "prominent C. I. O. crook." The article, about Westbrook Pegler, didn't mention any C. I. O. leader. The *Post* will retract.

[We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind. A prize of $5 will be awarded each month for the best item.]

A Native at Large

BY JONATHAN DANIELS

IN ONE nation-wide skirmishing I want to put myself down as the friend of filling stations and filling-station attendants. All up and down the United States they have not only sold me gasoline but given me also information, philosophy, courtesy, and comradeship. The courtesy sometimes has the slick sound of the lessons of the sales supervisor. In the bigger stations it is sometimes difficult to tell whether you are in Vermont or Arkansas by the look of the boys in the identical company-distributed dungarees. But they are different in their twang or drawl, though alike, too, as informed and interested natives wherever they are.

But not everybody likes the stations or wants the boys around. The embattled ladies in my home town descended like hot hornets not long ago on old Dr. Riddick, who wanted to put one up on his vacant lot by the State College, and now the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* has gone to the rescue of "Home Owner" in a city in which, the paper says, not everybody lives next to a filling station but everybody soon may hope or fear to. The oil companies, it says, are doing their best to make St. Louis a place from which to get away. It told the story sympathetically as "Home Owner" sees it, not only in St. Louis and Raleigh but in Bronxville and Des Moines. It made a dramatic design for a modern American street scene: "There are handsome homes in that 5900 block in Clemens. Wide lawns, princely trees, flowers as the seasons come and go, and pride of possession in the very atmosphere. But a fine old residence is to be razed and on its site a filling station is to be built—a garish, cluttering, destructive intrusion."

Even when we like filling stations, that picture touches the heart. I never have been to my knowledge on the 5900 block in Clemens, but I have been on such a scene before. Once such streets died in a slower decay if not greater decency with the arrival of relatively unobtrusive undertaking establishments, doctors' offices, and boarding-houses. Now both the rate and the character of change are altered. Also the change makes more noise and smell. But everywhere now change and resistance together represent the coincident American desires to keep the decorous past and go like hell at the same time.

There is not much doubt about the going. The latest figures I have at hand show around 200,000 filling stations in America doing about $2,000,000,000 worth of business. That is not the whole business. We are using every year well over 20 billion gallons of gasoline. My own state spends three times as much money for gasoline as it does for all the electric power in its industries and homes. Most other states do likewise, and all at an increasing rate among increasing filling stations. And I don't think there is any doubt about the desire to guard the lawns, the flowers, and the trees. I have seen the home owners arrayed and rampant. No motor fuel I know has half their explosive power. Their well-dressed descent on building authorities and zoning boards is the best answer I know to the suggestion that the American is not ready to fight for his land. Give him a little equity in a little piece of it and let him spend a few dollars or a Saturday afternoon on a lawn, and he is ready at the drop of a building permit to fight for his serenity and his scene.

It is not a new problem. Almost all the big and little towns now have ordinances designed to protect the pattern of neighborhoods and prevent swift and disruptive change. They slow the pace if they do not quite succeed in calming the passionate. But even where they are most successful there is never any quite even meeting between those who want to sell out to the oil companies and move to the country and their neighbors who want to stay where they are and as they were.

It is doubtful that there ever will be. But I would like to pay a road-riding debt to filling-station attendants even if it requires my entering a plea for the oil companies, to whom I've always paid cash. It is about time that even the people on Clemens Avenue began to realize that not the oil companies but themselves are tearing down the mansions and putting up the pumps. Every time an oil company buys, somebody sells. Occasionally those neighbors are most angry about it who have not been able to find purchasers themselves. Furthermore, the oil companies, being the heartless mercenary creatures that they are, acting always in terms of the rolling democracy of the least resistance, put up the pumps where the people will roll in. They don't seek serenity; they are looking for customers. And once the customers are there, Clemens Avenue is already gone.

It was a sweet old street with the changing flowers in the changing seasons and those old trees and lawns. Maybe once there was an iron dog or deer in the yard. Aunt Mamie was married there. Once papa fell down the steps. And before we began trading at the chain store the grocery boy came whistling with his basket through the gate. Goodby. It's gone. And we did it ourselves.

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

Chanson de France

Printemps 1940

BY IVAN GOLL

Nous n'irons plus au bois ma belle
Les lauriers sont coupés les ponts
Aussi les arcs-en-ciel
Et même le Pont d'Avignon

Jeanne d'Arc mortelle statue
Un peu de bronze ensanglanté
Dans cette France qui s'est tue
Ton coeur a cessé de chanter

Jeanne dans sa jupe de bure
Assise sous les framboisiers
Se prépare une confiture
Avec du sang de cuirassiers

La poule noire des nuages
Pond les oeufs pourris de la mort
Les coqs éplumés des villages
N'annoncent que les vents du Nord

Car son aube a du plomb dans l'aile
Le soleil n'est plus qu'un obus
Qui fait sauter les citadelles
Et le crocus sur les talus

Le ciel de France est noirci d'aigles
De lémures et de corbeaux
Ses soldats couchés dans les seigles
Ignorent qu'ils sont des héros

Ni Rouen ni Chartres ni Bruges
N'ont assez d'anges dans leurs tours
Pour lutter contre le déluge
Et les escadres de vautours

Taureau chassé des pâturages
Et du silence paternel
Devant la pourpre de l'outrage
Perd tout sang au grand soleil

Buvez buvez guerriers ivrognes
Les vins fermentés de la peur
Les sangs tournés de la Bourgogne
Les alcools amers du malheur

Les bières gueuses de la Meuse
Et les vins platinés du Rhin
Les sources saintes des Chartreuses
Et les absinthes du chagrin

Les larmes qui de chaque porte
Ont débordé sur le pays
Les eaux de vie et les eaux mortes
Grisantes comme le vin gris

Nous n'irons plus au bois ma belle
Les lauriers sont coupés les ponts
Aussi les arcs-en-ciel
Et même le Pont d'Avignon

The Goddess History

TO THE FINLAND STATION: A STUDY IN THE WRITING AND ACTING OF HISTORY. By Edmund Wilson. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $4.

MR. WILSON'S delightful series of character studies is not at all what it professes to be. It professes to be an analysis of interpretations of the meaning of history, beginning with the Renaissance philosopher Vico's rediscovery of the unity of history and with Michelet's discovery of Vico's historical principles. The first part of the volume leads one to assume and to hope that the issues raised by the Renaissance and the Enlightenment will be fully analyzed. Michelet's philosophy of history was nothing more than the simple idea of progress current in the Enlightenment. Mr. Wilson traces the disintegration of this optimism, particularly in the thought of Renan, Taine, and Anatole France. He reveals how quickly the optimism of the bourgeois revolution can be transmuted into cynicism and despair.

The way is thus prepared for the Marxist reinterpretation of the optimism of the Renaissance and Enlightenment, and one is led to expect a rigorous analysis of the Marxist philosophy of history. But nothing of this kind is forthcoming. Once embarked upon Marxism Mr. Wilson gives us a series of very penetrating character studies of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Trotsky. The basic theme is not completely lost, but it is certainly obscured. Mr. Wilson is primarily interested in the characters of the great revolutionary leaders and in their relations to each other. He gives us a clear picture of the relation between the amiable and modest Engels and the truculent and difficult Marx. We learn a good deal about Marx's private woes, about the varying fortunes of his children and his children's children. The prurient attitude of Marx's wife toward Engels's common-law marriage is traced in detail. The family backgrounds of both Lenin and Trotsky are sketched with great imagination and insight. We learn

something of Trotsky's "kulak" background and follow the vicissitudes of Lenin's early life and his later life in exile. We are helped to understand the genesis of Lenin's curiously impersonal genius.

Meanwhile, what is announced as the basic theme of the book emerges again and again, but the issues raised are never followed through to a final solution. Mr. Wilson rejects Marxist utopianism and sees no reason to share the Marxist hope that human nature will be redeemed once the corruptions of class interest are removed. He gives a penetrating account of Lenin's pragmatism and of his skill in relating to the Marxist dogma whatever he regards as right and practical in the immediate crisis. He proves that while Marxism ostensibly dismisses the traditional conception of "Providence" and while Marx declares that "history does nothing—it is rather man who acts, possesses, and fights in everything," yet a secularized version of Providence is insinuated into the Marxist interpretation of history. History is apotheosized: "There is a non-personal entity called 'History' which accomplishes things on its own hook and which will make the human story come out right." Mr. Wilson is rightly critical of this covert determinism in Marxist thought. He believes that the "Marxist will . . . has been transformed into the invisible power which supplies the motive force to run the escalator." But he does not discuss the problem raised by the fact that this determinism, this belief in an escalator of history, does not destroy but rather underpins the Marxist historical will. Whatever may be the errors of Marxist determinism, are there not elements of truth here in contrast to a too simple bourgeois voluntarism, to Vico's simple faith that the "social world is certainly the work of man"? Marxism may give us a too mechanized version of historical destiny, but it does maintain a paradoxical relation between voluntarism and determinism, without which no historical movement has ever maintained great vigor. Here is a socialized, secularized, and mechanized version of a very old faith expressed Biblically in the words: "Work out your own salvation in fear and trembling, for it is God who giveth you both to will and to do his good pleasure." This is one of the basic problems of any philosophy of history upon which no further light is shed.

What Mr. Wilson's data reveal is that there are no interpretations of history, at least not in the Western world (in which alone we have affirmative interpretations of history), in which the actions of the individual or of a class are not interpreted against the background of a total meaning of history (this is the inevitable determinism, the sense of destiny in all philosophies of history); that there are no interpretations of history which are not finally optimistic in the sense that they assume the victory of the cause which the philosopher of history regards as the keystone of history's meaning; and finally that there are no philosophies of history which do not ultimately identify the judgments of the believer with the ultimate judgments of the "Goddess History." In the light of these perennial problems, how are we to estimate Marxist determinism against bourgeois voluntarism; and Marxist optimism, with its provisional catastrophism, against the purer optimism of the bourgeois idea of progress; and how are we to assess both the bourgeois and the Marxist pretensions of having given us a new inter-

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Ruth Benedict's
RACE: SCIENCE AND POLITICS

MODERN AGE BOOKS, 432 FOURTH AVE., NEW YORK, N. Y.

pretation of history when they merely restate much older interpretations, and sometimes arrive at seeming novelty by obscuring complexities of the problem? All these questions are raised explicitly or implicitly by Mr. Wilson, but one finds no attempt to answer them.

As a postscript one might add that it is difficult to understand the relevance of the cryptic title "To the Finland Station" even after the publishers have explained it.

REINHOLD NIEBUHR

A Great Letter Writer

HORACE WALPOLE'S CORRESPONDENCE WITH MADAME DU DEFFAND AND WIART. Edited by W. S. Lewis and Warren Hunting Smith. Yale University Press. Six volumes. $45.

THIS second instalment of the great new edition of Walpole's correspondence is likely to prove more interesting to the general reader than that devoted to the antiquary Cole. Only a few of Walpole's letters to Madame du Deffand survive, most of them having been probably destroyed at his own request, and the majority of the more than 2,500 pages of the present volumes are devoted to the communications addressed to him by the lady herself; these are not only precious documents but—when taken in moderation as I have taken them—interesting reading. Walpole's insistence on keeping the tone of the correspondence suggestive of aunt and nephew was probably sharper and more continuous than the aging amorist would have desired, and, indeed, rather sharper and rather more continuous than one would suppose to have been necessary when the age of the lady is taken into consideration. Nevertheless, though she protested against his scoldings, she continued to write endlessly the gossip of her circle, and the connoisseur to whom she wrote not only treasured her letters but evidently regarded them as so important a part of the picture which he wished to transmit to posterity that they must be printed after his death, even though, despite the destruction of his own side of the correspondence, he would appear in a light not too favorable. His was an age when only Samuel Richardson could take male virgins seriously, and Walpole had barely escaped being that monster, if, indeed, he escaped at all.

Madame du Deffand was already an elderly lady when Walpole first met her, and her salon was already old-fashioned. She belonged to the period before the rise of modish radicalism, and more up-to-date people had drifted elsewhere. But she still spent more than half her income on food—what a blessing that she never heard Oscar Wilde's famous remark about salons and restaurants—and she was visited by such oddly assorted notables as Gibbon, the King of Sweden, Benjamin Franklin, and the Holy Roman Emperor. Above all, she kept assiduously at work drawing portraits and retelling anecdotes as the only escape from boredom left to a survivor from a time when such pursuits seemed less futile than even she was perhaps beginning to believe them.

Probably most readers of today grow weary rather quickly of the world into which these letters take them. Even one thousand pages of exquisite trifling is a good deal too much, but the exquisiteness can still be perceived after one has grown weary of it. One sample will serve to illustrate how expertly Madame du Deffand could tell an anecdote which a single clumsiness would completely destroy. A letter written in 1768 begins:

> Vous m'avez cité la "Nouvelle Héloïse"; permettez, à mon tour, que je vous reconte une petite histoire. Feu le Cardinal d'Estrés, âge de soixante et dix, quatre-vingts, ou cent ans, ce tout de même, se trouva un jour avec Mme de Courcillon, plus belle qu'un ange, plus précieuse que tout l'Hôtel de Rambouillet, d'un maintien, d'une sagesse, d'une réputation merveilleux. Les charmes de cette belle dame ragaillardirent le vieux Cardinal; il avait de l'esprit, de la grâce: il lui dit des galanteries, il voulut même baiser sa main; elle prit un ton sévère, le repoussa, le traita fort mal: "Ah! Madame, Madame!" s'écria le vieux Cardinal, *"vous prodiguez vos rigueurs."*

Is it too much to imagine that she meant Walpole to understand a sly rebuke? Was he also too prodigal with his severities?

Most of the letters in the collection have been published before, but they here appear in what is doubtless the final form and are both edited and annotated with the greatest thoroughness and the most meticulous care. The very brief introduction by the editors is not only a model of compactness but graceful and penetrating as well.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

Dialogue by Wells

BABES IN THE DARKLING WOOD. By H. G. Wells. Alliance Book Corporation. $2.75.

IT WAS June of 1939 when Gemini and Stella, exaltedly living in sin, swore they would lift the world "from the hands of the beasts and bullies and blockheads." She was a Newnham undergraduate, he an Oxford man who wrote for one of the English highbrow weeklies. They talked. They orated on such burning questions as sex, religion, social psychology, a world revolution of their own shaping; and whenever their proud parent, Mr. H. G. Wells, felt that he had shown off his bright darlings at the risk of the reader's ennui, someone else talked with very much their same earnest voices. Meanwhile, no actual aid to the world was accomplished.

It should seem no paradox to say that although Mr. Wells is occasionally tedious he is inveterately interesting, or that even his indifferent novels demand attention for a thoughtful chapter in one and an incisive paragraph in another of them. This is a "novel of ideas" as he states, rather defensively, in its preface, a symposium, "the most comprehensive and ambitious dialogue novel I have ever attempted," stemming straight from his "Ann Veronica" and "The Holy Terror." Unlike them, however, this book lacks continuous drive toward the clarification of a single problem; it is spread thin over the whole world of puzzlement in which the young English intellectual lives; it is a compound of essays in dialogue form.

Unlike, too, the dialectic novels of Huxley and the plays of Shaw, Mr. Wells's "Babes in the Darkling Wood" has insufficient physical action to draw your interest from one to another of his always ingenious proposals. Simply, his babes are detected in their life of "monogamy without marriage"; Gemini, disinherited, jaunts—off stage—toward the Soviet Union to study a political system which seems ideal to him; the invasion of Finland and Poland disillusions him; he starves—still off stage—is bombed, and breaks down mentally before he can be brought to Uncle Robert and his cure by "psychosynthesis." The end of it all is in talk again, during May, 1940, with the babes deciding to begin "a preliminary study of the possible intellectual enlargement of the world."

Mr. Wells, through his various advocates, rants against university education, psychoanalysis, God, Chamberlain, and the war of the Germans "who think they look like Swedes." He foresees a "World Federation by Armistice" when this war is stalemated, but these ideas as presented out of the mouths of the babes in the darkling wood lack conviction. The babes rationalize, change their minds to no profit. There are such statements, obviously of the author's belief, as that "there are no masses of illiterates with a common sense of injustice any longer in the world" and that governmental centers of power will be needless ("you haven't to obey *anyone*") when each man learns the Right Thing To Do—capitals by Wells. This latter is all very nice, but it is neither helpful nor provocative enough for exposition.

It seems crass to say of an old master that he hasn't mastered his medium, but in regard to this book I believe it to be true. This is a neuter work, with neither the force of Wells's non-fiction nor the narrative appeal of his pure novels. It is Wells worth borrowing. HASSOLDT DAVIS

Radio and Ideas

RADIO AND THE PRINTED PAGE. An Introduction to the Study of Radio and Its Role in the Communication of Ideas. By Paul F. Lazarsfeld. Duell, Sloan, and Pearce. $4.

OVER the quackery and pseudo-research of radio, the work of Dr. Lazarsfeld and his associates at the Office of Radio Research of Columbia University stands up like the mast of a broadcasting station. Even against a different background this would be an important book, providing a veritable conspectus of research in the entire field with which it deals: an account of studies finished, work in progress, and research which ought to be undertaken. It summarizes not only most of the research that Dr. Lazarsfeld's office has done since 1937, but almost every other reputable study that contributes to the problem. This book does not solve the problems that it raises, but it does bring to bear upon their solution as much good evidence as now exists, and it makes no bones about stating as clearly what is not known.

Who listens to radio and why? Why do people like a program? What do they get out of listening? What of radio's educational pretensions, aspirations, and experiments? What sort of radio programs are listened to by people who don't read serious books or magazines? Who gets his news by radio and who from the papers? How do listening habits differ according to economic status, education, and social background? These are all urgent questions. So many people have

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THE WAYS OF THINGS
A Philosophy of Knowledge, Nature and Value
BY WILLIAM PEPPERELL MONTAGUE
$4 at bookstores
PRENTICE-HALL, Inc., 70 Fifth Avenue, New York

flung themselves into radio in the blind hope that this new and magic medium might reach people impervious to the printed page that it is high time some healthy corrective was introduced. While producing a softly spoken, yet damning case against most of the "serious" broadcasting now heard, the author believes that a large group of the population can benefit from radio education, "people with some intellectual training but with weak incentives toward serious concerns."

A word should be said about the point of view of the book. So much research in the social sciences has been stultified by an overprecious objectivity that it is good to be able to recommend a book which recognizes the obligations implied by Dr. Lynd's "Knowledge for What?" The hot breath of the times is on the author's neck. He feels the practical men of the age at his elbow as he writes, impatient to be off with new applications of new knowledge. And regardless of one's cynicism toward the practical men of present-day broadcasting, it is some small comfort to see whose hand is being strengthened by Dr. Lazarsfeld's conclusions.

FREDERICK A. GUTHEIM

Look Homeward

YOU CAN'T GO HOME AGAIN. By Thomas Wolfe. Harper and Brothers. $3.

MY FEELING about any novel by Thomas Wolfe is that even if it were not good I'd like it. I'd like it for its ebullient, electric vitality, its obvious sincerity, the glowing, almost incandescent poetry of its style, the sense which it gives, however confusedly, of a meaning, a unified current, recognized in the seemingly helter-skelter maze of human life. These qualities light up "You Can't Go Home Again" for me, just as they illuminated "Look Homeward, Angel," "Of Time and the River," "The Web and the Rock," and many shorter pieces; but there is no denying that Wolfe's methods, his themes, and to a large extent his material remained the same throughout his work, with the result that his inspiration suffered a gradual diminution of intensity.

That George Webber = Eugene Gant = Tom Wolfe is an equation almost too obvious to mention, in spite of the fact that George is described in "The Web and the Rock" and "You Can't Go Home Again" as short and stocky, while Wolfe was a mountain of a man and Eugene Gant was supposed to be long and rangy. When an author bestows his own personality on a hero and surrounds him with the author's own acquaintances under the transparent disguise of altered names, it makes little difference that he knocks five or six inches off his stature. If you have read "How to Write a Novel," Wolfe's account of the composing and publishing of "Look Homeward, Angel," you will find the first half of this last book virtually a retelling of that bit of autobiography. The rest of the story deals with his love affair with "Esther" and its conclusion, with the stock-market crash, and with his travels in Nazi Germany, several chapters of the latter part of the book having, if my memory does not fail me, already appeared as short stories in magazines.

His two principal themes are, as always, man's essential loneliness and the mystic movement of time, like a river that seems ever the same but is constantly shifting. You can't go home again, simply because "home" isn't there; both it and you have changed, and your romanticized memory-picture of it bears no more resemblance to the sordid reality than a surrealist painting does to an unretouched photograph.

But even themes so universally applicable as these can be overworked, and the pregnant symbolism, the driving power that made "Look Homeward, Angel" stand out above the common herd of novels like a mountain dawn, has given way to a sprawling looseness of structure that becomes more and more noticeable as the book progresses. There are diversions into long essay passages bound to the narrative by only the most tenuous threads. Nor can this be attributed altogether to the fact that the work is posthumous, not subject to final revision, since the same tendency had already manifested itself all too plainly in "Of Time and the River."

The very nature of these conventional complaints against Wolfe's art, however, makes them a sort of compliment, a grudging admission that he had something too vitally alive to be judged entirely according to the criteria of form—in short, he irritates us more, because he had the magic power and did not use it precisely as we should have liked, than does the run-of-the-mill writer who obviously was not born with the divine fire. Wolfe belongs to the tribe of Whitman, Emerson, Carlyle—especially the last. Like Carlyle, he was emotionally disturbed by the stupidity and selfishness of the world, without having any specific formula to offer as a remedy; he had a passion for work and a transcendental scorn for the shackles of form; even his style, with its purple splendor, its heavy leaning on apostrophe and impersonation, its ironic ranting against mediocrity, echoes that "stormy sophist with his mouth of thunder" who preached Cassandra-like warnings to the Victorians. Chapter 29, The Hollow Men, with its bitter allegory about Standard Concentrated Blots, sounds like an excerpt from "Past and Present."

And I feel about Wolfe very much as I feel about Carlyle: though I disagree with a great many things he says, I don't know anyone who can say them more splendidly.

LOUIS B. SALOMON

Only the Ninety and Nine

THE OXFORD BOOK OF CHRISTIAN VERSE. Edited and Chosen by Lord David Cecil. Oxford University Press. $3.

THERE can be no real dispute with the poems Lord Cecil has included in his anthology; nor any question that they do present an adequate and standard picture of Christian poetry in English since Chaucer. One would have chosen differently here and there from a favorite writer; and as always in the Oxford collections there is the pointless omission of American poets. But with a generous representation from the holy songs of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; from Donne, Herbert, Crashaw, Vaughan; from the eighteenth-century hymns; from Patmore, Hopkins, Rossetti, Eliot—and, by the way, poems on Biblical and religious themes by the great seculars—one has the best of "writers whose poems are consistent with the doctrines of orthodox Christianity."

What is tepid and unsatisfying about the compilation rises more from what is not in the book, and from the tone f the long introduction. Lord Cecil's attitude toward Blake lustrates. He "is doubtful whether Blake should appear at ll" because of his unorthodoxy; but because of the fact that lake is so patently Christian in another sense, Cecil includes im. "But for that pressing concourse of vague mystics" ther than Blake, the pages of this collection have been osed. One wonders to whom he refers. On the other hand, e names Milton as no Christian at all but a Stoic who "did ot live by faith, scorned hope, and was indisposed toward harity." Yet Milton with his nominally Christian poems is opiously represented. It looks as if the editor has his very wn and narrow views of what is orthodox, and that it has nore to do with the letter than the spirit.

There is such a thing as a specific Christian quality, varying om writer to writer; and in matters of poetry, of sensibility, ny other orthodoxy is inadmissible. It is experienced in the whores and clowns of Rouault as much as in Fra Angelico; n the Doctor and Tiny O'Toole in Djuna Barnes's "Nightwood" equally as in "The Pearl." In this collection I miss angland, Marlow's "See where Christ's blood streams in e firmament," Wilde, and T. E. Hulme—to indicate a few ery different examples.

The Council of Nicaea in 325 A.D. is the merest of official stablishments. The remaking of all of society into the New Man—that is, the remaking of all of each member—is a rocess that has hardly started, as the old quip has it. "Before he New Testament God, man allows himself to express nly unexceptionable sentiments," Cecil writes. Naturally uch "sentiments" were the first to be brought up, to be edeemed, before the new God. And to many, including Cecil, the expression of these represent the limits of orthodoxy. But according to the Gospels, the God of the New Testament was notable precisely for his interest in recognizing he "exceptionable" experiences. And there have been people, nd therefore poets, ever since, who have tried to preserve he riches of the old gods for the new—poets particularly, ince it is from the primitive levels of emotion that poetry's eal body springs, iris necklace and glossy hide. Thus Eliot writes: "The recognition that even the most primitive feelings hould be part of our heritage (in a Christian society) seems o me to be the explanation and justification of the life of D. H. Lawrence."

It is because Lord Cecil has not this sure sense of Christian ensibility whatever habit of language it may wear, that is anthology, though good, lacks distinction. The truly orthodox is usually a paradox; and Cecil's taste never saves tself by self-contradiction.

SHERMAN CONRAD

Editor Hough

COUNTRY EDITOR. By Henry Beetle Hough. Doubleday, Doran and Company. $3.

HERE is a verdict on human values rendered by a shrewd and sensitive judge of them. Here also is the story of he recent years of the *Vineyard Gazette,* published, edited, printed, and practically distributed, weekly during the winters and bi-weekly during the summers, by Mr. Hough and is wife Betty, assisted by their collie Matrix, in the little

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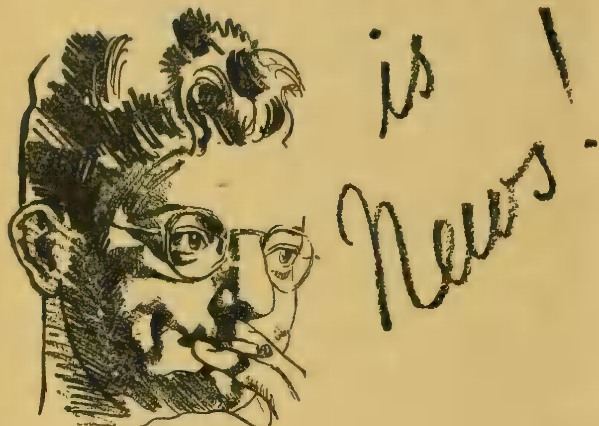
WASHINGTON



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town of Edgartown on Martha's Vineyard, Massachusetts

Publicity about this book may have created the impressio that it is another one of those cracker-box glorifications o the small town in which the tobacco-chawin' editor spins tal yarns about professional "local characters." On the contrary it is a serene and dignified chronicle of civilized living, written in a style as distinguished as that which marks the edito rials in the *Gazette* itself.

About Martha's Vineyard, the wooded island set acros six miles of blue water from Cape Cod, there has gathere a pleasing mythology. It begins with the story of Leif Erickson and his painted sails along the fog-shrouded beaches o Gay Head at the island's tip, and it runs through the fantas that returning explorers gave to Will Shakespeare, at th "Mermaid," descripions of the Vineyard which he used fo his settings of "The Tempest." No myth, however, adhere to the fishermen descendants of the English who made th first permanent settlement on the island when Thoma Mayhew set foot on Edgartown sands in 1642. There is homespun reality about these island folk, together with jealously guarded self-sufficiency, which Mr. Hough and th reader find most refreshing. Even today, when from earl June until late September the island's winter population o 5,000 is augmented by 35,000 summer visitors, the native keep gnarled control of their own affairs. A man's fame o the mainland gets him nowhere unless he passes the Vin yard's test of fitness. You may sit in front of Carl Reed store at the fishing village of Menemsha at mail time an watch the celebrities pass by on August evenings. Beare of important names in every phase of American activity ar however, less than the dust beneath a Mayhew's feet if the have flunked the intangible island test. The silence th descends among the fishermen after an outlawed summ visitor has made some fatuous remark is the icy silen of New York's Union League in the presence of a visitin Elk from Omaha. Denys Wortman, who was brought fir to the island at the age of three but after fifty years is sti an "off-islander," once drew a picture of such an encounte A copy of it hung in a Menemsha fishing shack that w swept away by the hurricane of '38. In it a "flanneled foo asks a group of natives, "What do you do up here in th winters?" The tight-lipped answer is, "We think up answe to the fool questions visitors ask us in the summers."

It is the time between mid-September, when the la Willkie-buttoned yachtsman has puffed away from Edga town, to the next June's arrival of the station wagons whi Mr. Hough covers with quiet brilliance in "Country Editor Then the island life takes up the author's theme: "Thin have been big for so long now. For instance, a great ma people are not only unable to imagine what a small week newspaper and a small town are like, but they do not ev try, because they assume that anything small is simply early and imperfect version of something big. I doubt there are many who know that these particular small thin and of course others, are more different in kind than in si They are not underdeveloped. They are mature, compl specimens of what they have always been and always w be." Out of such small, insular if you like, but certai beloved specimens Mr. Hough has made his important bo

MCALISTER COLEMAN

IN BRIEF

GOD BLESS THE DEVIL! By the Tennessee Writers' Project. The University of North Carolina Press. $2.

A pungently written collection of au-
hentic folktales straight from the Liars'
Bench, and ranging from plain bold-
aced whoppers to rollicking yarns about
aring around with the boys. Light-
hearted and earthy, a worthy compan-
on piece to "These Are Our Lives."

DAGO RED. By John Fante. Viking Press. $2.50.

Thirteen short stories by the author of
Wait Until Spring, Bandini" and "Ask
he Dust." A good many of them are
lotless sketches in the Saroyan manner;
ll of them represent, with warm-hearted
enuineness and good humor, the feel-
ngs of a young Italian-American, whose
eins run with fervid Mediterranean
lood and whose tongue runs with
rash California slang.

HE FIRST RESCUE PARTY. By Karel Capek. Translated by M. and R. Weatherall. Macmillan. $2.

short, concentrated novel dealing with
single episode, a cave-in at a Czech
oal mine; a remarkable study in primi-
ve heroism. Through the eyes of a
aive young pit worker, first to volun-
eer yet frankly afraid, we see the
iners' matter-of-fact acceptance of dan-
er inextricably mixed with their indi-
idual jealousies and squabbles. From
he episode emerges a reaffirmation of
he essential brotherhood of man.

CIENCE AND EVERYDAY LIFE. By J. B. S. Haldane. Macmillan. $2.

his is a collection of articles written
y Professor Haldane for the London
Daily Worker. The articles are funda-
entally scientific in content but exhibit
Haldane's well-known predilections for
he ideals of the Soviet Union. Thus,
n discussing the stars, "perhaps," he
ays, "we had better make our own
lanet fit for rational beings before we
olonize others." Again, speaking of
arthquakes in California occurring
long definite zones of weakness, he
ays, "This does not deter speculators
om building houses along the faults.
nd, of course, legislation to prevent
his would be an interference with pri-
ate enterprise, unthinkable in a state
hich imprisoned Tom Mooney for
venty years on false evidence." Such
uips and tendencious comments will prove more interesting to some scientists than his presentation of technical information. On the other hand, they will antagonize many readers by raising controversial issues in connection with noncontroversial scientific findings.

EMPRESS OF THE DUSK. A Life of Theodora of Byzantium. By John W. Vandercock. Decorations by John O'Hara Cosgrave, II. Reynal and Hitchcock. $2.50.

"In this 'Life,'" writes the author, "since literal accuracy is impossible, I have freely clothed—I believe self-evidently—questionable fact with at least possible fiction." The fiction is so possible from a modern point of view that as history this book is almost as unconvincing as the "decorations" with which it is oddly sprinkled. Regarded as a novel it is quite interesting.

GUSTAV ADOLF THE GREAT. By Nils Ahnlund. Translated by Michael Roberts. Princeton Press. $3.

This publication of the American-Scandinavian Foundation is a sound and interesting historical work which makes no effort to be exciting but is likely to remain valuable for some time. Without a trace of fictionizing, it nevertheless emphasizes what the author calls "the personal factor in history."

DRAMA

Al Jolson and His Mammy

THEY say that in London there has been, so far, an audience for theatrical performances more serious than those which monopolized the stage during the first World War, when "Chu Chin Chow" was the undisputed masterpiece. How the tension of the times will affect the New York theater is still to be seen, but tension usually makes for frivolity on the stage, and so far the only successful production of the new season is the musical extravaganza "Hold On to Your Hats," which is already bringing out the S. R. O. sign at the Shubert. It is a good show as such shows go—fast, boisterous, and noisy—but neither the text nor the score is as individual as those of some of our best musical pieces, and in these respects it seems to me less good than, for instance, the still current "Du Barry Was a Lady."

Undoubtedly it is the presence of Al Jolson as both star and co-producer which is chiefly responsible for bringing out the enthusiastic crowds. Mr. Jolson has been so busy in the films and on the radio that he has not been seen in the flesh since 1930, and as Broadway counts time, ten years ago is way back in the good old days—a period so remote that oldest inhabitants in the best seats are wistfully surprised that they can remember it. Accordingly, Mr. Jolson is greeted by outbursts of sentimental loyalty and plays up to them so successfully with shyly eager references to his delight in finding himself still remembered that when, after craving the audience's indulgence, he lets himself go into the hysterical vociferation of "Mammy," one might suppose from the volume and character of the response that Booth had returned from the grave to play "Hamlet" again.

No doubt Mr. Jolson really does represent a phenomenon of cultural history. He has a style which he to some extent invented and which proved to be exactly what a large public wanted—a style which combined a persistent form of sentiment with a new sort of frenzied rhythm, so that the song by which he is best remembered succeeds in making a protest of filial devotion unmistakably orgiastic. Nor does he seem now to have lost his knack, for when he lets himself go there is no great difference between the Jolson of today and the Jolson of the remote twenties. Personally I somewhat prefer a different type of funny man—the clown who keeps in character and the one whose buffoonery is consistently just that. Mr. Jolson, like the Messrs. Cantor and Jessel but unlike Bert Lahr or Ed Wynn, belongs to the school which loves to mingle sentiment with clowning and depends a good deal upon appeals to intimate personal loyalty with many references to family affairs. But this is perhaps one of those matters of taste concerning which there really is no use disputing. There are those who love to hear Jolson confess that he made a great deal of money in Hollywood or that his experiences in connection with married love have not been wholly satisfactory.

In the course of the evening the comedian works hard, or as Hollywood likes to put it, "gives" without stint, but he has not made the mistake of skimping in the matter of support, and "Hold On to Your Hats" is full of specialty performers of one kind or another. The chief comedienne is Martha Raye of the movies, who sings, dances, and clowns tirelessly throughout the evening to good effect. I note from the program biography that she was born when her vaudevillian parents were on the road and that she joined "the act" at the age of three. All that helps to explain what the secret of her effectiveness is. She can do everything that a rough-and-tumble performer ought to do with a professional competence which only those who have known the tricks of the trade since childhood are likely to attain. As for the songs, at least one is likely to to be heard widely. It treats of love and is entitled "Don't Let It Get You Down."

Advance notices of "Johnny Belinda" (Belasco Theater) were concerned principally with the fact that the heroine is a deaf-mute who speaks one word just before the final curtain. Now that the play has been revealed there still isn't much more to say about it. The scene is a village in Nova Scotia full of quaint characters, and Elmer Harris, the author, succeeds in making it all sound extraordinarily like early Owen Davis—except for a number of "strong" lines which are intended to win from the audience a giggling recognition of his familiarity with the facts of life.

Those who are looking for a good play cannot do better than choose the revival of "Kind Lady" (Playhouse) with Grace George. It is still the best psychological thriller in years.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

MUSIC

THE first thing to point out in answer to Mr. Odets's letter, which appears on page 284, is that when I spoke of greatness in connection with the Roy Harris symphony it was only in the process of denying the claim of greatness made for him by his admirers; and since they hurled Koussevitzky's say-so at me I expressed confidence in my own ability to detect greatness in music and the lack of it in Harris. But then I went on to express confidence also in my ability to detect "the lack of inner musical impulse, and of any more musical ability than sheer determination needs to contrive a windy incoherence that will stand both for Roy Harris and for the bleak and barren expanses of western Kansas." In other words, the fault I found was not that the music wasn't great, but that it hadn't even the minimum of worth or interest that would merit the attention rightly given to some of the achievements of American painters, poets, novelists, or to the muddle-headed theatrical eloquence of Mr. Odets.

In saying this I was doing what I think Mr. Odets himself would concede to be my duty as a critic—which is, certainly, to report any talent or achievement I encounter, but also to report lack of such talent and achievement when I encounter that. All Mr. Odets may do is disagree with my judgment; and that—despite his insistence that he is not objecting to my preferences and not estimating Harris's talent—is what he *is* doing. When he implores me not to kick Harris's young and tender face he is asserting the existence of a talent and achievement that I deny.

But note further that my estimate of Harris has not—alas—caused him to stop writing; that if his music is as good as Mr. Odets thinks, it is so despite my kicks in the face; that if it is as bad as I think, it is so despite the lavish caresses of Paul Rosenfeld and any number of other critics. In other words, the nurture theory of criticism does not stand up. The composer can compose only with whatever sensitiveness to and command of his medium, whatever experience and emotion, whatever intellectual force, whatever sheer stamina he has, not with what the critic has; and if he has what it takes to produce good music he will produce it, no matter what anybody says; but if he hasn't what it takes the critic can't give it to him.

If my criticism has not stopped Harris from writing it has not destroyed what Mr. Odets thinks is the small beginning from which something big must come. I don't believe that if I had succeeded in discouraging Harris from further writing I would have delayed the arrival of a more consequential composer. The fact that there *are* a hundred "Abie's Irish Roses" and "Hotel Universes" and "High Tors" to one "Awake and Sing" does not mean, to me, that there *must be* a hundred such bad plays in order that there may be one "Awake and Sing." It is true that the potentially important artist, when he appears, has got to have a tradition to sink roots in; but the men he will turn to and draw on and work out from are the important artists, not the mediocrities. Mr. Odets's experience included more than "Abie's Irish Rose" and "Hotel Universe"; and I don't think it was from them that he took off in writing his plays. Nor do I think any important composer of the future is going to take off from the Roy Harrises of today.

I did not suppose I would ever wit
ness the beginning of a myth; but tha
was the experience I had at the dinne
with which the National Committee fo
Music Appreciation started its campaig
for its new series of opera records. A
this dinner John Erskine told a story o
how the committee and its first series
symphony records came to be—whic
had as much relation to the facts as th
stories told in Germany of the racia
origins of the Germans. And from ther
for a longer time than I could stan
the performance, Mr. Erskine went o
to talk about other musical matters wit
the utmost complacency in his complet
lack of knowledge of what he was talk
ing about. He spoke, for example, of
creation of his own imagination who
he called the eighteenth-century musi
cian—who, he said, professed a gentle
manly disdain for anything as sordid a
money (laughter), and finally create
the manager to relieve him of the neces
sity of soiling his hands (laughter an
applause). I suggest that the Nationa
Committee buy Mr. Erskine a copy o
the Mozart letters, where he might lear
that the goal of the real eighteenth-cen
tury musician—whether composer o
performer—was a salaried post in
rich household, lacking which he wer
after any job that would earn a fe
ducats, and in the end had to resort
the middleman—the manager.

There would be no point in reportin
all this if it were not that this man-
making after-dinner triumphs out of th
lives of the poor dead, and the lives o
the living that he understood no bett
—was the man who had been placed i
position after position of immense in
fluence in musical affairs—who had ha
most to say about how the Juilliar
millions should be used, and was now i
control of the activities of the Nation
Committee. Several years earlier M
Erskine had expressed icy lack of inte
est in opera as produced at the Metr
politan. Opera as produced at th
Metropolitan had not changed radicall
but Mr. Erskine was now a Metropol
tan director; the National Committee
new series of records was its contrib
tion to a campaign to build up intere
in opera as represented chiefly by th
Metropolitan; and the dinner was th
occasion for presenting George
Sloan, master tactician of the successf
campaign to fasten the old opera hou
on the public's neck, with the Cor
mittee's annual award for distinguish
cultural service to the community.

As for the records themselves—ne
time.

B. H. HAGGIN

Letters to the Editors

For Thomas and Krueger

Dear Sirs: The undersigned members of the Independent Committee for Thomas and Krueger (276 Fourth Avenue, New York City) believe that the Presidential campaign of 1940, coming in a period of vast social change, presents an unprecedented challenge to men and women who know that there can be no lasting political freedom without economic justice.

The manner in which this challenge is met may determine whether the United States will plunge down that road which Europe has already traveled to its doom or will utilize its economic and geographical advantages to build a dynamic democracy.

We believe that the United States can challenge the world-wide drift toward fascism by defeating the social reaction and nationalist intolerance which are already threatening political democracy at home, by democratic planning for human needs rather than totalitarian planning for human destruction; that a workable democracy which offers *both* security and freedom will serve as an inspiration to the oppressed peoples of the whole world.

It is because we believe these things that we are supporting the candidacy of Norman Thomas and Maynard Krueger in this campaign. They are the only candidates who may be counted upon for unwavering opposition to the forces of reaction, alien-baiting, militarist hysteria, and the drive toward war. More important, they are the only candidates who offer—in place of a false "war prosperity"—an alternative program of democratic planning which can really meet the challenge of a totalitarian Europe. We agree with Norman Thomas that "successful defense may well be the by-product of harnessing our machinery under democratic control for the conquest of poverty."

There is no material difference in the foreign policies of the two major candidates and almost no difference in their fundamental domestic policies. This period of world crisis is no time for compromise with what may seem a slightly "lesser evil." It is a year in which men and women of integrity must be willing to bear witness for the principles in which they believe.

Norman Thomas and Maynard Krueger will not be elected in November, but a million men and women united behind them in this campaign and on Election Day will serve as a brake to undemocratic tendencies in this country and effectively influence the policies of the successful candidate.

The lifelong record of Norman Thomas as a spokesman for all that is best in American life, a fighter against every form of reaction, is known to all your readers. We ask these men and women to vote their hopes rather than their fears in November by voting for Norman Thomas and Maynard Krueger.

LEONARD ABBOTT, RONALD BAINTON, CYRUS LEROY BALDRIDGE, HELEN MARSTON BEARDSLEY, EDGAR S. BRIGHTMAN, HOWARD BRUBAKER, V. F. CALVERTON, BERNARD C. CLAUSEN, SARAH CLEGHORN, LAETITIA CONARD, LEONARD P. COTTRELL, JR., MARGARET DE SILVER, JOHN DEWEY, ELEANOR A. EATON, JUSTUS EBERT, HENRY PRATT FAIRCHILD, KATE CRANE GARTZ, SIDNEY E. GOLDSTEIN, BERNARD D. N. GREBANIER, ESTHER FISKE HAMMOND, GEORGE W. HARTMANN, WILL HERBERG, MARY HILLYER, ISADOR HOFFMAN, JESSE H. HOLMES, JOHN HAYNES HOLMES, SIDNEY HOOK, B. W. HUEBSCH, ALLAN A. HUNTER, WILLIAM LLOYD IMES, JOHN PAUL JONES, ALFRED KAZIN, CARL J. LANDES, HALFORD E. LUCCOCK, LENORE G. MARSHALL, MILTON S. MAYER, ALIDA LEESE MILLIKEN, A. J. MUSTE, HENRY NEUMANN, LISTON M. OAK, WILLIAM A. ORTON, KIRBY PAGE, GEORGE LYMAN PAINE, BURTON RASCOE, A. PHILIP RANDOLPH, JAMES RORTY, RICHARD ROVERE, JOHN NEVIN SAYRE, VIDA D. SCUDDER, EMILY PALMER STEARNS, WALTER W. SIKES, CAROLINE SINGER, WILLARD UPHAUS, FRANCES WINWAR, BERTRAM D. WOLFE, WINNIFRED WYGAL

New York, September 23

Food for Europe

Dear Sirs: Not long ago at the Bohemian Club's camp "The Grove," Herbert Hoover spoke frankly of relief for Europe. He said it was impossible under present conditions. Now that blockade, that is, hunger, was recognized as a legitimate weapon by both sides, there was not the slightest hope that Britain would give permission for food to be shipped or that Germany would keep hands off even if the government promised it would. He said openly that 2,000,000 bushels of wheat shipped to relieve Poland had been seized, partly by Germany, partly by Russia. It had not gone to Polish sufferers. Mr. Hoover should say this publicly so that we whose consciences are torn by this sickening dilemma may understand that any food sent to Europe will go to support the German army in its destruction of democracy.

L. G. J.

Berkeley, Cal., September 16

Free Speech?

Dear Sirs: It is the lamentable truth that facts important to the welfare of a state but detrimental to big business are not given publicity by newspaper or radio. The people themselves have even ceased to consider the newspaper and radio as a means of publicity when the facts conflict with big-business interests.

Recently it was discovered that whole counties in my state where the rainfall was heaviest had from 60 per cent to 92 per cent of their water wells dry—a condition never before known. This lack of water was due to the use, pollution, and displacement of the water by oil companies. The newspapers had the facts, but did not publish a word about them. I took these facts and their proof to different important men in the hope they or their organizations could bring pressure on the newspapers to publish the truth.

The biggest credit man in the state was pleased to get the facts as they were of immense economic importance to his organization. But he said, "We can't do anything as an organization. The big oil companies dominate this organization both in the state and nationally." He discarded the idea of the retail merchants in the town bringing any pressure to bear upon the newspapers because the merchants catered to a trade that obtains its money from oil.

A lawyer owning land in the affected area was very much concerned. He knew at once that the only remedy was legislative. "You must get the facts to the farmers," he said, "but how?" He never even considered the radio, the farm journal, or the newspapers. Letters to prominent farmers in different communities was his solution.

Next, the big politician examined the facts carefully, smoked very hard, then said, "I knew those companies were using water over there, but I never thought it was that serious. Only thing you can do is get out some pamphlets. That's what I do in a case like this."

It is clear that we the public have ceased to consider the newspaper, the radio, or any journals that carry big-business advertising as mediums of publicity when that publicity would be detrimental to big business. It's a funny kind of free speech we have.

M. BASS

Wichita, Kan., September 18

Professor Goldenweiser

Dear Sirs: Some of the readers of *The Nation* may not know of the death of Professor Alexander A. Goldenweiser at his home in Portland, Oregon, on July 6. He was known to a large circle, and before he left the East to take a position on the West Coast he was a well-known figure among New York City intellectuals. His death has removed a social scientist who has influenced many thinkers in diverse fields.

Professor Goldenweiser was one of the group of distinguished teachers who made up the first faculty of the New School for Social Research, and to those who knew the school in those first years he is an inseparable part of that successful experiment. He taught anthropology, and he had a special gift for making his material stimulating and exciting to those who had no detailed background in the subject. In 1922 he published a widely used survey of his field, "Early Civilization," and in 1933 he collected his professional articles in "History, Psychology, and Culture."

When the New School gave up its original plan of a full-time faculty staff, Professor Goldenweiser was for a time on the editorial staff of the Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences, and later went to the West Coast. Since 1930 he has been professor of thought and culture at the University of Oregon and since 1933 visiting professor of sociology at Reed College.

He believed strongly in a closer rapprochement among the various fields of the social sciences and exemplified his belief in his own learning and discourse. His many friends and pupils mourn the loss of a rarely gifted teacher.

RUTH BENEDICT

New York, September 19

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THE NATION

55 FIFTH AVENUE NEW YORK

Odets on the Critic's Role

Dear Sirs: When your Mr. Haggin recommends phonograph needles or qualities of recordings he is readable, but his attempts at musical criticism, of modern music, for instance, are lamentable.

A case in point was his foolishness about the recording of the new Roy Harris Symphony. He wrote, "I have confidence in my own ability to hear greatness in music and the lack of greatness. . . ." Brave lad! He has listened to the Harris music and has found it lacking in greatness. Apparently Mr. Haggin does not live in America. Or does he live *too* much in America? When will he see that all of us may be dead before a *great* artist appears on the American scene, a Mozart or Beethoven, in *any* medium?

However, Mr. Haggin has a real point. He objects to the early deification of Roy Harris by his admirers, their premature reading of Kansas plains and Wyoming winds into his work. Mr. Haggin's dislike of the admirers themselves is even more intense than his dislike of the music. He is right: the admirers for the most part are just as uncreative and uncritical as Mr. Haggin himself, although they have one virtue—hopefulness.

I am not objecting to Mr. Haggin's personal preferences, but to his lack of *situation* within the American scene. To intimate, as he does constantly, that "Harris and his group" are not Mozarts may be truth; simultaneously it is impudent irrelevance, irresponsible, uncreative, and sterile, not to say reactionary. For today our "critics" can be useful only when they recognize that the Roy Harrises of our creative life are but beginners in *a country of beginners.*

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The responsible critic sees the paucity of seriously intentioned musical talents here; he understands the necessity of humble and small beginnings, cherishes the smallest scrap of real talent—I am not here estimating the talent of Harris. He helps it, nourishes it, applauds and spanks it, but always with a love for a future which, he knows, must grow from these small beginnings. Here original character in an art work is the astounding exception, never the rule. Pray, do not kick it in its young and tender face! In short, O wooden-head, spare that baby tree!

CLIFFORD ODETS

New York, September 15

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THE *Nation*

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The Shape of Things

EVER SINCE SERRANO SUNER, THE SPANISH Minister of Government, began his much-advertised visit to Berlin the German and Italian newspapers have been hinting of dramatic developments which would bring Spain into the war and so make possible the early capture of Gibraltar. It is easy to understand Axis preoccupation with the Rock, for it is the sheet-anchor of British naval control of the Mediterranean and it has shown itself fairly impervious to aerial attack. A combined land and air assault from nearby Spanish bases would be another story, but there is no way of organizing this without making Spain a full-fledged belligerent. There is, of course, no doubt about Franco's complete solidarity with the Axis or about his eagerness to share the loot. But Spain's reserves of food and other essentials are so low that it could not face more than a few weeks of blockade. This seems to rule out an early attack on Gibraltar and leaves the Axis with the problem of how to make Spain useful without exposing its weakness. A semi-official commentary from Rome after Suñer's first meeting with Mussolini declared that Spanish entry into the war was "not an issue." The same source was at pains to make clear that this was not the result of Spanish resistance to pressure. And that is probably true, for while Spain as a "non-belligerent" may be only a minor asset to the Axis, Spain as a military ally might prove a major liability.

*

THE DAKAR EXPEDITION WAS UNDENIABLY a blunder, and its failure has injured the prestige of both Britain and the "Free French" cause. The situation has been made worse by the dilatory British publicity methods, which allowed Vichy to score a beat at each stage. Clearly General de Gaulle had been persuaded that his mere appearance off Dakar would suffice to bring the colony over to his side. But if his plans called only for a peaceful demonstration and withdrawal without bloodshed should this fail to achieve its objective, then it would have been better to have retired at once without replying to the shore batteries. For breaking off the action after a prolonged exchange of shells has given Vichy an opportunity to claim a victory and exalt its formerly diminishing prestige. In any case, Britain cannot afford to deal any more half-hearted and indecisive blows. The expedition against Dakar should not have been undertaken at all except with the means and determination to carry it through at all costs. There was every justification for that course, in view of the subservience of the Pétain government to the Axis, and success would probably have brought the whole French colonial empire into the war against fascism. As it is, the upshot of the expedition has been to check the growth of pro-British sentiment both in France and in its dependencies.

*

WHEN MESSRS. RIBBENTROP, CIANO, AND Kurusu signed their agreement in Berlin last week it is improbable that they thought primarily of the political fortunes of Wendell Willkie. It would be unlike the Axis statesmen, however, to have ignored entirely the effects of their deal on the American Presidential campaign. Certainly the pact was designed to encourage appeasement sentiment in this country, and it is already clear that there are those who would gladly put the pact to work for Willkie. "Our policy," says Senator Nye, for example, "has succeeded in driving Japan into the arms of those who were the last ones we wanted her to associate with." Much blunter and with an almost disarming brazenness, Arthur Krock, dean of the New York *Times* Washington Bureau, suggests to the Republicans how "without seeming to condone Japan's barbarities and treaty breakings . . . the foreign crisis might be turned to their campaign advantage." Up to now, says Mr. Krock, the war threat has helped the Roosevelt campaign, "but if war with Japan were represented as the possible consequence of Mr. Hull's steady admonitions to Tokyo, of the Chinese loans, and of the economic sanctions of embargo, it is improbable that very many Americans would have any heart in the enterprise." And just to make sure that the G. O. P. leaders get his drift he writes out an attack they might make upon Roosevelt. "From the time of the 'quarantine' speech in 1937," it starts out, "you have done everything possible to antagonize

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Japan and force it into the Axis. . . ." So far Mr. Willkie has dispensed with this eager bit of ghost-writing, but in view of his attack on Roosevelt for "selling Czechoslovakia down the river" our hopes that he will ignore the Krock advice are anything but high.

* * *

IN HIS SECOND TERM THE PRESIDENT'S LIFE has not been a happy one; most of his patronage has been given out, and it takes more than eloquence to hold Congress in line. A third term will probably prove worse in this respect. Assuming the reelection of Mr. Roosevelt, the difficulties of Presidential leadership in the months ahead would have become even greater if Southern anti-New Dealers had succeeded in making one of their number majority leader of the House. The leader is elected, of course, by party caucus, and the strategy of this group was to postpone the election until the next Congress should convene in the hope that Republican victories would have thinned the ranks of Northern Democrats and left the Southerners securely in control. Fortunately their motion in caucus to postpone the voting was lost, though by the narrow margin of 108 to 91. Fortunate, too, was the election of John W. McCormack of Massachusetts as majority leader over Clifton A. Woodrum of Virginia. Woodrum is a Carter Glass Democrat who would rather see the jobless go hungry than unbalance the budget. McCormack, who is at least a mild liberal, is a great improvement over the Virginia tory. Not so encouraging is the peculiar alliance between the Southern reactionaries and Patrick J. Boland of Pennsylvania, the party whip in the House.

* * *

THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY COULD HAVE found no better pre-election disinfectant than the resignation of Lawrence Wood "Chip" Robert, Jr., as secretary of its National Committee. Mr. Robert's departure came under bipartisan auspices. On August 28 Chairman Vinson of the House Naval Affairs Committee, a Democrat, inserted in the *Congressional Record* a list of naval contracts awarded without bidding, most of them on a cost-plus-fixed-fee basis. Mr. Robert's architectural and engineering firm was shown to have received $26,859,081 in naval contracts, on which it was to collect aggregate fees of $930,000. The next day Senator Bridges of New Hampshire, a Republican, demanded that Robert resign. He also asked that the Department of Justice investigate. Mr. Robert said he would welcome an investigation, and we hope he gets a chance to do so. Mr. Robert will remain in Washington doing business with the government, but he will also remain head of the Business Men's Committee for Roosevelt and Wallace, retaining this post by request of the new party chairman, Ed Flynn, who should know better. We suggest that the Democratic Party can get along entirel without Mr. Robert, though Mr. Robert may find it har to get along without the Democratic Party.

* * *

AT THE REQUEST OF THE NATIONAL DEFENS Advisory Committee, Attorney General Jackson has pos poned action to require several of the major oil com panies to divest themselves of their pipe-lines and othe oil-transportation facilities. Mr. Jackson has, howeve gone ahead with the suit against the American Petroleu Institute and twenty-two oil companies. While it i difficult to pass judgment on the technical matters whic influenced the Defense Commission in its request tha action on the pipe-lines be deferred, it can be set dow as a general principle that business must not be allowe to utilize the defense program as a means of escapin prosecutions and penalties. On the other hand, as Mr. Jack son himself points out, many of the seemingly illega restraints on trade which the oil companies have im posed are salutary in that they prevent waste of ou declining oil reserves. But these "private conservatio plans" have not been formulated in terms of publi policy; nor are there adequate safeguards for the interest of the consumer. The requirements of national defens make it more essential than ever that Congress formulat a long-range conservation program for the oil industr which will protect the public interest.

* * *

RATHER WIDE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN TH House and Senate in regard to the excess-profits tax bil have been compromised in conference in a way tha leaves the measure considerably milder than the Hous version. Corporations are allowed to choose whether th tax shall be computed on "invested capital" or averag earnings during the 1936-39 period, but if they take th second option they will only be permitted a credit o 95 per cent of the average. This is much less severe tha the earlier proposal of a penalty tax of 4.1 per cent o all income of corporations adopting the average method In addition to providing for an excess-profits tax on steeply graduated scale with a maximum of 50 per cen on anything over $500,000, the bill increases norma income tax for corporations earning over $25,000 b 3.1 per cent, making a total of 24 per cent. On the othe hand, it gives the defense industries the special five-yea amortization for which they have been clamoring an cancels the Vinson-Trammell profit restrictions on shi and aircraft contracts.

* * *

COPPER IS AMONG THE MOST VITAL RAW materials of defense, for it is essential to the manufacture of a host of products required by the services. It is not surprising, therefore, that the huge governmen arms orders placed recently should have led to extensive buying of copper. The pressure of a persistent demand has sent the price up to 12 cents a pound, and some trade quarters fear a runaway market despite the restraining hand of Washington. How far the situation can be remedied by an increase in domestic production is not clear. According to some authorities, only a further sharp rise in price, inducing the reopening of high-cost mines, would serve to swell supplies appreciably. But Congress could very easily provide another remedy by canceling or reducing the present import duty on copper of 4 cents per pound. This step has been urged by C. Donald Dallas, president of the Revere Copper and Brass Corporation, who has suggested a sliding-scale duty which would permit copper to come in free when the domestic price reached 12 cents while allowing the full 4 cents protection when the price fell below 9 cents. This seems such a moderate proposal that it ought not to be violently opposed by the copper interests, which, in any event, will make big profits out of the defense program. At the same time it would give much-needed aid to the South American copper-producing countries, which since the fall of France have been largely dependent on Japan for orders and are operating far below capacity. The result is that the quotation for export copper—smelted in bond in this country from imported ores—is more than 2 cents below the domestic price. This is very nice for Japan, but it is hardly to our advantage to help the Japanese obtain cheap shell cases.

*

FORTIFIED BY A $500,000,000 INCREASE IN capital the Export-Import Bank is beginning to make its contribution to hemispheric defense. In the past week a loan to the government of Costa Rica for $4,600,000 has been authorized. This is to be used for the construction of a section of the pan-American highway. Poor communications are one of the chief economic handicaps of the Central American republics. A preliminary agreement has also been reached with the government of Brazil for financing a large steel plant to be based on the almost untouched ore deposits of Minas Geraes. The bank is to make a loan of $20,000,000, and the government and certain Brazilian investors have undertaken to contribute $25,000,000 by way of equity capital. During the currency of the loan the bank will exercise some measure of control and will have a voice in the appointment of managers and technicians. It is to be hoped that this cooperative plan proves a success, for the foundation of a steel industry in Brazil should do much to bring the economy of that country into a better balance and to assist the living standards of its population. We are more doubtful about the smelting plant for which Señor Simon Patiño, the Bolivian tin king, is said to be seeking an RFC loan. At present Bolivian tin ore is smelted in England, and in the interests of national defense the erection of a smelter on this side of the Atlantic appears to be justified. But it is questionable whether encouragement should be given to a scheme which would further tighten the monopoly hold that Patiño exercises on the Bolivian tin industry and on Bolivia itself.

*

TO URUGUAY GOES THE CREDIT FOR BEING the first country in the world to defy Nazi wrath by conducting a state trial of Nazi agents. Eight Nazis have been indicted, charged with conspiring to transform Uruguay into an agricultural colony of the Third Reich, and their trial before the Uruguayan Supreme Court has already begun. The terms of the indictment make it clear that it is Hitler and the Nazi Party that are being tried, not merely eight subordinate agents. Three months ago the government failed to support the demand of the legislature and courts that the Nazi agents be brought to trial. But it has now not only handed down a powerful indictment against the Nazis but has issued a decree calling upon all citizens to cooperate with the authorities in hunting down persons and organizations connected with the Nazi plot. Although Uruguay's German population is smaller than that of several of the other South American states, the country's wealth and relatively small size make it especially vulnerable to Nazi machinations. If Uruguay succeeds in convicting and punishing the Nazi representatives, it will set a useful example to all the Americas.

*

THE LATEST ATTEMPT TO SABOTAGE THE administration of the National Labor Relations Act is hidden in a rider to the Deficiency Appropriations bill providing that none of the funds appropriated for the NLRB "shall be obligated for carrying on any of the functions or duties assigned to the Division of Economic Research." This means not merely the elimination of the division headed by David Saposs; it means that no other division of the board will be allowed to perform the highly essential functions of the Division of Economic Research. These include the computation of back pay, the compilation of the annual report, the preparation of economic briefs, and the handling of various other economic and statistical data. Cases involving approximately $3,000,000 in back pay, awarded in court decisions and now in the computation stage, will be frozen if the rider is passed by the Senate—it was quietly passed in the House on September 23—and this amount is probably only a small fraction of that involved in some three thousand cases at present before the board or in process of litigation. A Presidential veto cannot be relied upon since it would involve a veto of the entire bill. Labor and liberal pressure must be exerted now to prevent passage of the rider in the Senate.

WE ARE PLEASED TO ANNOUNCE THAT THE winner in the essay contest for college students sponsored by the Educators' Committee for National Share-Croppers' Week and by *The Nation* is Mary Edward Mitchell, a student at Teachers College, Columbia University, and a resident of Tallapoosa, Georgia. Honorable mention goes to Ann Landau of Barnard College. The subject of the essays was "A Proposed Solution for the Share-Cropper Problem." On the whole the papers were well written and showed a knowledge and understanding of the problem and its ramifications. Most papers suggested large-scale cooperative farming and government reclamation and rehabilitation programs on an ever-increasing scale as the two most practical means of solution. All agreed that education must be an integral part of any program. Most of the contestants stressed the importance of establishing and protecting the civil rights of share-croppers, and advocated unionization as an effective method of self-help.

CONTENTS

THE SHAPE OF THINGS 285
EDITORIALS:
AMERICA AND THE "NEW WORLD ORDER" 288
JAPAN'S CHOICE 290
Mr. HULL AND THE PACT by I. F. Stone 291
WORDS BY WILLKIE by Barbara Wertheim 292
THE MOSCOW LINE IN BRITAIN by Patricia Strauss 296
DID SURRENDER SAVE DENMARK? by Joachim Joesten 298
NO NLRB FOR BEN HILL COUNTY by George C. Stoney 300
WITHIN THE GATES 301
IN THE WIND 302
A NATIVE AT LARGE by Jonathan Daniels 303
BOOKS AND THE ARTS:
NOTES BY THE WAY by Margaret Marshall 304
HOW NORWAY FELL by Keith Hutchison 304
THE CARAT WEIGHT OF THE HEART by Louise Bogan 305
A NOVEL OF QUESTIONING by Louis B. Salomon 306
A SURGEON'S STORY by Karl Menninger 307
A PROMISING PAST by Maxwell Geismar 307
REPORT FROM THE FRONT by Maxwell S. Stewart 307
ENGELS AS SCIENTIST by Sidney Hook 308
STEEL AND MEN by Theresa Wolfson 308
IRVING IN SPAIN by Leonard B. Beach 309
IN BRIEF 310
RECORDS by B. H. Haggin 310

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America and the "New World Order"

THE Axis-Japan pact has been called everything from a bluff to the blueprint of a new totalitarian world order. In fact it is a typical Nazi maneuver, and so it combines some elements of both. Primarily, without doubt, it is a confession of weakness, an acknowledgment that the Battle of Britain is settling into stalemate. But Hitler has always used failure as a stepping-stone for new advances, and while it is legitimate to take satisfaction at the stubborn courage which has ended the hope of an autumn invasion of England, wise observers will not discount the importance of Hitler's grandiose substitute scheme. It is effectively designed to divide opinion in the United States, to create new anxiety in Australasia, to isolate still more completely the Soviet Union, and so to divert both attention and aid from Britain. Without adding one ounce of material strength to Japan, the pact will encourage Tokyo's fierce ambition to expand southward at the expense of powers no longer in a position to defend their possessions. And Japan's bid for empire will inevitably concentrate a large proportion of American power in the Pacific. So the threat is not all bluff.

If Japan is to be stopped, the United States will have to assume the chief responsibility for active intervention. Britain is no longer in a position to take the initiative in defending Western interests in Asia, much less in defending the interests of Asia itself. As for Russia, the most that can be hoped is that it will continue to send arms to China over the one route still open. Obviously, the Berlin pact carries an unspoken but clearly marked threat to the Soviet Union. The text of the accord advertised that its terms in no way affected relations between the three contracting powers and Russia, and this point was underlined in speeches by von Ribbentrop, Ciano, and Ambassador Kurusu. But it must not be forgotten that the signatories of this agreement once signed an anti-Comintern pact which they have never renounced. Moscow is said to have received advance information about the Berlin meeting, but it might well protest at being left out of a gathering called for the purpose of deciding the future overlordship of lands where Russia has many interests. There is now talk in Berlin of a visit by von Ribbentrop to Moscow to arrange for a Soviet slice of the loot. Having completed an agreement which leaves Russia isolated, it may seem good policy to offer a dole to Stalin, such as a free hand in Iran. It remains to be seen whether, in return, the U. S. S. R. will be required to abandon its aid to China. Should it refuse to do so, Germany is in a far better position to put on the screws than it is to deter the United States from pursuing policies displeasing to Japan. Yet for Russia to acquiesce in Japanese domination of China would be as contrary to its historic policy as would acquiescence in German control of the Dardanelles. Russia's exact role is still obscure. All that is certain is that it cannot hope to struggle free of German control until the whole direction of the war is reversed. If Britain is finally able to convert resistance into attack, and if the United States ultimately takes an active part in the struggle, Moscow may try to shake off its Nazi chains; it can't do so now.

Only the United States is strong enough to defy the aims so brazenly announced in the Axis-Japanese pact. Japan needs American goods if not American friendship. It is not prepared to fight the United States and will go to some lengths to avoid open conflict. The United States is equally unprepared to fight, but slowly and far too reluctantly the Administration has come to the point of using the powerful economic weapons it has so long held in reserve. The embargo on scrap iron, discussed on another page, is a small act of open resistance to Japan's aggression. The loan to China is another. Without any delay the Administration should answer the threat contained in the Berlin agreement by an all-round trade embargo which should be applied simultaneously by Britain and the Dominions. Negotiations for the use of Britain's Far Eastern naval bases should be speeded to a conclusion. The Burma road most certainly will be reopened; over it greatly increased supplies should be sent to the Chungking government. At the same time, aid to England should be increased not lessened.

The pact with Japan has been treated, of course, as a resounding diplomatic triumph, and no doubt it will be accepted as such by the bemused masses of Germany and Italy. But coldly analyzed, the agreement has several disadvantages from the point of view of the dictators. It means, for instance, resigning to Japan the Dutch East Indies, a rich prize which Germany itself probably hoped to inherit as conqueror of the Netherlands. Again, in order to be immediately effective, the pact must succeed in intimidating America, and to achieve this objective it has been necessary for the Axis to adopt an openly hostile attitude toward this country. But these tactics involve a large risk—the risk of making the determination of the totalitarian powers to dominate the whole world so crystal clear that Americans will become fully awake to the fact that their own interests are directly threatened. Thus the pact may well have results exactly opposite to those it set out to achieve. The decision to go ahead with it, despite that possibility, indicates the importance attached by the Axis powers to the role this country is likely to play in a long war. It is all very well for von Ribbentrop to boast of "the concentrated might of three nations with more than 250,000,000 inhabitants," but in terms of industrial power—and that is what will count if the war is to drag on—the combined strength of the United States and the British Empire far exceeds that of the totalitarians.

By Ribbentrop's announcement on Friday, the wars in Europe and Asia were merged and given unified control —Nazi control—and a common purpose. That purpose in its immediate aspect is the destruction of the British Empire, because the resistance of Britain forms the only present obstacle to world domination by the dictator powers. And British resistance is to be circumvented, since it cannot be reduced by frontal attack, through the encirclement of the United States.

If the pact succeeds, the ambitions of American isolationists will be magnificently fulfilled. The United States will cease to be a world power; it will be closed within its continental boundaries, and its interests and connections in other parts of the world will continue, if at all, only at the pleasure of Hitler. These facts, so obvious that they should not need restating, dictate American policy. If Britain falls, the United States will either have to resist alone or adapt itself to the rigors of coordination. The plans outlined by Dr. Schacht and printed in *The Nation* on September 7 indicate the role assigned to this country in Hitler's redistributed and reorganized world. We shall not be expected to carry on trade in the Pacific; that area is reserved for Japan and its Axis partners. We may continue to trade with Europe in the goods Europe needs, and we shall be allotted quotas for South America. This plan is as fanciful as, and no more so than, Hitler's hope of victory.

The simple truth is that we can't afford to allow Britain to be defeated. Neither the Dominions nor the countries of Latin America are prepared and organized for defense against fascist attack. The leadership and chief burden of such a struggle would fall upon the United States, and we could not carry it alone. Our own survival as a powerful people and the survival of free institutions hang on our willingness to give Britain whatever help is necessary to hold off Hitler and in the end to conquer him. The new totalitarian pact is useful if it only serves to dramatize the alternative to such a course. The time has come to abandon pretenses. Our neutrality has worn too thin to serve even as a disguise; it should be abandoned for a realistic policy of open assistance. We should not declare war; at this moment we are not prepared to fight. Instead we should insure ourselves time to prepare by removing all the impediments, legal and political, to the maximum material help we can safely give the British.

Senator King of Utah has introduced a bill making possible open financial assistance to Britain by suspending the credit prohibitions of the Johnson and Neutrality acts so far as Britain is concerned and providing for the scaling down of the British war debt. In addition, the bill would give the President authority to enter into negotiations for the purchase or lease of British island bases in or bordering on the Pacific. We hope Congress will act quickly and favorably on these proposals and thus make an effective reply to the blackmailing tactics of the Axis powers. It is of the utmost importance to encourage the British will to endure through the coming winter.

Japan's Choice

FOR Japan the conclusion of the tripartite alliance represents both a triumph and a setback. Its advantages are relatively obvious. The pact marks the end of one of the most unhappy periods in Japanese foreign policy. For thirteen months, or since the signing of the Nazi-Soviet non-aggression pact, Japan has been isolated, unable to choose between a revival of the ties of the anti-Comintern pact and its previous preference for the Western democracies. This isolation is now ended. Japan can count on Axis support in its invasion of Indo-China. Because of this support Vichy has already been forced to make far-reaching concessions to Japan. Further concessions will doubtless follow. Even if nothing else is gained, Japan has obtained control of some badly needed raw materials, and, what is more important, it has secured a base for further expansion to the South Seas. The foothold in Indo-China also provides Japan with an immense strategic advantage in its campaign against China.

But all of this has been gained at a heavy price. Perhaps even more than in the case of Germany, the pact is an indication of weakness rather than of strength. If war with the United States should result from the pact, Japan would have to bear its full brunt without hope, under present conditions, of substantial aid from Germany or Italy. In making the pact Japan sacrificed what up to now has been the keystone of its policy—non-involvement in Europe. It has held to this policy partly out of fear of winding up on the losing side, but more because Japanese business men have clung to the hope that by remaining on the sidelines, as in 1914-18, they might again reap the profits of war trade. A further and hitherto decisive factor has been Japan's fear of the economic consequences of open conflict with the United States.

Now that the die is cast, the ruling clique in Japan is not likely to be stopped by considerations that have, up to now, loomed as important. The American scrap-iron embargo, as Mr. Stone points out elsewhere in this issue, is in itself inconsequential. Nor can any embargo be effective as an immediate weapon. At best its force will not be felt for another six or nine months. Japan's stocks of most of the important commodities should last at least that long. It has staked much on the hope that the new alliance will have changed the world by that time. While it is always difficult to foresee the details of Japan's strategy, the general nature of its next steps are not hard to guess. The next few weeks will be spent in consolidating its hold on Indo-China. Whether the attack will be pressed further into China itself depends chiefly on the strength of the Chinese forces sent into Indo-China. The mopping up of the International Concession at Shanghai and the British concession at Tientsin, coupled possibly with an attack on Britain's stronghold at Hongkong, must be expected at any time. Whether Japan will then feel strong enough to hazard an attack on the Dutch East Indies depends very largely on the position of the American fleet and the arrangements that may be made for our navy to utilize the great Singapore naval base.

The extent to which Japan will be successful in carrying out its ambitions for a "new order" in East Asia with the aid of the European Axis powers will also depend on the continued strength of Chinese resistance. The new pact makes it clearer than ever that our frontiers, defensively speaking, are the upper Yangtze valley as well as the English Channel. One may hesitate to list China as a democracy, but the fact remains that it has been fighting democracy's battle with considerable success these past three years against a totalitarian aggressor. And it has several million trained men under arms prepared to maintain that defense indefinitely, given a modest amount of aid from the outside world. Support of China at this juncture is the cheapest form of self-defense. The United States must not make the same mistake with regard to China that Britain made in the case of Ethiopia, Spain, and Czechoslovakia.

In last week's issue of *The Nation* some of China's recent successes were cited as an indication of its growing strength. The army which Chiang Kai-shek has announced that he will throw into Indo-China is an exceptionally powerful one. It may be counted on to give the invader a great deal of trouble. By creating distractions for Japan, the new Axis agreement may work to China's advantage—provided its democratic allies give it the support they should. But as a prerequisite to any support the Burma road must be quickly reopened. The loan of $25,000,000 just announced by the Export-Import Bank is of invaluable aid, but it can be translated into sinews of war only if a way is opened to ship munitions into China.

China's relative strength presents what is perhaps the only hopeful aspect of an otherwise bleak situation. Japan is unquestionably the weakest link in the new totalitarian alliance. And it is the essence of good strategy, as the Axis powers have themselves repeatedly demonstrated, to strike at the enemy's weakest link.

Mr. Hull and the Pact

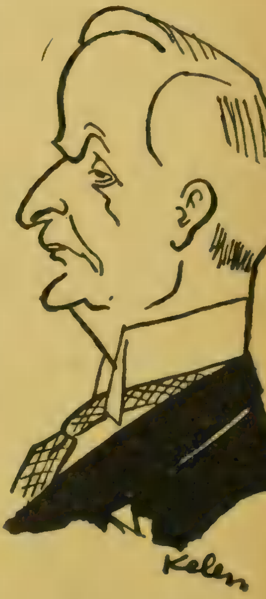
BY I. F. STONE

Washington, September 30

NOWHERE in Washington was the news of the Berlin-Rome-Tokyo pact greeted with so elaborate a lack of surprise as in the State Department. "We knew it all the time" was the refrain of the statement the Secretary of State gave the press, a statement which managed to achieve prolixity though but three sentences long. Mr. Hull began by saying that the alliance did not "substantially alter a situation which has existed for several years." He went on to declare that it "merely makes clear a situation which has long existed in effect and to which this government has repeatedly called attention." That such an agreement "has been in process of conclusion," Mr. Hull assured the correspondents, "has been well known for some time, and that fact has been fully taken into account by the government of the United States in the determining of this country's policies." It is impossible to take these words at their face value without passing a harsh verdict on our diplomats. For if the announcement of the pact does not alter a situation which has existed for several years and if that situation was "fully taken into account" by our government, why did the State Department so long refuse to embargo war materials which armed one of the principal participants in the most dangerous alliance that has ever confronted this country?

It is more charitable to assume that Secretary Hull's statement was a bold front on a diplomatic defeat. For the dominant faction in the State Department has hoped to appease Japan and keep it from joining the Axis, and this group continued to act on the basis of that hope long after it had been abandoned everywhere but in the British Foreign Office. Secretary Hull, like Secretary Stimson before him, provided an accompaniment of lofty moral discourses for the Japanese advance down the China coast. The discourses made veiled use of that most foolhardy of weapons, threats which the other side knew were hollow. Within the department, over the objections of a more farsighted minority, the experts made a joke of the discourses by protecting the profits accruing to American business from the aggressions we were so nobly denouncing. It was not until July of 1939, after almost eight years of Sino-Japanese warfare, that the State Department finally gave notice of intention to abrogate our commercial treaty with Japan, a necessary step if an embargo was to be imposed with full legal decorum.

The six months' notice that was stipulated in the treaty expired in January of this year, but it was not until July that an "embargo" on oil and scrap was announced. I have been told that the White House originally intended this embargo to be an actual embargo on oil and scrap, but that the details were left to the State Department experts. When the regulations were promulgated it was found that the only scrap "embargoed" was No. 1 heavy melting, that the only petroleum "embargoed" was aviation gas, and that the "embargo" itself was only a system of licensing. It is now revealed that few if any licenses were denied under these regulations. Now, when an embargo is finally to be placed on all the seventy-five varieties of iron and steel scrap instead of on just one, the Japanese are given almost three weeks' notice, and will therefore be able to add another 100,000 to 200,000 tons of scrap to the 9,000,000 tons we have so generously supplied to them in the last six years.



Secretary of State Hull

When Mr. Hull appeared before a Congressional committee on trade agreements a year ago, a Republican member, exasperated by the Secretary's ability to say little at great length, asked him whether he ever answered a question with a yes or no. The State Department, despite the events of the past week, has yet to give a final yes or no to Japan. The momentum of events may itself supply the answer. The $25,000,000 loan to China, the help now vaguely promised French Indo-China, and the embargo on iron and steel scrap are the result of a number of factors: a new confidence that Britain will be able to hold out, Anglo-Australian desire for our protection in the Far East, advance knowledge that the Berlin-Rome-Tokyo pact would be signed in a few days, and the belated "discovery" that national-defense needs require an embargo on scrap.

This discovery itself has a rather interesting background. The Japanese, with about a year's supply on hand, do not need our scrap as much as they did, and the scrap industry, with a defense boom in the offing, does not need Japanese orders. The big steel companies cannot oppose an embargo on scrap by claiming that we have an over-supply of steel and at the same time ask for a higher price for steel on the ground of a shortage. The embargo implies and advertises a shortage, and the shortage may provide a basis for asking higher prices. Both big steel and the scrap industry have accepted the embargo with a curious equanimity. This may be the result of a new sense of patriotism or it may be something else. The test of steel will come on proposals to embargo pig iron and semi-finished steel; Japan took 126,000 tons of pig and semi-finished during the first seven months of this year. The test of the State Department will come on proposals to embargo oil, copper, and other raw materials that are as necessary to the Japanese war machine as steel; particularly oil, a commodity for which the department has shown a tender concern in the past.

Other questions are raised by the crucial developments of the past few days. Will we end our pinch-penny policy on loans for China? Will we insist that Canada stop selling scrap to Japan and that British Malaya stop supplying it with pig iron? Have we obtained assurances that the Burma road will be reopened on October 8? What commitments are we making and what concessions are we getting in the Far East? Are we going to use Singapore for a naval base? What steps are we taking toward a rapprochement with Russia, our natural counterpoise to Japan? Are we going to make the same mistakes with respect to Russia that the British made in 1939?

At the moment the chances that Moscow will do anything to displease Berlin seem slimmer than ever. The possibility that our State Department could or would move swiftly enough to outmaneuver the Nazi Foreign Office is even more remote.

Words by Willkie

BY BARBARA WERTHEIM

WENDELL L. WILLKIE has never held public office, and his political philosophy, therefore, must be judged by what he has said rather than by what he has done. This article attempts to deduce it from his published words—words spoken or written since 1933, the year he became president of Commonwealth and Southern and the year Mr. Roosevelt became President of the United States.

Running through all Willkie's speeches and articles is one fundamental principle: government should let business alone. On this score Willkie resembles no President so much as Coolidge, and if elected he may be expected to apply himself as devotedly as Coolidge to what he calls "setting our enterprises free." Twelve of the most eventful and tragic years of modern history have passed since the end of the Coolidge era, but Willkie gives no sign of being aware that they have left an ineradicable mark on the pattern of our society. He would be "very much surprised," he told the students at Indiana University, if their "outlook on the world" differed much from his at the time he was a student.[1] He still seems to see ahead the golden glow and opportunity of the '20's. Lift the heavy hand of government, chase the "business haters" from the capital, and government will then cooperate with business, capital will lie down with labor, a healing "unity" will settle over the nation, and recovery will be ours.

"Those who now enjoy the benefits of free enterprise," runs Mr. Willkie's credo, "should value it above everything else, even above security, above any of those new concepts that have been offered to us in its place."[2] Private enterprise again made free, he says, will solve unemployment, augment social reform, restore true "liberalism," build national defense, and provide a guiding principle to a sound and consistent foreign policy. A reason for his belief in these miraculous powers of free private enterprise has been suggested by a man who has had opportunity to know him well: "Willkie worships business because business recognized his merits." It was not the bench or the bar but business that gave Willkie his big chance. Every magazine article on Willkie's career tells how B. C. Cobb, a former president of Commonwealth and Southern, after seeing Willkie handle a case for a subsidiary company, said, "Don't let that young man get away from us," and how Cobb later brought Willkie to New York as counsel for C. and S. and chose him as his successor when he retired. It was business too which gave Willkie his early support for the Republican nomination. On April 4 the *Wall Street Journal* remarked on Willkie's "extraordinary following in the industrial and financial community," and on June 17 the New York *Times* noticed that "strong support among business interests has developed for Mr. Willkie. These business men have been exerting considerable pressure on the delegates to the convention to vote for Mr. Willkie."

It is no accident that no business man has ever been elected President of the United States. A business man thinks in terms of profits for himself and his particular group, while a man engaged in a public career must think and deal in terms of all the people rather than a narrow sector of them. Willkie himself recognized this when he said, "Although I am president of a large utility company, I regard myself as a loyal American citizen vitally interested in the welfare of my country."[8]

THE NEW DEAL VERSUS BUSINESS

Willkie starts with the idea that the trouble with the New Deal is that its leaders are "motivated not by love but by hate"[4]—hate of those men who have "most dramatically represented the spirit of individual initiative and free enterprise, namely, business men."[5] To him the New Deal is a vast program for personal vengeance. At its head are men whose "hatred for business and business men surpassed the bounds of reason and good judgment."[6] Its guiding principle is "to 'soak business' deliberately and maliciously."[6] "Abandon this attitude of hate," he cries, and "set our enterprises free."[6] Before his nomination he recognized no need for government regulation, nor did he give the New Deal credit for trying to accomplish something positive. Interpreting its legislation as pure vindictiveness, he said, for example, that the Public Utility Act caused the American people to pay an "incalculable" price merely in order that "the politicians could thus enjoy and exercise their hatreds."[7] And he called the TVA "attack" on the utilities "one of the most cruel, one of the most brutal, one of the most unfair, and one of the most un-American doctrines ever advocated by anyone anywhere."[8]

After building up this picture of a splenetic and malicious government, Willkie winningly pleads for an end to the quarrel. "In such a time as this, surely business and government should put an end to the bitterness of recent years and sit down in conference like reasonable men with mutual tolerance and respect."[9] But he concludes, "It remains for the government to create that harmony which is so necessary if we would emerge from the spell of darkness that now envelops us."[3] In other words, the government must give in.

Another of Mr. Willkie's favorite themes is that "today it is not big business that we have to fear. It is big government. The abuses that corrupted the 1920's have been transferred from Wall Street to Washington."[4] The purpose of the New Deal, he warns, is "not to eliminate monopolistic control, *but merely to change its ownership*"[4] (italics his). He returns to this accusation again and again. "In the pre-war years we fought against the domination of the people by big business. We now face the domination of the people by big government."[1] Although noticing that this phenomenon represents "a trend which is apparent throughout the world,"[1] he never stops to examine its causes but ascribes it simply to "the government's desire for power."[4] He sees the issue as a personal quarrel because he has no view of its wider import. "The difficulty of getting along with business," said Attorney General Jackson in his debate with Mr. Willkie, "is not so much that it has a bad philosophy of the functions of government as that it has no philosophy as to the broader functions of itself."[9]

Among the acts of "big government" which Willkie most resents is the Public Utility Act's "death sentence" for geographically overextended holding companies like C. and S. "No tribunal," he once said, "has ever determined that there was any discrepancy between the property value of the utility companies of this country and their outstanding securities."[10] Yet it is a fact that C. and S. itself was induced to cut its capitalization to $354,000,000, a reduction of 61 per cent, after an investigation by the FTC in 1931, and that later the FTC still found three C. and S. subsidiaries overcapitalized to the extent of $124,000,000. As Mr. Jackson put the issue, "How can a single state regulate Mr. Willkie?" Never mind that, says Willkie: "Give us back the powers that our forefathers declared to be ours; liberate us to govern ourselves by *law*."[6]

What Willkie wants is a "businesslike administration that will act as the steward of our prosperity, that will insure the social progress that is now threatened, and that will manage our affairs at least as intelligently as we manage our own enterprises."[6] That, according to Willkie himself, is not very intelligently, for, as he points out on various occasions—whenever he is trying to make a case for revision of the capital-gains tax to allow deductions for losses—"only one-third of the established businesses are successful."[11] Such a record for business hardly recommends it for running the government. Willkie insists that a "businesslike approach" would, on the one hand, "restore business confidence and get our wheels moving again. On the other, it would speed up social progress and reform."[6] How it is going to do both when any step toward social progress and reform causes business men to "lose confidence" is left unexplained.

WILLKIE'S BUSINESS RECORD

Since Willkie is the particular business man who aspires to run the government, let us examine his accomplishments in his own field in the light of his complaints. The one for which he is most lauded is the doubling of C. and S. earnings in the first four years of his presidency and the steady increase in net earnings each year up to 1938. Even the Tennessee Electric Power Company, the C. and S. subsidiary which came into direct conflict with the TVA, in 1937 increased its net earnings 13 per cent over 1936 and 34 per cent over 1934. This is a record of which the head of any corporation might be proud and even boastful. Yet in the period in which Mr. Willkie was so increasing C. and S. earnings he was loudly bewailing the "ruin" that the government was bringing on his companies. In January, 1938, he said that his demand that the government buy the Tepco properties intact was made to escape a "desperate" situation. At one time he complained that the TVA would double the amount of electric energy available in the Valley, "where there is already an excess of 66 per cent."[10] Yet he later revealed that the utilities needed "several hundred million dollars' worth of new construction."[3] One must conclude either that C. and S. was increasing its market and its earnings in spite of its president or that he was less than sincere in his public lamentations.

Wendell Willkie

Actually it was no coincidence that Tepco grew richer in the period that saw the birth and development of TVA. The high-powered campaign to sell more and more electric appliances and the "objective rate" which Willkie has been so praised for introducing were both measures taken over from TVA because of the necessity of meeting TVA's lower rates and increased services. Even the "objective rate" praised by Willkie publicists as an "extraordinarily bold" step was no more than a reluctant edging toward the plunge into reduced rates which TVA had already made ahead of him. If Willkie's companies earned more money as a result, he had TVA to thank. In a left-handed way he acknowledges this. "Utility men, when they are sure no one will overhear them, will occasionally admit that the punitive legislation of the government has spurred them to renewed efforts to lower their rates and put their houses in order."[12]

PAST REMARKS AND PRESENT PROMISES

Fundamental in the Republican nominee's program for national rehabilitation is the achievement of "unity." Next to free enterprise, unity is his favorite word. At Philadelphia he said, "Forty-eight days ago I started out to preach to the American people the doctrine of unity and the doctrine of the destiny of America, and the fact that I am the nominee of this convention shows how appealing those simple doctrines are to the American people."[13] Further elucidating the doctrine of unity, Willkie said, "I dedicate myself to a united people without class consciousness, class distinction, or class hatred."[14] "It is my belief that there is no hate in the hearts of any group of Americans for any other American group—except as the New Deal seeks to put it there for political purposes. I stand for a new companionship in industrial society."[15] Business men and Republicans always deplore class consciousness, but it is the Weirs and Girdlers who wear Willkie buttons. Willkie blames the New Deal rather than Chicago's Memorial Day massacre for class hatred.

From time to time he has made more specific statements about his program. On wage-and-hour legislation he said in his acceptance speech that he favored "the maintenance of minimum standards for wages and of maximum standards for hours. I believe that such standards should constantly improve." On social security the acceptance speech favored "federal pensions," "adequate old-age benefits," and "unemployment allowances." But earlier Willkie had denounced both the Social Security Act and the Wage and Hour Act as measures that taxed pay rolls and caused men to be thrown out of work.[16] On government regulation of business he said in the acceptance speech, "I believe that the forces of free enterprise must be regulated. . . . I believe in the federal regulation of interstate utilities, of securities markets, and of banking." But each of these three forms of regulation he had earlier firmly opposed. Releasing "the forces of private enterprise" has been emphasized in almost every Willkie speech as the first step to recovery. As for the regulation of utilities, he once said, "No duty has ever come to me in private life which has so appealed to my sense of social obligation, patriotism, and love of mankind as this, my obligation to say and do what I can for the preservation of public utilities privately owned."[10] And the report that in a recent speech he "assailed the power vested in various government commissions with special reference to the SEC"[18] hardly indicates enthusiasm for the regulation of securities and banking.

Summing it up, Willkie fixes the four cardinal sins of the New Deal as (1) government spending, (2) wage fixing and pay-roll taxing, (3) personal and corporate taxes, (4) interference with industry by regulatory commissions.[16] In short, it appears that the Republican candidate would provide relief, or at least "unemployment allowances," but without, or with greatly reduced, government spending. He would set wage and hour standards and provide federal pensions but without wage fixing or pay-roll taxing. He would regulate free enterprise but without interference with industry by regulatory commissions. At least one must admire his courage.

THE CANDIDATE AS A LIBERAL

About 1938 Willkie discovered he was a liberal. In articles and speeches which he now produced with increasing frequency, the utilities magnate faded, the liberal emerged. Not entirely confident that he would be recognized as one, he was at pains to pin a tag on him-

PUBLIC LIBRARY
PUEBLO, COLO.

self. "Now I don't want you to think I am a cut-and-dried conservative," he once said pointedly to an interviewer; "by nature and upbringing I am a liberal."[3]

On occasions he has taken a stand, such as his uncompromising castigation of the Dies committee procedure,[19] consistent with his new role, but on the whole the liberal coat fits him badly. A liberal, in Willkie's view, is one who sets himself to "increase freedom"[16] or to "make men free."[5] "Seven years ago," he says, "the people of the United States set out upon what they thought was a great liberal campaign. . . . Somewhere along the road we lost that objective. Instead of seeking to make men free—free to fight their own battle against poverty and fear and adversity under conditions that provided a fair chance to win—we decided to let the government fight the battle." Whereupon the government "wore the colors of the people's champion, but its conceptions of its functions became authoritarian. . . . It tried to take over the functions of America's free economic enterprises."[18] He grants, it is true, that it is the purpose of liberalism "to prevent such limitations upon freedom as insecurity, poverty, or weakness may impose," but he negates his own words when he concludes, "In other words the liberal is one who prefers to be poor if necessary but in any case to be free."[5] What his freedom comes down to is freedom for the victims of poverty, fear, and adversity to "fight their own battle" and cessation of government interference with "free economic enterprises."

FOREIGN POLICY AND NATIONAL DEFENSE

The Allies, Willkie said last May, "believe in the free-enterprise system under democracy. That is what we believe. Whatever we can do to aid that faith without jeopardizing peace for our own land, that we should be willing to do."[20] Thus the preservation of free enterprise becomes the focus of his foreign policy too. Last spring Willkie pulled no punches on this subject. "We must do everything short of war which would strengthen the forces of France, England, Holland, and Belgium,"[21] he said. "If the totalitarian states prevail, the odds are very substantial we shall have to meet them in armed conflict."[22] We must hate Hitler and also fear him, he warned, and added, "I am not being an alarmist. I am stating a fact."[23] These are forthright pronouncements but they hardly give him the right to accuse the President, as he later did, of "dabbling in inflammatory statements and manufactured panics."[15] But by August, when Willkie was calling the President a warmonger, his own foreign policy had subsided into meaningless fustian. In the acceptance speech he defined it as a determination to "do everything to defend American democracy and to refrain from doing anything that would injure it"; he exhorted us, if we wished to "outdistance" the dictators, to "rise to a new life of adventure and discovery," to "make a wider horizon for the human race"; and he promised to "beat Hitler in our own American way." Since then Willkie's views have undergone further gyrations, and the President, once a warmonger—"he has courted a war"—now appears as an appeaser.

One of Willkie's chief objections to Roosevelt's foreign policy is what he calls its "secrecy." For this he would substitute open diplomacy, so open, indeed, as to seem foolhardy. Before the defection of France he suggested that Secretary Hull publicly ask the Allies in the name of the American people exactly what help they needed that we could give them short of an expeditionary force. "If the Allies respond with a request, we can debate that request on its merits. We can debate it non-partisanly and non-politically as a unified people. *Even if we find that we cannot grant it, our public debate will have helped Allied morale, will have helped a little to check Hitler*"[23] (italics mine). How could a public request for help, followed by a public debate, followed by a public refusal, possibly do anything but gravely depress the British and cause Dr. Goebbels to exult over every radio in the Reich?

In discussing national defense Willkie again recommends private enterprise. Three days after the fall of Paris he spoke at a ceremony dedicating a new C. and S. power plant to John C. Weadock, senior counsel of C. and S. To keep the European tragedy from befalling us, he said, we must do three things: "We must continue to make it possible for Americans to do what such a man as John C. Weadock has done. We must continue the operation of our system of free enterprise. We must maintain and add to the spirit of unity of the American people."[24] Here is the whole defense duty of the government as seen by the Republican candidate. Nothing is said about what is to be done with "free enterprise" that finds national defense unattractive except at a price of its own fixing.

"The main thing required," he said elsewhere, in discussing the need to get capital flowing for the manufacture of defense weapons, "is a changed attitude toward business. To preserve this democracy it might be necessary to lengthen the hours of labor, but this should not be done until it is demonstrated to be absolutely essential."[25]

Willkie's attack on the Russell-Overton proposal for government control of uncooperative concerns in a war emergency was bad politics, but it was the only possible reaction to expect from a man of his general views. As long ago as last November Willkie charged that the state of national emergency was being seized upon for "further regimentation and destruction" of free private enterprise."[19] And in December he "insisted that the American people should place their reliance chiefly upon free enterprise and individual initiative."[18] Leaving out those occasional eruptions which so disturb his fellow-travelers but are probably unavoidable in an amateur, there is nothing basically inconsistent in the Republican candidate's political philosophy. It reduces itself to one principle: free private enterprise will fix everything.

[1] Foundation Day Address, University of Indiana, 5/4/38.
[2] Indiana State Day Address at World's Fair, 6/1/39.
[3] Interview, New York *Times Sunday Magazine*, 2/2/38.
[4] Address to Toledo Civic Forum and Rotary Club, 3/4/40.
[5] "With Malice Toward None," *Saturday Evening Post*, 12/30/39.
[6] "We, the People," *Fortune*, April, 1940.
[7] Address over WABC, 4/15/40.
[8] Testimony before Congressional Investigating Committee, 11/23/38.
[9] Debate, Town Meeting of the Air, 1/6/38.
[10] Address to Economic Club and Harvard Business School Club, New York, 1/21/35.
[11] "Idle Money—Idle Men," *Saturday Evening Post*, 6/17/39.
[12] "Political Power," *Atlantic Monthly*, August, 1937.
[13] Philadelphia Acceptance speech, 6/28/40.
[14] Speech at Denver, 7/12/40.
[15] Elwood Acceptance speech, 8/17/40.
[16] "Brace Up, America!" *Atlantic Monthly*, June, 1939.
[17] Address to Commonwealth Club, San Francisco, 3/15/40.
[18] Address to Congress of American Industry, New York, 12/8/39.
[19] Address to Columbia Alumni at Bankers' Club, New York, 11/1/39.
[20] Address to Republican leaders at St. Paul, 5/11/40.
[21] Address to Indiana Bankers' Association, Indianapolis, 5/15/40.
[22] Press Interview, Nana, New York *Times*, 5/5/40.
[23] Address to American Legion, Akron, 5/29/40.
[24] Address at Consumer Power dedication, Bay City, Michigan, 6/20/40.
[25] Press Interview in Washington, New York *Times*, 6/13/40.

The Moscow Line in Britain

BY PATRICIA STRAUSS

VICTOR GOLLANCZ, the well-known publisher, founder of the Left Book Club, which grew into a force of political importance, went recently to one of the club branches. The dozen or so people there were engaged in heated argument. The Communists asserted that the British ruling class was a worse enemy of the workers than was Hitler, and that England was only a sham capitalist democracy not worth fighting for. At last they turned, rather suspiciously, to a blond young man who had been silent throughout the evening and asked his views. Without replying, he stood up, took off his coat, pulled his shirt over his head, and turned his back to them. It was scarred for life with revolting weals. Then he said quietly, "That is the difference between your 'sham capitalist democracy' and Hitler's Germany." But the core of the Communist Party continues to work for appeasement with Germany.

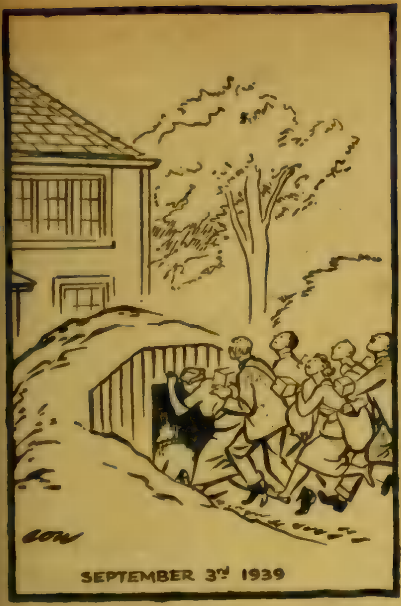
The transference of the fifty American destroyers, hailed in England with deep thankfulness, was roundly condemned by the Communist Party on the ground that the destroyers were old and unsafe for British sailors. In the air-raid shelters in London, Communist organizers are busy trying to persuade the occupants that this is an imperialist war in which they have no part or interest except as they are subject to the risk of death or injury. If civilian morale breaks, the Communist Party's responsibility will be limited only by the extent of its influence.

Most of the prominent Communist Party leaders have followed the new line introduced in the middle of September, 1939. Claud Cockburn, editor of the *Week*, Professor J. B. S. Haldane, the famous scientist, and Harry Pollitt, former secretary of the Communist Party, who had to recant his advocacy of the earlier party line and was demoted, are agreed that the British government is a greater menace to liberty and decency than is Hitler. Since the fall of France, however, when it became obvious that the ruling class could not be depended upon to protect the Communists from the logic of their position, individual Communists are to be found, rather shamefacedly, doing their bit. Working-class members are leaving the Communist Party, puzzled and suspicious. Their attitude is that of the truck driver who said at a local meeting, "I did what I could to help the fight against Hitler in Spain, and I'm not afraid to fight him now it's my country's turn."

The split in the left is most marked in by-elections. In these the Communists have put up anti-war candidates for seats which would otherwise go unopposed to the Labor Party. Last June I myself was in the uncomfortable position of working in the Bow and Bromley by-election, the late George Lansbury's seat, against Isabel Brown, Communist candidate, with whom I had spoken at many crowded meetings for Loyalist Spain. Bands of election workers canvassing in the shabby streets would suddenly meet old friends working for the other side. They would greet one another with scowls and taunts. The Communists would shout, "Look where the Labor Party is now, working with Chamberlain!" And the Labor workers would yell back, "Our party is in the government, helping to defeat Hitler. Your lot have become appeasers and fascists!"

It is significant that after months of weary and undramatic war the Communist vote was only a few hundred in any by-election—this although they put up their best-known people in working-class districts where the voters had had the misery of conscription, blackout, rising cost of living, and evacuation of their children, without the emotional conviction, which they now have, that this is their war. So many people who worked together for Loyalist Spain and the Popular Front are now bitter enemies! The cause is the stop-the-war tactics of the Communist Party. The effect is a rearrangement of the political pattern, with the Communists appearing as appeasers. The price is the loss of many of their supporters and members, both working-class and intellectual.

John Strachey, famous Communist author and lec-



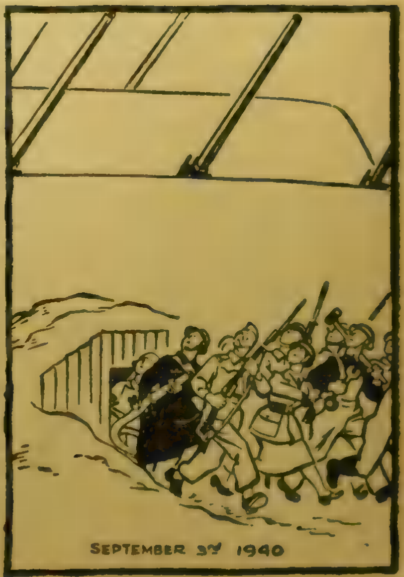
turer, felt at the beginning of the war that an attempt should be made to avoid the imminent bloodshed, but he could not take a stand for "peace at any price." And after the invasion of Finland and the attack on Norway he realized that Hitler must be stopped by force. He is now in the Home Guard, as is G. R. Strauss, M. P., ardent supporter of Loyalist Spain, and practically every other able-bodied man not called for military service.

The left wing of the Labor Party, through its weekly paper, the *Tribune*, continues strongly anti-Nazi. The editorial board of the *Tribune*—Aneurin Bevan, G. R. Strauss, Victor Gollancz, Harold J. Laski, and Raymond Postgate—meets in an air-raid shelter and produces a vigorous call to the government to make this a real people's war. The *Daily Worker* calls on the government to stop the war at once. It does not attack Hitler; it denounces Churchill and the government for opposing Hitler. It also rails against the *Tribune*, although two members of the editorial board, Aneurin Bevan and G. R. Strauss, were expelled from the Labor Party with Sir Stafford Cripps for advocating a Popular Front with the Communist Party.

Tom Wintringham, of the International Brigade, who was expelled from the Communist Party, is fighting Hitler as actively in England as he did in Spain. At a school on an estate near London he is teaching the Home Guard how the Spanish people repelled the advance of mechanized troops with improvised weapons. As assistants he has several officers of the Loyalist Spanish army. He has written a brilliant series of articles for *Picture Post*, an illustrated weekly with an enormous circulation, which have been studied with care by hundreds of thousands of Home Guards all over England. These men, whose job is to defend their own streets and villages, are learning more from Wintringham than from their official training. By his insistence that this is a people's war he is largely responsible for the democratic cooperation in the Home Guard today. If Hitler invades England he will meet the spirit of Wintringham and the International Brigade in every town and village.

In the same school for Home Guards is Hugh Slater, who did such good work in Spain as a Communist journalist. William Forrest, well-known correspondent of the *Daily Express* and *News-Chronicle*, an ardent pro-Loyalist in the Spanish war who has been very close to the Communist Party for some years, has also remained strongly anti-Hitler. So has Philip Toynbee, son of Professor Arnold Toynbee, the historian. Kingsley Martin, editor of the *New Statesman*, who approved the return of the Sudetenland to Germany in the hope it would preserve the peace of Europe and is deeply and passionately averse to force, is convinced the defeat of Hitler is the only hope of a civilized future. Fred Copeman, a wealthy young man who contributed generously to the Loyalist cause in Spain, fought in the International Brigade, and then became one of the most effective speakers for Spain, is lecturing to A. R. P. wardens, teaching them the realities of their work from his own experience in Spain. In the nightly raids over London thousands of wardens must be muttering prayers of thankfulness to Copeman for his practical instruction. These men, so lately heroes for their work in Spain, are now scorned by the Communists as traitors to the working class. The *Daily Worker's* most scathing attacks are for the friends who worked against appeasement and for Spain but who have not followed the stop-the-war line.

One of the casualties of the split on the left is the pacifist movement, which was so strong in the last war. There is no room for it in this war; the Communist Party has taken its place. The traditionally pacifist Independent Labor Party, largely Scottish, is also split. Jennie Lee, one of the leaders and a former Member of Parliament, has an important post in the Ministry of Aircraft Production. Those who are genuine pacifists find themselves in a distinctly awkward position, lined up with but overshadowed by the Communists and Fascists, whose slogans are inevitably alike. When a Fascist chalks on the walls "Mosley for peace," some wag comes along, crosses out Mosley's name, and scrawls "The C. P.," over it.



From the beginning active Labor Party

members, deeply anti-Nazi, have cooperated in A. R. P. and all measures of civilian defense. Since Herbert Morrison, Ernest Bevin, and Ellen Wilkinson, proved bedrock, working-class members of the Labor Party, entered the government, the ordinary workingman feels represented and responsible, and has met all demands magnificently. When Ernest Bevin, secretary of the Transport and General Workers' Union, now Minister of Labor, calls on the workers to increase production, even if it means longer hours in the factory, they not only obey, they approve. But when the Communists tell the factory worker that Ernest Bevin is more surely an enemy of the working class than Göring, he just shakes his head and taps his forehead significantly. It is prophesied in England that the next Prime Minister will be either Herbert Morrison or Ernest Bevin. Each has the trust and loyalty of the workers; each has the curses of the Communist Party.

Did Surrender Save Denmark?

BY JOACHIM JOESTEN

Uppsala, Sweden, September 4

OF ALL the countries that have been crushed under the Nazi juggernaut since April 9, Denmark alone surrendered without a fight. True, in the first hours of the invasion a few sporadic attempts at armed resistance were made, but on the whole the occupation of Denmark was the least bloody of Hitler's conquests.

Even today the Danes, and with them many foreign sympathizers, pride themselves upon the wisdom of the decision which opened the roads and harbors of their kingdom to the invader. Look at the ruins of Brussels and Rotterdam, they say; look at the boundless misery of France, look at hapless Norway, first ravaged by war, then sacrificed by the Allies, now ground down. Aren't we better off?

Let us see how the Danes have profited from an act which threw open the flood-gates of disaster—which made possible the rapid conquest of Norway and thereby turned the tide against the Allies. Of course the Germans are behaving very differently toward the "kindred" nations—Denmark, Norway, Holland—from the way they treated conquered Poland or are treating France. Thus far no horror tales have come out of Denmark. The army of occupation is behaving with restraint and discipline. It does not interfere, as a rule, with the internal administration of the country. The same old Social Democrat who has governed the country since April, 1929, Thorvald Stauning, is still Prime Minister, and his party is still on top, although a coalition Cabinet of all major parties has superseded the two-party regime of the past eleven years. The trade unions have not been interfered with, and little if any encouragement has been given to local Nazi groups by the German military authorities. When the Danish police on July 2 arrested a hundred Nazis who had staged a riotous demonstration, the Germans did not interfere. Whether this moderation of the German masters in Denmark will be lasting or is only a momentary show remains to be seen.

Bad blood has been caused already by the behavior of the German soldiers toward the Danish girls and women. All reports from Denmark agree that the German garrisons are made up of crack troops—good-looking young fellows who pay court to the local belles and have considerable success with them. As a result some girls have been mobbed by their fellow-citizens and had their hair clipped off or been daubed with tar. The military authorities, who in general seem anxious to cultivate the good-will of the population, have not only done nothing to prevent these scandals but have administered rebuffs and warnings to the newspapers and individuals who upbraided the women for their association with German soldiers.

The invaders have gained a fair measure of popularity with both boys and girls of school age—the public schools in Denmark have been for a long time strongly infected with Nazi ideas—and with certain sections of the peasantry, which for some years has shown Nazi leanings. In contrast, they have been coolly received by the workers, a large majority of whom are organized in the Social Democratic trade unions. And the Danish bourgeoisie, which has always looked to France and Britain much more than to Germany, seems to be doing a very thorough job of cold-shouldering the Nazis, especially in Copenhagen. There is little defiance or open hostility, but the attitude of the middle class is definitely frigid. Almost everybody in Copenhagen used to speak at least a little German, but now German officers and soldiers usually get only a blank stare and a shrug of the shoulders when they inquire their way or try to engage in conversation. On the streets of Copenhagen the German military attract little interest; the crowd simply "looks through them," as a friend of mine put it, as if they were thin air. A story is told of a Nazi captain in Copenhagen who complained: "In Czechoslovakia the people spat at me, in Poland they sniped at me, but all this was nothing compared with Denmark, where I am simply frozen out."

The Danes are decidedly annoyed by the reckless way in which the Nazi soldiery clean out the shops. A marked shortage of many commodities already exists, and while the Nazis buy unrestrainedly, the Danes are punished for hoarding. The German soldier's pay of about six marks a day, twelve kroner at the compulsory exchange rate, allows him to spend rather freely. It is interesting to note that the first things the Germans bought in every shop throughout the country were British-made fabrics and clothes. They wanted no "made-in-Germany" stuff but were willing to pay high for every scrap of cloth imported from Britain. They are also eager to buy and send home shirts, socks, women's underwear, and silk stockings.

The ravenous hunger of the German soldiery for Danish butter is almost subject for an epic. In the first days of the occupation you could often see big, serious-looking fellows in uniform standing outside dairy shops and licking up half a pound of butter, without bread, like ice cream, with the ecstasy of a small boy sucking a lollipop! Every member of the occupation army has the right to send home half a pound of butter a day, and hardly anyone fails to make use of this privilege to the full. This drain on supplies, combined with the wholesale buying of butter for export to Germany, has cleaned out the country, once Europe's leading producer of butter, and in consequence severe rationing has been decided upon, to come into effect after October 1. It is expected that the allowance will not exceed 250 grams per person, per week, which is about a quarter of the normal Danish consumption. Sugar also will be rationed, though Denmark has always been more than self-sufficient in the past and had a bumper crop last year. Stocks of coffee and tea are already nearly exhausted, with no hope whatever of replenishing them. Even bread and flour will be rationed in Denmark after October 1.

I have not the space here to discuss the way the whole economic system of Denmark has been thrown hopelessly out of gear by the invasion. Great Britain used to absorb more than half of Denmark's total exports and to supply well over one-third of its import requirements. Now of course the British market is gone completely. Germany is eager to take as much as it can of the butter, bacon, and eggs that formerly went to Britain, but it cannot possibly supply all the essentials—coal, steel, feed, and fertilizers—which Denmark used to get from Britain, and without which both Danish industry and agriculture will be starved. The huge disproportion in Danish-German trade that has arisen since April 9 is indicated by the fact that at the end of July Denmark's National Bank had a clearing balance of 192,000,000 kroner, as compared with a small clearing debt before the invasion. Germany, in a word, is buying all it can get from Denmark, but selling little, and least of all the things that Denmark most desperately needs. Unemployment is steeply on the upgrade, hovering around 100,000 at the best season of the year, although more than 10,000 men have been sent to work in Germany, and at least 3,000 more will go shortly. The country's prosperity has always depended on its trade with Great Britain, and it is plain that lean years are ahead.

When the Danes made up their minds not to resist the invasion, they knew of course that they were in for hardships and humiliations, but they had one hope—that surrender would spare their country the horrors of war. Since then, however, the frequent and vigorous British air raids on German military positions in Denmark have opened their eyes to a different reality. Some Danish cities, Aalborg, for instance, have been bombed by the British more than thirty times. A large number of Danish workers employed in building new airdromes for the Germans were killed in one of these raids. Copenhagen too, with its great airport at Kastrup and its big shipbuilding yards, has been a target for the British bombers. Although the summer season is ending, everybody who can afford it still stays away from the city; all the hotels and boarding-houses along the "Danish Riviera" on the Sound are full of people who wish to escape for a while from the perpetual nightly alarms.

While the German High Command and the controlled Danish officials deny that any damage has been done by the British bombers to military establishments, Danish fishermen have another story to tell. They know that the British scored some direct hits on the big oil and gasoline stores at Nyborg, for all fishing in the Great Belt was impossible for weeks because the water was thick with floating oil. The full story of the havoc wrought by British submarines and magnetic mines in the waters surrounding Denmark has not yet been told. Naturally, the German censors in the Danish newspapers offices and broadcasting services do their utmost to minimize the effects of British warfare on sea and in the air. But the wreckage that unceasingly is washed ashore, the reports of "engine-trouble," "boiler explosions," shipwrecks, and suspension of traffic in Danish waters give a hint of the truth. Or take this detail: before the invasion, the Danish State Railroads ran eight ferry-boats from Zealand to Funen; only four of these are left, and every child in Denmark knows where the other four are—at the bottom of the Great Belt, with their load of German soldiers and ammunition.

A noteworthy by-product of the Nazi invasion is the marked revival of patriotic sentiment in a country which has never had any jingoistic leanings and even used to be rather stinting in its show of patriotism. Some weeks ago a hundred thousand Copenhageners gathered in the Faelledparken to sing Danish folk-songs—the first gathering of its kind in the capital. This was a striking, if discreet manifestation of the new national spirit. Accompanying this reawakening of national feeling are marked signs that the people are rallying round the personality of King Christian. Denmark's king has not always been so popular as, for example, King Gustav of Sweden. Since the invasion, however, the former opposition seems to have all but disappeared, and the nation's attachment to the royal house appears to symbolize its wish not to be submerged in a vast Germanic empire, but to retain its own culture and its soul.

No NLRB for Ben Hill County

BY GEORGE C. STONEY

Winston-Salem, N. C., September 25

ON THE evening of August 8, 1938, Dr. Witherspoon Dodge, minister, sometime professor of religion and sociology at Oglethorpe University, and since 1937 regular organizer for the C. I. O.'s Textile Workers' Union, was sitting on the veranda of the Lee-Grant Hotel in Fitzgerald, Georgia, talking with James W. Cox, president of the local cotton mill, for which his organization had been certified as bargaining agent by the NLRB. A stranger called Dr. Dodge to the edge of the steps, and one of a dozen or more men struck him with a blackjack. They then threw him into the back of a truck, beat him, took him into the woods beyond the town, threatened his life, and near midnight turned him loose with the warning that if he showed his face in Fitzgerald again he would be killed.

Two years later the president, secretary and general manager, treasurer, and two foremen of the mill were brought to trial in Waycross, Georgia, charged with "a conspiracy to deprive their employees of their civil rights under the existing labor laws." Eleven employees were also indicted, officers and employees being jointly charged with such specific acts as reducing wages in order to force resignation from the union, circulating printed forms for such resignations, preventing employees from holding meetings, closing the plant with the specific objective of compelling resignation from the union, preventing relief organizations from aiding employees during the shutdown, beating certain organizers, and discharging employees for union activity.

"Old Dodge is a strange case," said Barry Wright, leading defense attorney, at the trial. "He is a man who has forsaken the holy tabernacle of the living God to get into the C. I. O. trough. He was beaten in Fitzgerald. Yes, he was beaten. But if old Dodge had been hung up to a tree by his thumbs and whipped with a lash, it would not have anything to do with this case."

The Fitzgerald Cotton Mill is one of several hundred marginal concerns scattered over the South, operated by Southerners but owned or controlled by selling agents in the North, who furnish the operating capital. In the spring of 1938 its employees chose the Textile Workers' Union for their bargaining agent by a vote of 197 to 22. Later in the spring notice of a 16½ per cent wage cut was tacked up beside the time clock. The union had not been notified. When it protested, the management, on advice of its attorneys, withdrew the proposal.

Then an anti-union campaign was begun. Alton Lawrence, a young Southern organizer who had done most of the work of building the Fitzgerald local, was attacked on the steps of the courthouse. Later he barely missed Dr. Dodge's fate when thugs blocked the roads leading from a house where he was holding a council meeting. He escaped through the bushes. Yellow union-resignation cards appeared in the mill workers' shabby houses up the slope from the plant and in the raw pine shacks about the edge of the village. One half of each card was addressed to the union, giving notice that John Doe no longer wished to be represented by it. The other half was addressed to the mill management, reporting his resignation.

These cards, printed by the local newspaper's print-shop on the order of a mill agent, were copied from the *Observer*, a sheet giving instruction in anti-union tactics published in Greenville, South Carolina, allegedly by the South Carolina Cotton Manufacturers' Association. Mr. Cox admitted on the stand that in obedience to orders from New York he had met the editor of the *Observer* in Atlanta, had paid the editor's expenses for the trip with two ten-dollar bills instead of a check, and had discussed the circulation of this paper and the distribution of the resignation forms among his employees.

In June of '38 the mill closed down. The officers asserted that it could not get enough orders to maintain operation at the union scale of wages. If employees would resign from the union and accept the wage cut, it would reopen. (Government attorneys proved that during the month that the mill was inactive orders for more than $100,000 worth of material were received.) When employees applied for relief they were refused. Relief officials testified that the mill management assured them the plant would reopen before need became acute. The abduction and beating of Dr. Dodge came a week after the mill reopened. It was the beginning of a "clean-up" anti-union campaign. No organizer dared go into Fitzgerald after that.

All these facts were presented by the prosecution and were unrefuted by the defense in the trial. But the verdict returned was "Not guilty!"

A year of work by Department of Justice investigators and FBI men had gone into the preparation of the government's case. The star witness was John Moyer, an investigator for the Wage and Hour Administration, who in '37 and '38 was an assistant superintendent of the Fitzgerald plant. He told of hearing the violence plotted, of seeing some of the yellow union-resignation cards in the office of the mill, and of hearing the superintendent say he was going to put them away for future reference. Other men who had previously made statements to the federal investigators showed signs of having been intimidated. The verdict might have been different if they had spoken freely, though the testimony of several employees who risked their jobs and their skins to speak seemed to make no difference.

Let's look at the jury. Five were naval-store operators, engaged in an industry in which pay runs as low as $4 a week, debt peonage is frequent, and unionism is smacked down with gun stocks. Four were planters and rural supply merchants, leaders of their crossroads communities and belonging to that sector of the South's population which has not recognized the Fourteenth Amendment, much less the "communistic" Wagner Act. One was a mill official, and one a member of the Georgia Legislature.

When Federal Attorneys T. H. Dodd and J. J. Lyman arrived in Waycross two weeks before the trial, they found that the jurors had already been chosen. J. Saxon Daniels, the district attorney, had gone ahead with this formality during the previous session of court—"in the interest of economy," as he put it. Oh, yes, he had been careful to warn them not to talk with anyone about the case during the interval. Rumors that the jury had been "fixed" were plentiful, but the government's representatives could not override Daniels.

Judge William H. Barrett, well known for his hostility to labor, presided. During the two weeks of trial he allowed the jurors to go home at night, to read the newspapers, and to talk with the public at large. At the frequent recesses jurors and defendants enjoyed Coca-Colas together at the stand across the street from the courthouse. On the third day of the trial the jury went to the movies. Quite coincidentally a special "short" followed the regular feature. In it a father told his son how a great mill operator had built up their community despite the opposition of labor organizers.

Judge Barrett's final instruction to the jury was a reminder of the "rights" of employers. In his final plea Barry Wright, the defense attorney, made it clear that this was not a case of justice versus injustice but one of business versus labor. It took the jury just forty minutes to prove its class loyalty.

Back in Fitzgerald I found the workers frightened, hopeless, and demoralized—ready for the revivalist preacher who had pitched his tent on the back street; ready for a demagogue like Gene Talmadge, who is promising them heaven on earth if he is elected governor. It will be years before a strong union can be built again.

I asked the federal district clerk in Waycross if the thugs who beat Dr. Dodge would be indicted in the local courts for assault. "Huh," he replied, "they don't arrest people for things like that in Ben Hill County."

Within the Gates

THE Italian consul general in New York, Gaetano Vecchiotti, declared not long ago: "Il Duce has condensed the duty of the Italians into these few words: 'Work and arm.' For us, Italians living abroad, the word 'arm' should signify a continuous, stubborn propaganda among the people of other races." Signor Vecchiotti's frank statement revealed nothing new; it is no secret that the Italian government is carrying on verbal warfare against democracy. But it is not so well known that our public schools are being used by Italian propagandists for this purpose.

The propagandists are particularly active in schools which have classes conducted in Italian for children of immigrants who speak Italian in the home. In the textbooks used in these schools the Fascist point of view is openly expressed. This literal translation of an extract from an elementary reader entitled "Andiamo in Italia" is typical:

> Fascism has remade the Italy which the parties and the politicians, all of whom were solicitous for their own interests, had reduced to slight importance. . . . Italy was a disorderly and disorganized country in which all wanted to talk louder without listening to the voice of the ruler. Now this voice which commands is well heard by all and order has been reestablished as by a miracle. The future will tell how much Italy owes to its present chief and to the state organization that he personifies.

Another textbook, "Vita Italiana," in a foreword frankly acknowledges its debt to the Italian Tourist Information Office, an Italian government agency. Both these books were put out by a reputable publishing firm (Henry Holt and Company) and have been approved by public officials—facts which greatly increase their propaganda value. And what is very important to the impoverished Italian government, they cost it nothing. In fact, the books are paid for either by the parents of the pupils or by the city, and the authors collect royalties from the publishing houses.

In New York, and to a lesser degree in other cities having a large Italian population, the public-school buildings have been used frequently as meeting places by Fascist organizations. On May 24 last the National United Italian Association, an organization formed for the purpose of coordinating the activities of Italian-American groups, held a meeting in the auditorium of the New Utrecht High School, Brooklyn, to inaugurate what was euphemistically called an "Americanization campaign." This meeting was opened, not with the Star-Spangled Banner, but with the Fascist anthem Giovinezza, and was concluded with the Fascist song Balilla. The principal speaker was the notorious propagandist Captain Vincenzo Martinez. Hundreds of public-school buildings have been similarly used by Il Duce's agents in their campaign to undermine the Americanism of new Americans.

Recently, to supplement their work in the public schools, the Italian diplomatic and consular officials have begun to move in on the parochial schools. By enlisting the support of certain Fascist-minded priests, they have been eminently successful in converting education into propaganda. Perhaps the most flagrant instance of Italian interference in Catholic education occurred in June of this year when the Reverend Francis Cagnina, who conducts Italian classes at the Saint Clara Parochial School, Brooklyn, permitted an attaché of the Italian consulate to conduct the final examination of all students. In an address delivered after the examination the attaché promised to inform Consul General Vecchiotti of the "splendid results."

Just in case the propaganda in the public and parochial schools fails to sell Fascism to students of Italian extraction, hundreds of Fascist clubs have organized *doposcuole,* or after-schools, which are generally conducted by teachers recently arrived from Italy. These teachers praise Mussolini and Fascism and sneer at democracy as "decadent and outmoded." Some of them require the younger students to repeat aloud such vows as this: "When I grow up, when at last I am a soldier, I shall fight for Italy, my fatherland, and I shall win. I shall take from the enemy flags and prisoners, and I shall earn many medals of valor."

For a time the activities of these schools were partially coordinated by the National United Italian Association, but this spring Consul General Vecchiotti sponsored the formation of the so-called Committee pro Italian Language to complete the job of regimentation. Under the chairmanship of Vecchiotti this committee meets regularly at the Palazzo d'Italia, New York, and supervises the placing of teachers and the selection of textbooks for all *doposcuole.* It was revealed recently by the anti-Fascist Italian News Service that the Committee pro Italian Language controls some thirty-one schools in the New York area alone. Four of these schools are for adult education only.

Before the outbreak of the war many boys and girls of Italian parentage who reacted favorably to Fascist propaganda were rewarded with free summer vacation trips to Italy. There they were placed in the hands of master-propagandists who finished the job begun in the schools.

The devotion of the Italian government to youth is rather touching. It does not even neglect the unborn. Fascist officials have announced that it is the duty of every pregnant Italian woman living abroad to return home prior to confinement. The government pays travel expenses both ways for the expectant mother and for all children who cannot be left behind, as well as hospital and medical costs. A child born in Italy, unlike one born abroad, has not the option at maturity of remaining an Italian citizen or becoming a citizen of the country in which his parents live.

In the Wind

INSIDERS SAY that Senator McNary was the man most horrified by Wendell Willkie's statement denouncing the Overton-Russell proposal to conscript factories that refused to cooperate in the defense program. McNary told friends that if he had been present in the Senate at the time of the vote he would have supported the amendment. Long an advocate of conscription of wealth as well as men, McNary thought Willkie had made a bad blunder.

BLACK FRIDAY: The San Diego *Union* recently carried on its front page an item headed "Beg Your Pardon." It read, "The statement in last Saturday's issue of the *Union* that a 'dusky' eleven-pound girl was born to Mr. and Mrs. John Henry on Friday afternoon was a typographical error. The item should have read that a 'husky' eleven-pound girl was born."

THE PRESS ACCOUNTS didn't say so, but at the conclusion of Merwin K. Hart's pro-fascist address to the Union League Club one officer of the club denounced him heatedly in the presence of a good many spectators. Most of the audience, however, was pro-Hart.

WILLKIE HEADQUARTERS are unhappy about publication of advertisements for Willkie "kits" which name the R. J. Donnelly firm as the place to get them. Donnelly has been for years under the fire of the powerful typographical unions, and the ads appeared in the midst of the G. O. P. campaign to win over labor. The Republicans have been hearing about it ever since.

CONSCRIPTION MAY affect a big baseball deal. It is understood that prospective purchasers of the Yankees have been scared by the possibility that Joe Di Maggio and several other key players may be drafted. Their loss would reduce the property's value considerably.

ADVERTISEMENT in the Washington *Evening Star:* "New 'anti-red' bill barring foreign-born revolutionists from citizenship passed the House with no dissenting votes. Sometimes there's simply no room for argument. Here's a similar instance. Try Marlow's Famous Reading Anthracite, the low-ash hard coal."

TWO FILM COMPANIES are considering production of a life of Trotsky. . . . The Ford Motor Company is definitely worried about the C. I. O. boycott and has assigned special men to combat it. . . . The wire services have virtually ignored the Toland committee's investigation of migrants since it left the East. . . . The International Student Service, once primarily a refugee agency, may become a full-fledged pro-New Deal student organization.

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind —either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. A prize of $5 will be awarded each month for the best item.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

A Native at Large

BY JONATHAN DANIELS

NOTHING pleases me more in this present Presidential campaign than the effort to get some votes for Willkie in the old solid South. Some of his supporters are spending real cash money for advertising and maybe other things down below the Potomac. Apparently Mr. Willkie himself takes his chances in what he calls the Southland with some seriousness. He stopped long enough in Texas to say that he has much sympathy for the Southern view that the tradition of voting Democratic in the South rises from necessity, and to declare that for the people of the South to live up to this tradition would be under normal circumstances a very natural and wise thing to do. Everybody knows what that necessity is supposed to be. And I doubt that Mr. Willkie would have risked stating his sympathy for it, which may not help him in Harlem, if he had not had real hope in the South.

Mr. Willkie, I believe, is unduly hopeful. The last time he put his heart into an election in the South to the extent of $20,000 of the Commonwealth and Southern's money in Chattanooga, his side lost two to one. His chances in the South are not much better now. But it would be an excellent thing for the South, and the country too, regardless of the result in electoral votes, if all the Willkie men in the South would come out honestly and openly for the Republican candidate. They won't.

When Mr. Hoover cracked the South, his votes came, even if out of prejudice, from the masses of the people at the bottom. Willkie's strength is at the top, and largely among those who have not only been against Roosevelt all the time but also against almost every program, local or federal, to improve the lot of the people at the bottom of the South, which is the bottom of America. There are plenty of voters down there, despite poll-tax restrictions in some states, which those at the top honor and uphold. In most Southern states those Democratic voters decided the third-term issue before the campaign was begun by instructing their delegates to the national convention to nominate Roosevelt for a third term. That may not prove that the ordinary people are wiser in 1940 than they were in 1928, but they certainly are not stirred by the third term as they were stirred then about prohibition and the Pope.

The little fellows at least had the courage of their prejudices. I doubt that the Roosevelt haters will have the courage of theirs. Already a silence has fallen on some of those conservatives in Congress who got to be called statesmen in the North because they came from the South to oppose Roosevelt between election years. Even some bankers and utility executives are growing quiet now. I am sorry. Nothing better could happen in the South than a frank and forthright fight for Willkie by those in the banks and brokerage offices, mills, and utility companies who have hated Roosevelt for eight years and reform in general for eight times as long as that. A few of them will work openly for him. More will give him aid and comfort quietly. But most of them will vote for Roosevelt on the Democratic ticket not because they want him, God knows, but because they want to continue to dominate the Democratic Party in their states. Too much they have done that and too long. Their money and their influence are the explanation of the big reactionary element among Southern Democrats, of which even the Democratic President—for whom most of them are going to vote—has complained.

As is increasingly well known, they and the pompous or persuasive men who represent them are the most dangerous Southern demagogues. Often those who seem to seek the support, on the basis of their prejudices, of the leathernecks, the crackers, and the hillbillies are their men, too. The rank and file can get along without demagogues much better than these big boys can. Political sideshow is more often than not a part of power's play-acting. Little, simple, ignorant men in the South are not the ones who have habitually followed the Democratic Party without believing in it, in a blind tradition which Mr. Willkie understands arises from necessity. Certainly that supposed necessity may be a part of their prejudices. But the rank and file were honestly and uproariously enthusiastic for Bryan and Wilson. They have been even more devoted to Roosevelt. Shrewder and richer men have been the ones who followed, not in blind prejudice, but in sharp-eyed determination upon power.

They will follow still. Republican as most of them are in all their convictions, they will be Democrats this year and next year and the next, in name and in damaging influence on democratic principles in the party to which they must attach themselves for rule. They hope Mr. Willkie will be elected. But Mr. Willkie is in ignorance if he thinks he can take them with him out of the Democratic Party in the South. I am sorry he is mistaken. There would be more chance of democracy in the South —and in the whole nation with the South's help—if he could.

Notes by the Way

THE tale of imprisonment and death, or "suicide," in a Nazi concentration camp has been told many times in our unhappy era. The pattern is all too familiar; and it is repeated in "Beyond Tears" by Irmgard Litten (Alliance Book Corporation, $2.75). But there are two elements in the story of Hans Litten as told by his mother which give it the impact not only of a familiar personal history but of a legend created out of the experience of many men. The principal element is the character of Hans Litten; the second rises from the fact that Irmgard Litten, having passed through hers and her son's ordeal, has reached the point literally beyond tears at which the sentimental superfluous word cannot be spoken.

Hans Litten was the son of the rector of the University of Königsberg. He was by predilection a scholar; by nature a dedicated man. When he decided to become a lawyer instead of a philologist, his fate was sealed. Inevitably he became the defender of poor men and of the political partisans of the poor; inevitably he ran head-on into the Nazi gangsters who were building power by breaking the law. In 1931, in the course of his losing fight to preserve the forms of law and give them content he even went so far as to hale Adolf Hitler into court in connection with a murder the Nazis had committed and in a searching cross-examination attempted to force the admission that the Nazi Party deliberately used violence and murder as methods to attain power.

Litten was arrested on the night of the Reichstag fire. His mother immediately began her long fight for his release. She appealed to many influential persons in Germany who had been among her close friends. She appealed also to influential people abroad. Time and again she went to the offices of the Gestapo, where her very unworldliness as well as her connections afforded her a kind of protection. She met sympathy in strange places, cowardice in others. Sometimes she managed visits to her son; she was able through pressure on officials to have his treatment ameliorated for a time. As a decent German she could not give up the idea that her son would be released—and this assumption that she must somehow succeed, that Germans could not be so deliberately cruel as the Nazis are, is one of the most pathetic aspects of her story. She did not succeed. Litten's imprisonment and her continuous fight for his release went on for five years. Then she received word that he had committed suicide and that she would be allowed to bury him.

The character of Litten is revealed mainly not in the direct comments of his mother but in the words and actions of the men and women who knew him in and out of prison. His clients and friends among the poor worshiped him.

> One day [writes Mrs. Litten] a woman came to see me. She had often mended his clothes in the past. . . . After some enthusiastic remark of hers, I said: "I am always being told that in North Berlin there are many people who worship Hans as though he were a saint." She gave me a reproving glance, and said, with emphasis: "He *is* a saint."

His fellow-prisoners, when they were released, came to tell her how her son, drawing upon his great fund of knowledge and his amazing memory, had relieved the monotony and hopelessness of prison life.

> Those of them who lived in Berlin often came to see me, for Hans had impressed it upon me that I must keep an eye on them and insure that the intellectual interest which he had awakened in them was not allowed to decline.

And one of them told her:

> If they had asked me whether I wanted to be released I should have said: "No; I'd rather stay here as long as Hans is here." Though, of course, if they were to ask me now—that is, now that I know what it is to be free—I suppose I should say "Yes."

They told her too how he had stood out against the attempts of the Nazis to break his spirit as they had long since broken his physical health. And one of them, when she asked if they had tried to get Hans to act as a spy among the prisoners, answered indignantly that no one, not even a Nazi guard, would dare do such a thing.

There is evidence that Litten's cross-examination of Hitler was one of the reasons for his imprisonment and torture—no charge was brought against him—but the larger fact which emerges from his story is that the real charge against him was his own pure character, his single-minded passion for justice, legal and social. No such man could be allowed at large in the underworld of the Third Reich.

Rudolf Olden, who went down two weeks ago in a torpedoed refugee ship, once said that Litten was "a Franciscan character." Saints have gone out of fashion; legends are suspect. Yet one cannot help applying the word saint to the hero of "Beyond Tears"; and the story of his martyrdom, told as it is with severe restraint, has the primary unpremeditated force of a legend in which the old struggle between Good and Evil is once more made contemporary and real.

MARGARET MARSHALL

How Norway Fell

I SAW IT HAPPEN IN NORWAY. By Carl J. Hambro. D. Appleton-Century Company. $2.50.

IN THE early hours of April 9, 1940, Mr. Hambro helped to organize the escape from Oslo of the Norwegian royal family, the government, and the gold reserve. As president of the Storting, the Norwegian parliament, he presided over the historic session at Hamar which unanimously indorsed the decision of the government to reject the German ultimatum and resist invasion to the uttermost. In the months since he has played his part in carrying out that decision and is now in America as a kind of ambassador-at-large for the Norwegian government-in-exile.

In this book Mr. Hambro does not attempt to give a complete history of Hitler's treacherous conquest of Norway, but he throws light on a good many phases which have hitherto been obscure. He gives us, for instance, a fairly full account of Quisling, the would-be Norwegian Führer, whose inner conviction of his own importance thrived on the refusal of his countrymen to take him seriously. It is interesting to learn that after a term of service in the legation at Moscow Quisling returned to Norway an enthusiastic Communist. However, the Labor Party, although far to the left in those days, proved unresponsive to his plans for organizing a "red guard." He then turned to the Farmers' Party and became a member of a short-lived government which he helped disrupt by his inability to collaborate. His term of office was chiefly notable for an alleged "assault" on him by Communists, which he is generally believed to have faked.

After this experience Quisling started his own National Unity Party, which was never able to win a seat in Parliament and reached its apex in the elections of 1933, when it polled 2.33 per cent of the total electorate. Mr. Hambro is at great pains to make clear the insignificance of the pro-Nazi element in Norway and seeks to refute stories of widespread native treachery, which, he declares, were deliberately invented and circulated by German agents. He shows, for instance, that several members of Quisling's abortive "Cabinet" were named without their knowledge or consent and proved their patriotism by immediately joining the army. He is also able to provide evidence contradicting stories of treachery by high army and navy officers.

The real fifth column in Norway, Mr. Hambro insists, was composed of Germans—diplomatic and consular officials, newspapermen, business men, and tourists—who grossly abused Norwegian hospitality and trustfulness. The strange thing is that Norway was so unsuspicious and so little prepared against a surprise attack. And this Mr. Hambro does not really explain.

When I was in Oslo in the summer of 1939 I heard everywhere talk of the activity of German agents, and most people I spoke to believed that, if war broke out in Europe, Scandinavia would become involved. The government must have had a good deal of information about the Nazi espionage system. Why did it not take steps to suppress it? The answer, I believe, is partly that it clung to a hope that, if nothing were done to offend Berlin, the country might somehow escape attack. In addition, Norway always felt that the British navy would prove its first line of defense, since Britain could not allow the Norwegian coast to fall into German hands. But the Germans understood this too, and in their plans for attack without warning at widely distant points gambled on Britain being too late. Had the Norwegian government exercised the rigid control over German merchant shipping that knowledge of German methods and activities demanded, the Nazi "surprise party" might have had a different ending.

There are plenty of lessons for America in this book. It should help us to realize, in the words of the author, that "every German embassy is a potential center of fifth-column mobilization: every German consulate . . . the privileged stable of a Trojan horse." It is even more important to understand that the danger personified by Hitler is moral as well as physical and can only be thwarted by facing all its implications. Europe today is a graveyard of disillusioned ostriches.

KEITH HUTCHISON

The Carat Weight of the Heart

WARTIME LETTERS OF RAINER MARIA RILKE. Translated by M. D. Herder Norton. W. W. Norton and Company. $2.50.

RILKE was thirty-eight years old in August, 1914, when this selection of letters begins, and forty-six, in December, 1921, when it closes. These letters, therefore, are not exclusively "war-time." Their chief interest lies in the fact that they cover the most unproductive period of Rilke's life: the period when he was unable to write poetry and was forced, both by outer circumstances and his own spiritual state, to undergo the full experience of moral agony necessary before his final work could come into being. He had often spoken of the "heart-work" necessary before creation. In these years he was forced to experience that work anew; and it was, as is usual in great natures, great labor.

Rilke's spiritual health was precarious in 1914, as it had been for some years previously. Having accomplished an extraordinary amount of writing in the decade from 1904 to 1914, he now felt himself at a dead end: finished with one way of thinking and feeling, and not yet ready for a new phase. His nervous exhaustion was noted in 1913 by one of his close friends: "The impression he made on me was one of extreme anxiety; he talked excitedly . . . with extreme nervousness. . . . He had always given way to the feelings of other people he said; now at last he was going to feel desire and love." The poet who in ten years had written down fully the account of his childhood and youthful neuroticism (in "The Notebooks of Malte Laurids Brigge"), and who in the 175 poems in the "Neue Gedichte" volumes had caught, in full complex beauty, his intuitions into nature, his own subtle mind, and the "things" created by man, might well be emptied of the impulse to create. Rilke had always known that his role was one of "openness." He was an instrument made to receive life, in all its manifestations, both monstrous and beautiful. But now, even before the outbreak of the war, he no longer functioned as this instrument; and his state of depression was so strong that he came to Munich to ask aid of a psychiatrist.

"The experience of the war was certainly the severest test of Rilke's conviction that whatever is, is right," one commentator has said. Rilke was on his way from Leipsic to Munich when war was declared. A note in the present volume suggests that what he saw on that journey across southern Germany—"the armed men, the singing, the farewells—must have swept him into the current of exalted excitement that caused him to write his only—and quickly deprecated—war poems." These poems ("Five Songs, August 1914") are truly hysterical productions. They show Rilke at his worst, and resurrect the sentimentality of the adolescent Rilke, before this for years outgrown. Their only value is that they prove no poetry can ever again be written on the subject of modern war. It took Rilke only a week or so to discover their falsity; and from that time on, throughout the war, on the subject of war he was silent, except for the scathing analyses of "the whole sad man-made situation" frequently repeated in his letters.

The war, however, was not through with Rilke. Born in Prague, he had for years transferred his allegiance to Paris. Having lived in almost every country in Europe as a "guest-friend," he was now forced to return to Germany in order not to be interned as an Austrian. Then, in 1915, after a military examination, he was found fit and promptly conscripted for service in the Austrian army. This conscription lasted for some months, and his service in Vienna was terminated only after the intervention of his publisher and other friends. These people have spoken of the experience, touching and terrible, of seeing Rilke in uniform.

He returned to Munich, to his own long struggle with his divided nature. The "cleft" in Rilke between "narcissism and objectivity" is nowhere clearer than in his correspondence at this time. "This cleft is common in most extreme artists, but Rilke was in danger of sheer disintegration through it." He now felt himself "a beginner," and saw the people about him in Munich as "finished" in the most invidious sense of the word. All talk of "evasion" and "escapism," applied often so glibly to Rilke in accordance with the dictates of modern jargon, seems particularly fatuous when the long, slow process of his development in these years is examined. Rilke had written in 1906: "Those who live with courage . . . can never be deceived or disappointed in the essential realities of life. . . . When we accept the difficulties of life, it becomes easy (since we have enormous resources of strength within us). And we must adhere to difficulty, if we would make any claim to having a part in life. . . . What we are to understand by courage is a valiant attitude in facing the strangest and most inexplicable things that can happen to us." All this, which Rilke once knew, he had to relearn. In the most inauspicious circumstances he continued "to measure with the carat weight of the heart, in place of the false measure of suspicion, happiness, or luck."

These letters lead to the last poems—"because in them the development of these great poems develops slowly, uninterruptedly, almost imperceptibly, throughout the whole course of the correspondence." At the end, the disoriented man has "suffered through" his problem and in 1921 is ready with a touching eagerness "to understand and adapt himself to the needs of others, especially of those younger and perplexed by life, as he himself had often been." The later letters are sometimes written to strangers who had written him for counsel. And they are a corrective to the tendency to make Rilke into a priest or prophet. His human defects show up clearly, especially his occasional tendency toward snobbery and dependence. He was above all things a poet, of a sensibility developed far beyond his time. He came to a reconciliation with himself, and to a triumph in his art, by using the most ancient wisdom and the most modern insights. He was opposed to modern brutality and, most of all, to the modern moral pretensions which cover it. He stands for the future, where "lamenting" need not cancel out "praise"; and to read him is an antidote against the fear, hatred, and revenge of the present. To read his poetry and his letters with understanding leads one toward a world where there are no victories, but only "assent."

LOUISE BOGAN

A Novel of Questioning

COUNT TEN. By Hans Otto Storm. Longmans, Green and Company. $2.50.

WHILE there is no reason why a short novel cannot be as satisfactory and well-rounded as a long one, many readers who relished the virile, meaty compactness of Mr. Storm's "Pity the Tyrant" and "Made in U. S. A." have doubtless looked forward to a book in which he would shake off the gratuitous shackles of a rigidly circumscribed setting and really let himself go. In "Count Ten" he gives himself full scope: his plot embraces the major portion of a man's life and most of the Western Hemisphere; he writes with easy familiarity about sailing, mining, electrical engineering, hospital work, airplane building and flying; and he packs into the book's 625 pages a rich cargo of mature, seasoned reflection, skilfully imbedded in an absorbing narrative.

His hero, Eric Marsden, is in many respects a twentieth century Anthony Adverse, although the story lacks the fireworks and flourishes that made Hervey Allen's novel a publisher's gold mine. Eric is orphaned as a young lad when the airplane in which he is riding with his father crashes (the title is taken from his father's injunction to count ten before he pulls the parachute cord, a test of courage and self-control which forms the keynote of his problems throughout the book); he goes to prison as a conscientious objector during the World War; he fashions a life for himself in a Mexican seacoast village with an Indian wife, after whose death he sails on an adventurous cruise with a romantic and not altogether convincing American entrepreneur; he wins a moderate success for himself as roving representative for a mining trust, but after being badly hurt in another airplane crack-up he marries and settles down into as much peace and happiness as a man of his questing spirit can ever hope to find. For from beginning to end the shining goal of his search has been, not money or position or any kind of outward trophy, but genuine self-respect, the kind of spiritual security that comes only when a man's actions square undeviatingly with his principles. Can one, he constantly queries, master the techniques of medicine, geology, navigation, carpentry, whatever other skills expediency may demand of a man living in a material world, and yet remain a philosopher, a specialist in wisdom?

For the renunciations that beset the path to this dark tower of the mind, Eric is stoically fortified; but like all thinking men he must wrestle naked and unarmed, in the arena of his own soul, with the monster of the basic issue, the question: Is renunciation itself right and wise? If the book conveys any simple yes-or-no answer to this complex question, it must be ferreted out from a myriad of suggestions, and I for one am by no means convinced that Mr. Storm has intended to answer it. His novels are filled with sardonic humor, and instead of hanging up the moral key ostentatiously and conveniently in the closing speeches, they have a way of ending, as it were, with a rising inflection, like a lecturer who wants to prod his audience into active participation in the open forum. "Count Ten" is like that, forceful and stimulating, but definitely not for the slothful reader.

LOUIS B. SALOMON

A Surgeon's Story

HUGH YOUNG: A SURGEON'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY. By Hugh Young, M.D. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $5.

THE autobiography of an energetic, forceful personality is dangerously prone to the twin evils of egotistical display in style and bad taste in the inclusion of material. Hugh Young was unable to escape either of these pitfalls. The text of this most recent contribution to popular writings by physicians contains many illustrations of the genital organs of the persons upon whom the author has operated, with detailed discussions of the ailments of some of his most notable patients, including Woodrow Wilson. Both the patients and the diseases are called by their proper names. Some of the personal history, especially of the author's childhood, is interesting if somewhat lusty. His satisfaction in the precise number of pheasants, grouse, duck, bear, deer, and other animals that he has killed when he was not busy operating upon human beings may please some readers; it will certainly offend many others.

The author is recognized by the medical profession as a distinguished and accomplished surgeon. It is a great pity that he felt impelled to write a popular account of his achievements for an audience unprepared to evaluate them scientifically but more than capable of detecting the literary and personal weaknesses revealed in their narration.

KARL MENNINGER

A Promising Past

TRELAWNY: A MAN'S LIFE. By Margaret Armstrong. The Macmillan Company. $3.

"THIS is a young man," said Heine of De Musset, "with a very promising past," and while such a melancholy dictum applied to all the Romantics in some degree, it was completely true of Mr. E. J. Trelawny. But what else is true about Miss Armstrong's new hero is hard for me to say. Maurois calls Trelawny a comic-opera adventurer. After abusing him at some length in "The Last Journey," Harold Nicolson adds rather unnecessarily: "Besides, Trelawny was a liar and a cad." If Byron himself seems more tolerant than his biographers ("Tre was an excellent fellow until he took to imitating my 'Childe Harold' "), Miss Armstrong's portrait is nevertheless the first wholly sympathetic study of this enigmatic corsair who in literary history hovers around the remains of both Shelley and Byron.

For the readers of "Fanny Kemble" it is needless to mention the talent which Miss Armstrong brings to a perhaps formidable task. And the opening sections of her biography are really splendid. Trelawny as the disinherited aristocrat, as French privateer, as Arabian chieftain—or in Swinburne's more elegant phrase, as "sea-king, swordsman, hater of wrong"—to these scenes Miss Armstrong carries a fine fusion of scholarship and dramatic creation. Do we still retain an element of bilious skepticism in our appreciation of these early adventures, as picturesque and as pat as a Byronic canto? Yet perhaps Trelawny—so perfectly the Romantic "Fatal Man" as to seem to embody in his exploits the myth of a generation—is merely an example of Wilde's nature which copies art. And if so, it must be granted that both nature and Miss Armstrong do a nice job of reproduction.

Saying this, we must admit also that in its final impact Miss Armstrong's new work is disappointing. Whereas a Fanny Kemble in her maturity was more indignant and perceptive than ever, Trelawny dwindles. After Shelley's death, Trelawny himself noted, the Pisa circle "degenerated apace." On the circle Miss Armstrong adds little new, nor indeed does she take full advantage of the tortuous illuminations of such a study as "The Romantic Agony." The pompous comedy of Byron emerges, not the paroxysms which were its cause, and so with Shelley and his Mary. So with Trelawny too. His lack of fruition is not conveyed, the squandering of his early and fine energy, however lawless or even literary it may have been. For here also Trelawny might have been seen more clearly as the Fatal Man of his era, talented, aspiring, and disorganized—this exotic revolutionary who resolves his lifelong rebellion by planting shrubs on the Sabbath.

MAXWELL GEISMAR

Report from the Front

TWIN STARS OF CHINA. By Major Evans Fordyce Carlson. Dodd, Mead and Company. $3.

THE story of China's heroic resistance has been told rather frequently during the past year or two, but in this book we have for the first time the report of a skilled military observer. Major Carlson, former military attaché to the American embassy, is not only technically qualified to pass judgment on the military aspects of the struggle but had the exceptional opportunity of visiting all of the main battle fronts.

As may be gathered from the title of his book, Major Carlson is acquainted with both the regular Chinese forces and the Eighth Route Army under Communist leadership. In his visits to the various fronts he saw more of the Chinese Red Army in action than any other Westerner has seen with the exception of Agnes Smedley. Like everyone who has visited the Communist areas, he was tremendously impressed by the selfless devotion of the army's leaders and soldiers. He obviously believes that if other Chinese leaders showed a fraction of the skill the Communists show in organizing the masses for resistance, or were capable of half the physical feats performed by the Red Army, China would have little difficulty in conquering Japan.

Major Carlson also has warm praise for many other Chinese leaders. He attributes much of China's success to the genius of Chiang Kai-shek. He praises the technical skill of General Pai Chung-hsi, Li Chung-jen, Sun Lien-chung, T'ang En-po, and Chin T'ien-jung, and contrasts the zeal and ability of these younger men with the older Chinese militarists, many of whom are still found in responsible posts. The ignorance of the first rules of military strategy betrayed by many of these older leaders is shown to have frequently offset the brilliant work of the better generals. The same contrasts are found in the troops themselves. While all Chinese soldiers are brave and ingenious under normal conditions, the soldiers of the ex-war lords are so badly trained and led that they are of little value against the better-equipped Japanese forces.

Although written by a military man, "Twin Stars of China" is in no sense a military treatise. It is a story of Major Carlson's experiences and adventures as he traveled over China visiting the various fronts. It is mature in its judgments on other than military matters and extremely well written. As one reads it one wishes that the United States had more military men with the intelligence and breadth of interest with which Major Carlson is obviously endowed.

MAXWELL S. STEWART

Engels as Scientist

DIALECTICS OF NATURE. By Frederick Engels. Translated by C. Dutt, with a Preface by J. B. S. Haldane. International Publishers. $3.

A REREADING of this posthumous manuscript of Engels, now available in English, confirms the judgment which Albert Einstein passed on it when Edward Bernstein originally submitted it to him for critical perusal. He declared that it had no significance either for contemporary science or for the history of science. This judgment is not shared by the English editor, J. B. S. Haldane, who continues to circulate the fable invented in Russia, that Einstein saw only part of the manuscript, the section on electricity. The fact is that Einstein saw the whole of it. Although it possesses no scientific importance whatsoever, Engels's manuscript is none the less extremely valuable as a source book of the current state philosophy of the U. S. S. R., dialectical materialism. Whenever the party line changes in science, the justifying quotations are taken from Engels, who did not even have the status of a gifted amateur in science. It should be added in justice to him, however, that as an uncompromising exponent of freedom of inquiry in science, he would in all likelihood have been just as scandalized by the nonsense about proletarian mathematics and science as by the Nazi twaddle about Aryan physics.

The preface by J. B. S. Haldane, the man who claims to have cured himself of gastritis by reading Lenin, is a pitiful illustration of what happens to a fine intelligence when it gets political religion.

SIDNEY HOOK

WHAT GOES ON IN EUROPE?

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Steel and Men

"AS STEEL GOES . . ." By Robert R. R. Brooks. Yale University Press. $3.

THE type of biography which weaves the life of the individual into the warp of his social and economic background has been widely acclaimed. Dr. Brooks has written the biography of an industry using the same technique, enriched by a deep concern for the colorful personalities which vitalize any dynamic social movement. "As Steel Goes . . ." is the story of the development of collective bargaining in one of our basic industries displaying all the characteristics of modern capitalism—mass production, monopolistic control, dichotomy between management and ownership, and exploitation of labor.

The first chapter, A Steel Worker's Story, is a recapitulation of economic events in the United States since 1929. It might have been a rubber worker's story, or an automobile worker's story. A group of workers in a mass-production industry awaken to the necessity of union organization. The employers stoutly resist, using espionage and company unions to break the new independent organizations. In 1935 the NRA loomed as a welcome prop to these struggling unions, but the leader of the moribund Amalgamated Iron, Steel, and Tin Workers' Union, characterized by one of his own members as "too damned conservative to be an Irishman," made little effort to secure union representation on the newly formed Steel Code Authority. What emerged from that body was an anti-union policy that made Section 7-a of the NRA a dead letter.

Then the steel corporations sponsored the company union, designed to go through the motions of adjusting grievances while thwarting the formation of bona fide unions. Before long the company union became a source of irritation, and the steel workers felt that they were being given the "run around." Young, energetic, unknown leaders of local plants attempted to capture the company union for real union organization. The formation of the C. I. O. crystallized the importance of organizing the steel industry. The Steel Workers' Organizing Committee was formed from among these young and energetic men to lead the revolt against the company unions. Thus it happened that a newspaper which they printed ran the startling headline, "Company Union Representatives Press Hard for Wage Increases." It was no accident that this group succeeded subsequently in swinging a large percentage of the membership of the company unions to the S. W. O. C., but not peacefully, not without bloodshed and government aid.

After the National Labor Relations Board was created, the S. W. O. C. met with varying degrees of success in its organization attempts. There is the tragic story of the Republic Steel strike and of the bitter fight which "Little Steel" made against unionization. There is, on the other hand, the success story of Aliquippa, and success story it is, when a new union recruit, a steel worker, can declare, "It is worth twelve dollars a year to be able to walk down the main street of Aliquippa, talk to anyone you want to about anything you like, and feel that you are a citizen." Somber and depressing is the story of unemployment, rapidly rising because of technological innovation—this in spite of the fact that the steel industry has been working to greater capacity in 1939-40 than ever before.

The future of collective bargaining in steel, according to the author, is closely intertwined with the future of economic planning in this country, and economic planning depends to a considerable extent upon the political situation. It is for this reason that the S. W. O. C. has encouraged its active members in the steel towns of Pennsylvania and Ohio to run for office—mayors, constables, or members of the town council. It is for this reason that it has been concerned with the creation of a national bloc to keep the government in line with its original policies so far as collective bargaining and unionism are concerned. THERESA WOLFSON

Irving in Spain

THE SPANISH ADVENTURE OF WASHINGTON IRVING. By Claude G. Bowers. Houghton Mifflin Company. $3.

HERE is the pleasant retelling of a story told first by Irving in his journals and letters, then by his nephew, Pierre M. Irving, in the authorized biography, and in 1935 by Professor Stanley T. Williams in his definitive "Life." Mr. Bowers, our ambassador to Spain from 1933 to 1939, found time to indulge his whim of retracing Irving's path as sentimental traveler and conscientious diplomat a century and more ago. The result is a gay patchwork of history, biography, and romance, somewhat confusingly arrayed. One cannot afford to be misguided by Mr. Bowers's disclaimer of serious intention in his Introduction. In that same Introduction the reader is promised new material resurrected from the archives and other secret hiding-places. But eminently qualified as he is to give us a fresh study of Irving as diplomat, Mr. Bowers throws over "the grueling work of the serious historian," the phrase he applies to Irving's work on Columbus, in favor of pretentious romanticizing. The new findings are scarcely dignified by their setting of frequently careless paraphrase of Irving's journals and letters. In fact, aside from a handful of entertaining anecdotes and the enlarged pictures of Obadiah Rich, Mrs. John O'Shea, Isabella II, child-queen of Spain, and the mysterious beauty Leocadia Zamora, the book contains little that is not gleaned from the familiar sources.

Any biographer of Irving must become preoccupied with the chart of Irving's mercurial temperament. Pain and pleasure, excitement and ennui, self-esteem and dreary frustration: these are the graphic extremes of his fluctuation. In pursuit of his subject Mr. Bowers is himself enmeshed in its toils. The recital of things which Irving admired leads him into the feeble hyperboles in which Irving indulged. "Aflame with enthusiasm," Mr. Bowers "falls under the magic spell of Spain," throws up his hands at the poverty of his language, and slumps into a wearisome catalogue of "charming" people and places.

It is to be hoped that in his promised memoirs of his years in Spain Mr. Bowers will give us more substantial results of his Irving research. LEONARD B. BEACH

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■ So many of the world's literary immortals have been victims of tuberculosis—can there be some mysterious alliance between the tubercle bacillus and art? Could there be some chemical affinity between fever and genius? Or did the enforced solitude, the wandering from place to place in search of relief, the frantic writing against death's deadline cause the flame to glow so brightly? A practicing physician now reveals from this intriguing viewpoint the lives of Stevenson, Schiller, Marie Bashkirtseff, Katherine Mansfield, Voltaire, Moliere, Francis Thompson, Shelley, Keats, and St. Francis of Assisi, with liberal quotations from each one's correspondence, diaries, and books. 10 illustrations.

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HE AND HIS. By Reginald Carter. Reynal and Hitchcock. $2.50.

This is a real novel of escape—escape to the Victorian England of Trollope, with a squire and the archdeacon, estate agents and cottagers, a great lady beloved by all the characters and the reader, an old marquis and fine carriage horses. Even the plot is Victorian and strangely interesting. In short, it might almost be a minor Trollope but for a few modern touches.

MELANIE. By Gina Kaus. Modern Age. $2.50.

An unsophisticated young philosophy student in Central Europe falls into the clutches of a jealous young widow, very rich, whom he marries. The story is mainly a psychological study of a woman who has always obtained her own way by threatening suicide. The dénouement moves into the realm of the mystery story. It is well told, with interesting minor characters; Albert, the young man, though he has nothing but his own weakness to blame for his troubles, holds the reader's sympathy to the end.

THE GHOSTLAND. By Fred Rothermell. J. B. Lippincott Company. $2.50.

A Brooklyn family, tired of being on relief, goes back to the father's home farm in the Ozarks only to find themselves trapped by drought. Types and situations are vividly etched and sincerely felt. After a winter of calamity which is well brought home to the reader, the son, an ex-newspaperman who tells the story, organizes a farmer's sitdown strike, which ends in disaster. This is a serious book, well done, but it can hardly stand the inevitable comparison with the works of Steinbeck.

PASS THROUGH MANHATTAN. By Richard Wormser. William Morrow and Company. $2.50.

A very competent job of New York realism, turned out in a professional manner. None of the characters are new, and by now they seem to have lost some of their significance. The episodic method of narration tends also to make for rather superficial treatment. The characters, brought into conjunction by a bus accident at the beginning, are either hard-boiled or sentimental or both. It is to some extent a newspaper story, with the familiar atmosphere of golden hearts and quite a lot to drink.

RECORDS

SOME of the things musicians say about critics are as silly as the things the critics write about the musicians. One is that only a man who himself conducts or plays or sings is fit to write about conductors, instrumentalists, or singers. The old answer to that is still good: a man doesn't have to be able to make an omelet in order to be able to judge it. I would say Stark Young is the most distinguished critic in this country (though I would not suspect it from the amount of space he has been getting in the *New Republic*); and he is that, not because of what he himself can do in the arts, but because of what he perceives in them—what he brings, astonishingly, to any art he chooses to consider, in sensitiveness to the medium, in quality of mind, in range and depth of experience and emotion. And it is for lack of these that other critics write the bad criticism most of them do.

As a matter of fact nothing is less profitable than what the men who do things themselves in music have to say about a performance. All they have ears for is the doing: the violinist's double-stopping, the pianist's octaves, the conductor's beat—not the sense the music makes as the violinist, pianist or conductor plays it. Their attitude is illustrated by the New York Philharmonic man whom I overheard saying to another after a Boston Symphony concert: "I'll tell you something else he's got that's good—those first two desks of 'cellos: VERY nice, VERY nice." It was a Boston Symphony player—one whose experience extended back to Muck—who led me to expect something impressive from Mitropoulos; and when I heard Mitropoulos's records I was aware of what had impressed this player—the ability to control the minds and wills and bodies of a hundred men, which is what Mitropoulos has of what a great conductor must have; but I was aware also of what this player had not noticed—the atrocious things Mitropoulos does to music.

These are to be heard in Mitropoulos's Columbia set of Beethoven's Overture "Leonore" No. 3 (X-173, $2.50). I have a notion that the musically distinguished contributions to the Columbia catalogue will continue to be those of Beecham and Weingartner—though as it happens even Beecham's engaging performance of Johann Strauss's "Voices of Spring" (70338-D, $1) suffers from reverberant recording.

The Museum of Modern Art did not exhibit Aztec carvings or eighteenth-century Mexican paintings or Mexican Indian handicrafts reworked by Orozco or Sequeiros. But it exhibited traditional Indian melodies of the Mazahuas and the Yaquis in Stravinskyan contexts created by Carlos Chávez and Luis Sandi, and the sounds of ancient Aztec instruments and scales in musical patterns created by Chávez—these in addition to the brilliant orchestrations by Blas Galindo and Geronimo Fóster of regional popular music of today, the only things I have enjoyed in the Columbia set (414, $4.50) made by Chávez with his excellent little orchestra of Mexicans and Americans and chorus of the National Music League.

There is no condensing an opera—just as there is no condensing a sonnet, a painting, a symphony: one is as much an organic whole as the others. Parts can be taken out of their context—a few lines of the sonnet, a detail of the painting, an aria of the opera; but that isn't condensation. And the National Committee for Music Appreciation's condensed version of "Carmen" is merely a collection of the most popular excerpts—the Prelude to Act 1, the Habanera, Seguidilla, Toreador Song, Flower Aria—with the entr'acte and quintet of Act 2 and part of the final duet of Act 4. The orchestra plays well and the chorus is good; of the solo voices José's is clear and strong, the Toreador's is constricted and gurgly, Carmen's is fair. The recording is clear and bright; but on the last side the chorus is as near the microphone as the soloists, with the absurd result that Carmen and José might be thought to be quarreling in the bull ring before the applauding crowd.

The National Committee set o "Faust" offers the Kermesse chorus, the Golden Calf and Sword arias, the Waltz and meeting of Faust and Marguerite from Act 2; part of their duet from Act 3; the Soldiers' Chorus from Act 4; parts of the duet and trio from Act 5. The Mephistopheles sounds like Pinza; the tenor is again good; the Marguerite is mostly tremolo; the others are negligible. With this set I received the notes, including what is offered as the English text for the music on each record; but actually the text begins at one point, the record at another, and the text includes passages the record omits—all this being very confusing.

I would not pay 75 cents extra for 25-cent album and some gaudy labels.

B. H. HAGGIN

Letters to the Editors

All Aid—Not Short of War

Dear Sirs: Again we live in times that try men's souls, and so far our response has not been noble. Every tenet both of our sacred and of our secular creeds is menaced as never before, and the best that we have yet done is to mumble something "short of war." Our forefathers did not fail to battle for what they believed to be the right, but we, their progeny, are apparently afraid to follow in their steps. None of our would-be leaders has dared to stand up and state the obvious truth that we should fight. Where are our gentlemen unafraid? We are of course not "ready," but we have a navy. We also have potential allies who can defend us while they defend themselves, and whom, if we will, we can much more fully help to defend the common cause. Is it to be supposed that our enemies will let us pick our own good time? We are apparently not yet cognizant of the kind of world in which we live. It is a world in which those who will not share the danger at the side of those who are already in the battle are presently snuffed out one by one like rabbits.

Our recent bargaining with the British seems more than a shade too shrewd. Having exacted from them the promise that, whatever their own fate, they will not dispose of their fleet in such a way as to jeopardize our own precious hides, we sit back in wholly unjustified but deeply complacent satisfaction at having "done our bit" in giving fifty old destroyers for immensely more valuable naval bases. Even as horse-trading this is not enough, for if the British Isles fall, whether or not the empire goes with them, the Germans will be in command of the labor and skills of Britain as well as all the rest of Europe. With an industrious and driven population, greatly surpassing our own in numbers, they will thus be able to outbuild us in ships and all the other implements of war. It has been stated, on high authority, that the ship-building capacity which could be then turned against us would be more than nine times that now available in the United States. The attack on us would, presumably, not be immediate and direct, but we should be subjected to a progressive loss of potential outposts of defense until the allied aggressors were ready to give us the coup de grâce. In these circumstances, must we not highly resolve that the British Isles shall not, if we can in any way prevent it, fall before the conqueror?

There is but one real issue in the current election and it is nothing less than the fate of the American people for decades and even centuries. Must we not, therefore, at the very least, present to the Presidential candidates of both major parties the question: "Will you, as President, recommend to Congress that we declare war on Germany if at any time it seems likely that the island of Britain would otherwise fall to the Nazis and that our armed intervention might make the difference between British success and failure?" The answer of either candidate should be made known to no one until both had made their reply, in writing, to a "trustee."

A clear "I will" from both candidates would do more to hearten the British and confound our mutual enemies than any other action "short of war" could possibly accomplish. A negative reply by either candidate, but not the other, would squarely join the supreme issue along lines which the American people must needs consider. A negative reply by both, unless supported by reasons not yet presented, could mean only that all our politics are utterly false, foolish, and frivolous. Without a British victory the world, these United States, can be, at best, but a workhouse or a prison. We are committed to the view that we must help, and it is not alone of crimes, but also of duties, that one can say that "if 'twere done 'twere best done quickly," without stint or limit. How can we honorably, or even sanely, say to the British that for the sake of our own freedom we will help, but only if it does not cost too much? The plain truth is that we are now hiding—may one not say skulking?—behind the sorely pressed John Bull.

If, after all the evidence to which we have been subjected, we do not recognize the present fatal danger of a Fabian policy we are too stupid to deserve any better fate than we shall get. Are we always to be deprived of the "priceless [military] advantage of the initiative"? If we seek only to defend ourselves against evil, the best that we can fondly hope is that we shall not be utterly lost. The evil cannot be exorcised merely by defense. The British may, of course, save us. But what if they go under? FRANK D. GRAHAM

Princeton, N. J., September 26

Regional Religion

Dear Sirs: My guess is that, while persons from all parts of the nation might approve Jonathan Daniels's criticism of those Nieman Fellows who have left the hinterland for more lucrative jobs in the big cities, none but a Southerner would have written the article he wrote in *The Nation* of September 7. When, a year ago, I was awarded a Nieman Fellowship for nine months' study at Harvard, the theme-song of my friends was that I must not allow myself to be captured by the damn Yankees. A professor in an Alabama college wrote to congratulate me upon my good fortune. He ended his letter with the admonition: "You must return to the South for service in your chosen field." Another letter ended: "One thing only, come back home when your experience with Harvard ends." And from a friend residing temporarily in New York: "You are one of a small handful of Southerners I know whom I am willing to trust for a year's study among New Englanders. But I am glad these things are for just a year. I say that because Southerners have a way of wandering off on things like these and then not returning. I have been exposed to the temptation myself and am only lately getting back on the straight and narrow, as far as sectional loyalty is concerned."

Five years ago, as a Birmingham newspaper writer just out of the University of Alabama, I believed in the South. I agreed with my friends when they talked of the South as a nation unto itself with a character of its own, and with endowments no other region in the world ever had. But I did not for long remain a true believer.

From President Roosevelt to local officials, college professors, and newspaper editors North and South, the appeal for a regional approach to American economic and social problems has been insistent, and apparently the movement for regional planning is growing. Professor Howard Mumford Jones of

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Harvard told his *Atlantic Monthly* readers in April that there is no longer a definable New England philosophy, or New England way of life, or New England point of view. No longer, even, is there a New England literature. But the South has a literature, and Southerners have their own way of life, their own philosophy, their own religion, a regional religion. New England, on the other hand, has little regional religion left. Its outlook is as national, according to Mr. Jones, as its literature and its universities. And as a good New Englander—by adoption—Mr. Jones is sad. He praised the Odum studies of Southern problems, such as farm tenancy, race relations, illiteracy, and poverty.

As one who was baptized in the religion of the South and came up gasping for breath, I say that this religion carries no answer to the problems of the South. All the hymns in praise of things Southern that the young liberals are singing will never wash away the iniquity of a narrow-minded provincialism, which unwittingly they help preserve. Local pride and undue sensitiveness to "outside criticism"—outside being defined as north of the Potomac and west of the Mississippi—are no more efficacious today than they were eighty years ago.

A distinguished Alabama editor recently commented upon an address by Mr. John Temple Graves II, one of the more romantic of the Southern progressives. The editor said:

> Mr. Graves concluded with a [illegible] re of each of the Southern states [illegible] summons to all Southerners of [illegible] courage to make the most of w[illegible] ns say What they have is superior in qu[illegible] things the rest of the world has. Mr. Gr[illegible] icians." disposed of such terms as the [illegible]" and the "New South," laying [illegible] re by either, but rested his case upon the merits of the all but indefinable "Eternal South."

That, I submit, is the expression of a regional religionist.

Howard Mumford Jones once remarked to Jonathan Daniels that the Southerner never completely accepts the outlander. He was right. The righteous Southerner even refuses to accept with calm a Southerner who views the South's problems critically, especially if that person has been infected by sojourns in alien lands—New England, for example. (Now, of course, I am not talking about a liberated Southerner like Mr. Daniels.) Before I departed for Harvard a year ago I told a friend that the wisest thing I could do would be to print a handbill denouncing Jefferson Davis as a scoundrel and his cohorts in rebellion as arrant fools. Then I should be run out of Alabama on a rail. That, I thought, would be better than, after a year abroad, being looked at with scorn and contempt as soon as I was heard to mutter one critical comment on Southern affairs.

Already I have had occasion to regret I did not print the incendiary handbill. I recently wrote to a Southern friend to urge his support of a liberal Southerner being worsted by a demagogic editor who had resorted to such terms as "nigger-lover" and "carpetbagger." In my letter I mentioned that I was having a happy and profitable year in Massachusetts. My correspondent answered by lecturing me, and ended with the following half-serious remark: "Maybe this letter will let you know I am still a Southerner and proud of it, and that I am beginning to think you are a damn Yankee by adoption and proud of it."

Well, I am not. Perhaps some day I shall return South. Or go West. Or I may end up in Shanghai. But my Southern religion is dead, and wherever I go I think I shall always believe with Frederick Jackson Turner that "the thing to be avoided, if the lessons of history are followed, is the insistence upon the particular interests and ideals of the section in which we live, without sympathetic comprehension of the ideals, the interests, and the rights of other sections."

There are, I repeat, advantages to be obtained by attacking problems that regional from a regional point of vie To appreciate those problems to the f residence in other regions is eminen desirable. I am sure Jonathan Danie who learned a lot about the coun gathering material for his "A Souther Discovers New England," will agree think he will also agree that only Southerner would be very much co cerned over Nieman Fellows rovi about the country.

CARROLL KILPATRICK

New York, September 20

"Gentlemen Who
Never Learn"

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CONTRIBUTORS

BARBARA WERTHEIM, a form member of *The Nation's* staff, is t author of "The Lost British Policy."

PATRICIA STRAUSS, wife of G. Strauss, a Labor member of Parliamen recently came to the United States place her three children in safety.

JOACHIM JOESTEN is the author "Rats in the Larder," a study of Na influence in Denmark. He escaped fro that country in the first days of t Nazi invasion.

GEORGE C. STONEY, a native North Carolina, has published a seri of articles on the South in the *Surv Graphic.*

LOUISE BOGAN, poetry critic of th *New Yorker,* is the author of a book verse, "The Sleeping Fury."

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The Shape of Things

THE TRIPARTITE PACT OF BERLIN CLEARLY threatens Russia more immediately than it does the United States, and this fact has now been underlined by the movement of German troops into Rumania, which is undoubtedly taking place despite the reluctance of the German authorities to put out an official announcement. According to some reports, the German forces are to protect the Rumanian oil wells; according to others, their mission is to train the Rumanian army. Actually their arrival in Rumania may endanger the wells, for Britain is very near a break with Bucharest over the arrest and ill-treatment of British citizens, and the arrival of German troops may prove the last straw. Their presence gives Britain every right to treat Rumania as hostile territory and to send over bombers to attack the oil fields. However, the major reason for the German action is to erect a barrier against any further Russian encroachment. And if reports that the Nazis are planning a submarine base on the Black Sea coast are confirmed, the threat to Russian interests will be undisguised. It seems almost certain that Moscow is not prepared to challenge Germany at this point, although a showdown might be forced if the Nazis moved directly against the Straits. On the other hand, the Kremlin is now likely to prove more friendly to overtures from London and Washington. The alliance between the Axis and Japan gives Britain, the United States, and Russia a mutual interest in helping China to continue its resistance, and on this limited basis cooperation may be possible.

*

THE REOPENING OF THE BURMA ROAD IS the best news China has received for many months. It far transcends in importance the small loans recently obtained from the United States and our belated embargo on the shipment of scrap iron to Japan. To recompense China for the injury which it sustained while the international highway was closed, it is expected that Britain will supply it with oil and other badly needed war supplies on credit. Fortunately, Chiang Kai-shek had laid in considerable supplies prior to the closing of the road. These supplies might have carried China through the winter, but the necessity for husbanding all types of imported war materials prevented any large-scale offensive action against the invader just at the period when the newly developed Chinese armies seemed to be gaining the upper hand. The reopening of the road makes Chinese defense of Indo-China both more possible and more necessary. For if the Japanese troops that are working their way northward through the French colony succeed in gaining a foothold in Yunnan, they will be in a position to attack the Burma road from the air. Threatened by a simultaneous attack from Siam, the local French authorities are unlikely to set up further obstacles to Japanese control of northern Indo-China. The fate of the colony depends, ironically enough, on the effectiveness of the Chinese troops that are being massed to give battle to the Japanese—troops that would be far better armed and provisioned had France not closed the Indo-China railway and highway to all war supplies destined for China. It is well that Britain has acted before its Far Eastern possessions are placed in similar jeopardy.

*

HERBERT L. MATTHEWS, NEW YORK *TIMES* correspondent in Rome until October 7, sent his paper a dispatch in which he reported:

> The Axis is out to defeat President Roosevelt, not as a measure of interference in the internal policies of the United States but because of the President's foreign policy and because of everything for which he stands in the eyes of the Italians and the Germans. The coming United States election is realized to be of vast importance to the Axis.

This statement was pure political dynamite, and it exploded directly under the campaign of the *Times's* candidate, Wendell Willkie. The *Times*, with exemplary courage, printed the story on the front page. Two days later Virginio Gayda wrote in the *Voce d'Italia* that it made no difference whether Roosevelt was reelected or not since "Italy and Germany now feel certain of victory." On the next day Mr. Matthews was ordered out

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of Italy. A government communiqué states that the Matthews dispatch "tended to disturb relations between the two countries," but this explanation seems too simple. Italy has been attacking the United States with happy Fascist abandon in its controlled press and has openly asserted that the alliance with Japan was directed against this country. We suspect that Matthews's story was repudiated because it had produced the opposite effect from what the Axis wanted: it had provided important ammunition for Roosevelt's supporters, already under attack for asserting that the dictators wanted to see the President defeated.

*

ATTORNEY GENERAL JACKSON'S RULING that violators of the National Labor Relations Act are subject to the government's contract policy regardless of whether they have appealed to the courts has touched off a flurry of controversy. Mr. Jackson makes it very clear in a letter to the New York *Times* that he did not rule, as the *Times* had reported, that violators of the Wagner Act should not receive government contracts. That decision was made nearly a month ago by the National Defense Commission and has been accepted by the army and navy. Mr. Jackson's common-sense definition of a violator seems scarcely important enough to have caused all the fireworks. Its importance lies chiefly in the fact that a number of companies, notably the Bethlehem Steel Corporation and the Ford Motor Company, have sought to postpone the consequences of their law violation by endless litigation in the courts. How far the Administration is prepared to go in withholding contracts from firms which resisted federal and state labor laws remains to be seen. Obviously such a policy, resolutely followed, might temporarily interfere with defense measures. For in addition to large firms like Bethlehem, which represents an important part of the country's shipbuilding capacity, a number of lesser firms have been convicted of violations. Together these concerns control large areas of essential production. On the other hand, disaffection among the workers, even more deadly to defense, is likely to follow successful evasion of the law by big corporations under cover of national necessity. This seems to us a case where the pressure of public opinion ought to be brought to bear to enforce respect for the principles of the Wagner Act, which even Republicans now indorse. If United States Steel can bargain with the unions, there is no reason why Bethlehem or Ford should refuse.

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SENATOR O'MAHONEY'S EFFORTS TO KEEP the TNEC inquiry, of which he is chairman, as innocuous as possible have again been frustrated, this time by a fortunate news "leak" to the Washington *Post*. The *Post* obtained the gist of a report made by the SEC to the TNEC on the concentration of economic power in American industry. Publication of the story forced the Senator to issue a statement on the findings, though the text of the report is still withheld. Senator O'Mahoney was apologetic. "This study does not represent the views of the Temporary National Economic Committee since it has not yet been passed upon . . . any comment the companies studied may wish to make will be received by the committee." The report finds that three, rather than sixty, families occupy a dominant position in American industry. The du Ponts, Mellons, and Rockefellers have aggregate shareholdings of nearly $1,400,000,000 in the 200 corporations which account for the bulk of activity in manufacturing, mining, electric and gas utilities, transportation, and communication. The supposed wide distribution of the stock of American industry is found to be a myth. In the average corporation the majority of the voting stock is concentrated in the hands of approximately 1 per cent of the stockholders. There are 9,000,000 American stockholders, but 10,000 persons, .008 per cent of the population, own one-fourth of the stock in our 200 largest non-financial corporations.

*

WITH MORE CEREMONY AND SWANK THAN is customary, a new isolationist organization, the America First Committee, has been born. The announcement of its birth appeared in $2,500 worth of space in the New York *Times*, ornamented with halftones, a program, and an appeal for support. To this document were attached the names of as ill-assorted a collection of Americans as ever appeared on a single committee. Even the Communists couldn't do better. Among them are John T. Flynn and Thomas N. McCarter; Oswald Garrison Villard and William Castle; Kathryn Lewis and Henry Ford. The presence of liberal pacifists in this company is even harder to explain when you read the program. It denounces help to Britain and insists that the United States stands in no danger of attack. But in the next breath it says: "We need an impregnable defense. Let us arm to the teeth for that defense. We need guns. We need planes. We need tanks. We need ships enough for a two-ocean navy independent of any other power." Readers of *The Nation* will not have forgotten that Mr. Villard announced, in his final contribution to these pages, that his retirement had "been precipitated . . . by the editors' abandonment of *The Nation's* steadfast opposition to all preparations for war, for universal military service, to a great navy, and to *all* war." Readers of the *New Republic* and of Mr. Flynn's writings elsewhere will recall his stubborn opposition to the whole defense program. What has happened to these men? Undoubtedly they want to keep the United States out of war, but they are going about it by advocating exactly the methods they have always most bitterly condemned.

NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER, PRESIDENT OF Columbia University, has asked the resignation of any of his faculty who find themselves in conflict with "the university's freedom to go its way toward its lofty aim." In this case the lofty aim of the university, as Dr. Butler sees it, is to cooperate with the government of the United States in its defense program and in its support of Great Britain against the Nazi "beast." Dr. Butler gives even shorter shrift to the students of his institution. "For those who are in *'statu pupillari,'*" he decrees, "the phrase academic freedom has no meaning whatsoever." Dr. Butler says his ruling was made in the name of that freedom which must come "before and above academic freedom of any kind or sort"—that "university freedom which is the right and obligation of the university itself to pursue its high ideals unhampered and unembarrassed." In the storm that has risen over Dr. Butler's remarks, few have taken issue with his sympathy for Britain or his support of defense measures; but the university men of Great Britain who in the midst of war may still talk as they please would be among the first to condemn his high-handed denial of academic freedom. We hope the storm of protest will grow. Meanwhile, we cite two pertinent facts: Nicholas Murray Butler is not Columbia University, but he is the president who has for years suffered the pro-fascist Casa Italiana to exist on the campus.

*

THE BEST COMMENT WE HAVE HEARD SO FAR on Elliott Roosevelt's exploit in accepting a commission as captain in the Air Corps is his own. He says that he has "done one more thing to convince Father that I always put my foot in my mouth," though we suspect that Father, like the rest of us, needed no extra proof. The funniest incident growing out of Elliott's "sacrifice" for his country is the action of the young man who went to a recruiting station and said in all seriousness that he would like to enlist as a captain. By far its most important result, however, is the lift it has given to the Republican campaign. According to the press, Willkie's supporters "see a powerful human issue" here; a group of World War Veterans for Willkie have demanded a Congressional investigation; on the lighter "human" side the Southern conference of no-third-term Democrats is sending out copies of a popular song titled, for the illiterate masses, "Elliott, I Wanna Be a Cap'n, Too"; and another Willkie button, carrying the same line, is crowding all the others on upper-income bosoms. Not counting buttons, the Republicans now have two issues: "no third term" and "no captaincy for Elliott Roosevelt."

*

THE UNCOVERING OF AN ALMAZAN PLOT IN Monterrey and the suppression of a series of minor uprisings in various parts of the country seem to have scotched the last remaining chance of an immediate revolution in Mexico. It is probable, however, that the ineffectual sputtering at Monterrey was merely the last gasp of a movement that had already received its death blow at Washington. Almazán's candidacy rested primarily on the support of American commercial interests and would have had to have the assurance of official recognition by this country. For several weeks it has been plain that such recognition would not be forthcoming. The State Department has refused to accept a registration statement filed by an agent of Almazán's which referred to him as "legitimate President-elect of Mexico" and has indicated its intention of welcoming Camacho in that capacity on a forthcoming visit to Washington. There is good ground to believe even clearer assurances of our intentions have been given to Mexican officials, possibly as part of a broader understanding involving a defense agreement similar to the one we already have with Canada. Such an undertaking would go far to explain certain recent developments in Mexico, such as the surprisingly moderate, if not conservative, tenor of Camacho's recent remarks and the Cárdenas government's purported break with the pro-Communist followers of Lombardo Toledano.

*

MOST PEOPLE TODAY TREAT REPORTS OF deteriorating German morale with great skepticism, and rightly, for the prophets of internal collapse have too often been revealed as wishful thinkers. However, the uncensored picture of war-time Germany brought back to *PM* by Richard O. Boyer merits attention. Mr. Boyer does not suggest an imminent breakdown in the Reich, but he reports that "a dead listlessness, akin to the disease of the spirit that caused the collapse of France, is spreading through Germany like a plague infecting an increasing number of her people with defeatism." Even immediately after the victory over France there seems to have been little enthusiasm among civilians. At that time officials said, "It will all be over in three weeks," and this phrase became a slogan which threatens to boomerang now that there is talk of a long, hard struggle. Mr. Boyer believes that the Nazi Party and the army are still untouched by this malaise, but a correspondent of the London *Times* who was in Brussels in August and early September declares that the German soldiers there were "in the main tired, war-weary, and demoralized to a high degree." Many of them expressed the belief that the invasion of England would never succeed, and on slight encouragement they would talk of their longing to get home. One dare not count on the rapid spread of defeatism, but the fact that it exists at all suggests that the Nazi technique of dosing the population with repeated shots of glory is reaching the stage of diminishing returns.

EVEN SEVERE CRITICS OF THE SOVIET UNION have extolled its success in battling illiteracy and have admired its system of free education with maintenance through college. Hence the news that in future fees are to be charged for tuition in high schools and colleges will disillusion many people. Students in the eighth, ninth, and tenth grades are to pay 200 rubles yearly in cities and 150 in towns and villages. College students will pay 400 rubles yearly in cities and 300 in towns. Art, music, and theater-school fees are fixed at 500 rubles. The government announcement ascribes the change to the higher material level of the workers and the increased expenses of the state. It is difficult to believe, however, that the proposed charges will not prove a heavy burden on the lower-paid employees. There is reason to fear, therefore, that the children of the poorer Russian workers may in future be partially excluded from higher education. This is an ominous step toward the re-creation of a class society.

CONTENTS

THE SHAPE OF THINGS 313
EDITORIALS:
- THE WINTER CAMPAIGN 316
- PRE-MORTEM ON WENDELL WILLKIE by Freda Kirchwey 317
- WALTER HEILPRIN POLLAK by Zechariah Chafee, Jr. 318

HITLER PROFITS FROM OUR DEFENSE by I. F. Stone 319
JAPAN'S GREAT BLUFF by Freda Utley 320
THE BRAZIL OF VARGAS by Samuel Guy Inman 322
LONDON: DEMOCRACY IN ACTION by Harold J. Laski 325
CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS by Roger N. Baldwin 326
EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS by Keith Hutchison 328
IN THE WIND 329
A NATIVE AT LARGE by Jonathan Daniels 332
BOOKS AND THE ARTS:
- THE LAST OF YEATS by Morton Dauwen Zabel 333
- NOTES BY THE WAY by Margaret Marshall 335
- THE MASTER OF STRAWBERRY HILL by Joseph Wood Krutch 337
- THE FALL OF FRANCE by Hans Kohn 338
- THE POET AS AN AMERICAN by John Peale Bishop 339
- PORTRAIT OF FRANK HAGUE by McAlister Coleman 340
- CLASS AND MASS by Reinhold Niebuhr 341
- PRESIDENTS AND PARALLELS by Robert Bendiner 342
- NECKTIE PARTY by Louis B. Salomon 344
- REALISM ON THE FAR EAST by Maxwell S. Stewart 344
- DRAMA: THE FOOL MADE PERFECT by Joseph Wood Krutch 345
- RECORDS by B. H. Haggin 346

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The Winter Campaign

WE DO not require any official report on the meeting of the dictators at the Brenner to know what they talked about. Perhaps, as some of the Axis dopesters have reported, they discussed the division of the British lion skin, but the chief topic of their conversation must have been how to kill the lion. The almost obvious strategy for a winter campaign would be to keep the major British strength pinned down at home by maintaining the invasion threat while launching a big offensive in Egypt. If, at the same time, the Japanese could be induced to attack or threaten British positions in the Far East, it would be difficult for Britain to reinforce any of its chief positions.

One of the questions which Hitler and Mussolini must have pondered, therefore, was whether Marshal Graziani's army was capable of fulfilling its mission, and, if not, how it could best be strengthened. The great obstacle is the British fleet, which has reestablished almost complete control in the Mediterranean. As a result the Libyan army's main line of communications with Italy, on which it is dependent not only for reinforcements and supplies but even for much of its water, is far from safe. This is likely to put a damper on any plans for sending sizable bodies of German troops to stiffen Graziani's ranks. Probably German planes are being sent to Libya, but any large-scale increase in the Italian army of the desert is hardly possible so long as the Italian navy sticks to "safety first" tactics.

What the Axis badly needs is a back door to North Africa. If Spain could be persuaded to facilitate an attack on Gibraltar, a passage might be opened, but Franco appears to think that Britain is still too strong to make belligerency a worth-while gamble. What about the eastern road to the Suez Canal via the Dardanelles, Turkey, and Syria? The movement of German and Italian troops into Rumania is a sign that the Axis is edging in that direction. But a host of political questions must be settled before the route becomes practicable. Will this step interfere with the use of the Balkans as a source of supplies? Can Russia and Turkey be scared or bought into giving their assent? What would be the reaction of the still large French forces in Syria? We can imagine the dictators mulling over these problems, but we must wait on events to learn what conclusions they reached.

Another probable item on their agenda was the position of France. If the Axis were able to use the military, naval, and air bases in French North Africa and Syria, its prospects in Egypt would be enormously improved. But a demand on Vichy for their surrender or an attempt at seizure—even if this were not thwarted by the British fleet—would almost inevitably send the French colonies into the arms of General de Gaulle. An alternative would be to bring France in as an Axis partner, but this would mean that Mussolini would have to forgo much of his anticipated loot.

We have suggested some of the problems confronting Hitler and Mussolini at the onset of the winter campaign. What are the corresponding riddles which the British government must attempt to solve? In spite of continuous air attacks Britain's home defenses appear incomparably stronger than a few months ago. It may still have to repel an invasion, but every week increases its ability to do so, and neither air raids nor the intensified submarine warfare is likely to undermine its economic life to a serious extent. But Britain has a big problem to face—the maintenance of civilian morale. Up to now all Hitler's attempts to "soften up" the inhabitants have failed, a fact which speaks volumes for native character, for the government has done far too little to help the people endure their ordeals. The obstinate refusal of the Home Office to prepare deep shelters has now been shown up in all its glaring shortsightedness. Arrangements for caring for those who have lost their homes and belongings have hitherto been inadequate, and respect for private property has prevented the prompt utilization of unoccupied houses. Thanks, however, to the amazing liberty of speech which survives in Britain, these grievances were immediately aired in press and Parliament, and remedies are being applied. The government reshuffle, which followed the unregretted departure of Mr. Chamberlain, made possible the removal of Sir John Anderson as Home Secretary and Minister for Home Security and the nomination to this key position of Herbert Morrison, who can be trusted to use both energy and imagination in providing better protection for the people of London. There can be no more urgent task; in a beleaguered city morale is bound to suffer unless hardships are equally shared.

The British government has also been strengthened by the promotion of Ernest Bevin to the War Cabinet. Since he became Minister of Labor in May Mr. Bevin has emerged as a national leader second only to Winston Churchill in public esteem. It is unfortunate that party politics should have forced the doors of the War Cabinet for Sir Kingsley Wood and Sir John Anderson, whose claims to high office rest largely on their positions in the tory party machine. Even worse is the retention of Lord Halifax as Foreign Secretary. During the coming winter campaign Britain must keep on the defensive in a military sense. But it should be engaging in political preparations for a future offensive. This means the development of a program for war *and peace* which will serve to rally the oppressed peoples of Europe when the time comes. The task is one for the Foreign Secretary, and it calls for a man who is knowledgeable, tough, realistic, and, above all, imaginative. Even Lord Halifax's best friends would hardly assert that he fills the bill.

Pre-Mortem on Willkie

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

AS A private citizen communing with myself and my friends I make no bones about my belief that Wendell Willkie is already defeated. As an editor, with the reputation of this venerable journal momentarily at my mercy, I cannot take such liberties with time and chance. The election is still four weeks off; in less time Hitler conquered France. For publication, a responsible journalist dare only perform a restrained pre-mortem on the candidacy of Mr. Willkie, in an effort to locate and analyze the symptoms of pernicious anaemia which so strongly suggest the end.

What has happened to the Willkie campaign? It started well, with money, glamour, talent, and organization. It had a candidate who was known for courage, pugnacity, and almost fabulous charm. It had as further assets the burning hatred of most important business men for the New Deal and the worried concern of a large part of the middle class over huge spending, huge taxes, a huge and fast-growing debt, and seven years of what were labeled radical experiments. What has happened to it in the fifteen weeks since Philadelphia?

One of the most unexpected happenings was the rapid deflation of the candidate himself. Willkie turned out to be a poor though strenuous campaigner. His speeches are not strong or convincing; they are merely loud and emphatic. He presents them badly. The art of oratory has always played an undue part in the success or failure of a public man, and on this score one might consider Willkie merely a victim of hard luck; a bad speaker might make an excellent Chief Executive. But his inability to talk himself into favor is not entirely or even largely due to his defects as an orator. His failure springs from deeper roots.

Wendell Willkie does not mean what he says. This is a hard saying, but I am certain it is true. I am also certain that he does not know it. He sounds at the same time insincere and convinced of his sincerity. His words ring earnestly hollow. You get the feeling that the Republican candidate is playing the part of a man who is running for the Presidency and must talk in a certain prescribed way about certain time-honored subjects: his humble past, his strong biceps, his homely virtues; his support of labor and the farmer and business; his promise to keep the country out of war; his promise to lick Hitler; his approval of the New Deal coupled with his disapproval of government interference with free enterprise. This is not Wendell Willkie; it is a man who is something else pretending to be a candidate for the Presidency. The pretense rings louder in people's hearts than the words do in their ears.

I heard Willkie speak just once before he became a Presidential aspirant. The occasion was his now famous debate with Robert Jackson on utility rates and the TVA. He was not acting that night. He was arguing a case, which he had prepared well, before a critical audience. He didn't pretend anything; he was just a hard, able utilities lawyer who knew his stuff. He out-talked and outshone Bob Jackson. He was attractive and forceful and effective. That man is not running for President. If he were I think and hope he would be defeated; but he would put up a real fight.

The second chief obstacle to Willkie's election is not of his making. He is flatly committed to short-of-war aid to Britain; he has proposed strong resistance to Japan; he supports the defense program. But Roosevelt need not lean on words. While Willkie talks, he acts—and ignores the existence of his opponent. And every new measure of defense, every move to help Britain or to thwart Japan, drowns out Willkie's earnest assurances that he would do the same things, only more—and better—and sooner.

To this misfortune is joined the unhappy but unavoidable liability of fascist support. The dictators *do* hope for the defeat of Roosevelt. This fact is so patent and so important that it seems a little fatuous to expect the President's friends to ignore it in deference to a Republican canon of "fair play." It is not Willkie's fault, any more than it is his fault that the pro-appeasement elements in this country are solidly behind him. But his innocence does not rob either fact of its political significance. Roosevelt has come to be a symbol of militant anti-fascism: he is hated by reactionaries and fascists from Valparaiso to Bremen and on around to Tokyo. If he suffers defeat, the cause of democratic resistance all over the world will suffer too. And if Willkie, in office, should try to revitalize that cause he would have to do so against the opposition of a large proportion of the leading elements which now support him. Poor Willkie is fighting for election on a non-appeasement program with pro-appeasement backing against the man who is actually carrying out a non-appeasement policy. A less enviable situation could scarcely be imagined.

Another hurdle in Willkie's path from Philadelphia to Washington is the progress of the war itself. If the meeting at the Brenner Pass and the announcement of the new Triple Alliance were timed with any idea of influencing American election returns, they were not shrewdly calculated. The Axis alliance with Japan was intended and interpreted as a threat. The people of the United States took it that way. Opinion has rallied to the Administration's extension of the embargo on goods for Japan; it will support every additional evidence of firmness.

A final symptom of coming collapse is the decay of morale in the Willkie high command. The candidate himself is working hard and showing no public signs of discouragement. But little Willkie money is to be found in Wall Street at any odds. Many of those who still intend to vote for Willkie privately admit the weakness of the candidate and his campaign; many who joined the "crusade" at the start have dropped out of the ranks; a man prominent in one of the big advertising agencies which helped nominate Willkie was reported the other day as saying that Landon had made a better candidate. These are only straws in the pre-election hurricane: the figures in the latest Gallup polls afford more important storm warnings.

On the day that Dorothy Thompson and Walter Lippmann, at the head of their columns, march into the Roosevelt trenches, we may consider that almost everything has been attended to except the congratulatory telegram from Wendell Willkie.

Walter Heilprin Pollak

BY ZECHARIAH CHAFEE, JR.

IT IS hard to realize that a person so much alive as Walter Pollak can be dead. His was no reflected light. He radiated generous enthusiasm for justice, delight in mental activity, unexpected flashes of wit. We have lost him when we need him most. Soon we may be longing for his energy, clear thinking, and devotion to American traditions in order to protect our liberties once more from misguided patriotic emotionalism.

After he joined the New York law office to which Justice Cardozo then belonged, Pollak's skill in arguing difficult questions of law before appellate courts caused him to be retained by other lawyers for this purpose with increasing frequency. When his legal services for the War Industries Board ended, the hysteria over radicalism was in progress. Pollak soon became the foremost defender of personal liberties in the upper courts. His best-known victories consisted in persuading the United States Supreme Court to quash two separate death sentences upon the Scottsboro Negroes, first because they were not fairly represented by counsel at their initial trial and later because Negroes were excluded from the jury list. Only a lawyer can appreciate the enormous technical obstacles Pollak overcame in the second Scottsboro case.

Oddly enough, Pollak's greatest contribution to freedom was in a case he lost. When Benjamin Gitlow, then a leader of the left-wing Socialists, was convicted under a New York statute enacted after McKinley's assassination to punish anarchists, Pollak joined Walter Nelles and other lawyers in bringing the case before the United States Supreme Court. It was very doubtful whether the court would pass on a state statute limiting free speech. Since the First Amendment applies only to suppressions by the federal government, the sole hope lay in the Fourteenth Amendment, which protects "life, liberty, or property" against unreasonable state action. And the court had repeatedly refused to extend this provision to state infringements of free speech. Nevertheless, Pollak's oral argument convinced the court that "liberty" in the Fourteenth Amendment includes liberty of speech and the press (Gitlow *vs.* New York, 268 United States Reports, 652). Though the court went on to hold that Gitlow's liberty had been properly limited, this was unimportant because Al Smith immediately pardoned him. The new doctrine was solidly established, with Pollak's help, that the Fourteenth Amendment gives open discussion the same protection against the states which the First Amendment gives it against the nation. This principle subsequently served to upset the California Red Flag Act, the Minnesota Newspaper Gag law, and Mayor Hague's suppression of open-air meetings in New Jersey.

Pollak's great work in promoting public welfare and upholding our traditional liberties was made possible by the hospitality of this nation eighty years ago in admitting oppressed European thinkers of all races. His father came from Austria; his maternal grandfather, Michael Heilprin, from Hungary. Their writings on foreign affairs and literature enriched the pages of *The Nation* and other American publications; their lives and that of Heilprin's son, a distinguished geologist, are recorded in the "Dictionary of American Biography." Such families as the Pollaks and the Heilprins were for the United States what the Huguenot refugees of the seventeenth century were for England. Intolerance toward the refugees of today may deprive us of the Walter Pollaks of tomorrow.

Hitler Profits from Our Defense

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, October 7

"HARD-METAL composition" is an alloy of basic importance to national defense. It is used to cut tools needed for the manufacture of munitions, aircraft, tanks, and ships. According to a report by the Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce, it costs about $25 a pound to produce "hard-metal composition." In August it was selling at $205 a pound and 10 per cent of the price was being paid to a German trust. In 1929 this trust entered into an international cartel agreement with American interests making the alloy. Restriction of production was part of the agreement. "Hard-metal composition," which had sold as low as $48 a pound before the agreement, has sold as high as $453 a pound since. Agreements of this kind enable the Nazis (1) to make a profit on our defense program, (2) to restrict production of materials essential to that program, and (3) to keep themselves well informed on American military plans and preparedness.

The case of "hard-metal composition" is but one of many examples of international business tie-ups dangerous to defense. A resolution introduced by Senator Wheeler calling for an investigation of the subject has just been adopted after a hard struggle. The Department of Justice, which is itself prosecuting participants in a number of these agreements, approved the proposed investigation. The Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce submitted a unanimous report recommending adoption of the resolution. But Senator Warren R. Austin, Republican, of Vermont, succeeded in blocking passage on the unanimous consent calendar, and the Senate committee was so fearful of reactionary opposition to the Wheeler resolution that it struck out its original request for $50,000 to finance the inquiry. The resolution now carries no request for funds, and because of that fact the investigation authorized by it will be terribly handicapped. The request for funds was struck out so that the resolution would not have to run the gauntlet of the Senate Audit and Control Committee. The chairman of this committee is Senator Byrnes. Senator Byrnes believes in "economy."

American experience in the last war showed the importance of knowing the extent of German influence and investment in our industrial machine. The decision of United States Circuit Judge Woolley in the Chemical Foundation case after the war revealed the extent of this influence. Through the Bosch Magneto Company the German government had been able "by a policy of deception and delays" to postpone delivery for fifteen months on special apparatus needed for airplanes. German-owned fire-insurance companies had forwarded plans of American industrial plants to Berlin. The Florida Lumber Company, controlled by German interests, "had acquired every advantageous place on the finest harbor on the Gulf of Mexico, the nearest harbor on American soil to the Panama Canal. Its files, instead of containing matters pertaining to the lumber business, were filled with pan-German literature." German-dominated concerns had cornered the market in coal tar to hamper the manufacture of munitions. "Their achievements," according to Judge Woolley, "in acquiring essential chemicals were regarded by the German government authorities as equivalent to the destruction of a train of 400 cars loaded with explosives." Indisputably German interests in those years not only managed to impede preparedness but to make a profit in the process. There are indications that this is true today, perhaps to an even greater extent than last time. Senator Wheeler proposes to find out. It is hard to believe that anyone sincerely concerned with the defense of this country would object to a full disclosure of the facts.

Until July, 1940, when the Department of Justice was successful in breaking up the practice, an American corporation manufacturing bomb sights declined to sell or quote prices on its products without the permission of a German corporation which was its cartel partner. A German group controls patents in this country on the manufacture of beryllium, a light metal used in making planes. Magnesium is widely used in German aviation, but the supply of it here has been restricted by patents in which a German chemical trust has a half-interest. Long-term contracts made some years ago by a number of American concerns with German and Japanese companies require them to disclose any newly developed secret military devices to these foreign companies. How many of these agreements are still in force? American companies have $2,000,000,000 invested in Germany. To what extent has this been made a basis for blackmail? "To the extent that reports, secret processes, formulas, and personnel are exchanged between German and American plants," the Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce believes, "there may arise the danger of disclosing to a foreign power matters which defense considerations make it unwise to reveal." Isn't it unsafe to embark on a great defense program without full knowledge of these international connections?

Japan's Great Bluff

BY FREDA UTLEY

BRITISH and American complaisance concerning Japanese aggression, which stems in part from the imperialist tradition that the conquest of colored peoples is legitimate, has now produced a situation in which the past betrayal of China may prevent the United States from aiding Britain in the hour of its greatest peril. Whether Japan is bluffing or not, Germany and Italy can count upon extreme reluctance in America to move the fleet to the Atlantic or to give or sell any more warships to the British government, however desperately England needs them.

Yet even at this eleventh hour it is difficult to believe in the "sincerity" of Japan's commitments to the Axis. It is more likely that Japan is indulging in blackmail of Britain and the United States on a vast scale. Would it really enter the European war against England, or rather would it dare to declare war on the United States, if the latter were at long last to sever trade relations with it? Readers of *The Nation* are too familiar with the figures showing Japan's dependence on American war supplies for it to be necessary to repeat them here. Unfortunately, it is true that Japan has been allowed to accumulate large reserves and may by now be in a position to contemplate a naval war of short duration even against America. But it is certain that Germany, while it is fighting the British Empire, cannot take America's place as a supplier of iron, steel, oil, copper, and machinery.

Japan may finally have become convinced, as a result of the half-hearted manner in which the United States has applied economic pressure, that it has nothing to fear and much to gain by its new alliance with the Axis. Certainly the way the news of the pact was received in Washington cannot give the Japanese much cause for alarm. In answer to a question on September 28 as to why the scrap-iron embargo would not be applied until October 16, Sumner Welles stated: "Delay in imposing the embargo has been because of the continued hope that there still is time in which these Far Eastern problems can be solved with continued cooperation, mutual understanding, and good-will. I sincerely hope that this is still possible." Nor is there as yet any announcement of a coming embargo on copper, oil, pig iron, steel, or machinery.

Meanwhile the London *Times,* in its editorial of October 2, urged the United States to send all available supplies of arms to England rather than to help China. If this is the official British view, or if fear for the security of Australia and the Pacific sea routes, combined with a belief that Japan can be bought off by gentle handling, continues to motivate British and American policy, Japan will doubtless pluck up the courage to enter the war, and its navy may yet adminster the coup de grâce to the British Empire. Only fear, not moral suasion, only a complete British and American embargo, will hold Japan back. At present it appears to be calculating that the new alliance will give it great advantages and that it will not be required to pay its debt to the Axis until it has secured such strong footholds in Asia and the Pacific—with control of the tin and rubber which America must buy—and has laid in such ample reserves of oil and metals that it can afford to take the risk of war with Great Britain and the United States.

Prince Konoye, on September 27, made it plain that Japan had entered into the new alliance as its best chance to gain a free hand in "Greater East Asia," although he also warned the Japanese people that Japan might eventually be forced to implement its promises to the Axis. He said:

> We face an emergency unprecedented in our history. Enforcement of the treaty may become necessary. . . . During the past three years Japan has made tremendous sacrifices and lost many loyal soldiers. Prolongation of the China war on the one hand and establishment of the new order and armament replenishment on the other have exacted heavy sacrifices and made life difficult. Taking internal conditions and the international outlook into consideration, the government decided that the triple alliance was Japan's best way. Our efforts will decide our fate. No effort will be too great. I ask the people to rise to overcome the nation's difficulties.

There is confirmation in this pronouncement for the view expressed by close observers inside Japan that the new alliance is due as much to internal conditions as to the international situation. The war-weary Japanese people, whose hopes of ever finishing the China war have faded, are to be stimulated to fresh efforts by new commitments, graver dangers, and greater ambitions. At the same time their government is promising them a "new order" at home as well as abroad—the curbing of "the self-seeking capitalists," the full application of the National Mobilization Act so that capital as well as labor will be subject to the military and the rich forced to make heavy sacrifices instead of only the poor. Whether or not Japan eventually fulfils its obligations to the Axis will largely if not wholly depend on whether or not its military fascists have the power to convert it into a National Socialist state. The great obstacle so far to their plans has been the "divine" Emperor, who has tended to stand in the way of the fulfilment of Japan's "divine mission." Just because Japan has never been a democracy, it is difficult for it to go fascist. The Emperor, never having abdicated his power to parliament, has been utilized these last years as a bulwark of the existing social and economic system by the old-established capitalist interests, the titled bureaucrats, and the more moderate army and navy leaders. It may be that the military fascists, through Prince Konoye, have already got possession of the Emperor and deprived him and the moderates of all power. Prince Konoye in August was suggesting a scheme by which the advantages of a totalitarian economic and political system might be obtained without making the state and the party one, thereby getting over the difficulty that in Japan the Emperor and the state are supposed to be identical. He appears to envisage one party with its leader as the permanent wielder of power in the Emperor's name, with the Emperor over all, divine but powerless, like his ancestors in Kyoto before the restoration of 1868.

It is, nevertheless, not yet proved that the big business interests in Japan are already powerless and forced to break the ties which irrevocably bind them to the British Empire and the United States. That Japan does not yet consider itself committed to war was immediately made clear by the Tokyo Foreign Office, whose spokesman, Shiratori, said: "It is a guaranty agreement, and nothing substantial can be done with it alone. All depends upon Japan's future efforts."

Japan must be gambling on what it considers at least a four-to-one chance in its favor. For the forces of appeasement are strong both in London and Washington, where Japanese aggression has never been considered either morally or militarily or politically comparable to German aggression in Europe. How far this desire to appease Japan is due to the profits of American and British merchants and manufacturers, how far it is, or was, due to the belief that Japan menaces no vital interest of the Anglo-Saxon powers, and how far it is due to mistaken ideas about how to strengthen the hands of the so-called moderates in Japan, only the historian of the future will be able to judge. In any case, the desire obviously still exists, and Japan can gamble heavily upon it. It is this fact that makes it wrong to think that Germany and Italy, not Japan, gain most from the new alliance. Japan has been enjoying the support of the Axis powers for years, and all it has done in return is to transport supplies for them across the Pacific.

There is probably truth in the reports from Shanghai that since August the Germans have been telling Japan plainly that if it failed to join them soon its help would no longer be required, and it might find itself friendless when the war in Europe was at an end. Japan's game of playing both ends against the middle has been a very paying one, but that has been because the ends were fighting each other. What if Germany and England made peace, or what if one or the other of them won the war without being too exhausted to curb Japan? Japan might find that it had not only missed its chance to acquire possession of the Dutch East Indies and other rich lands in the Pacific, but also its chance to conquer China. Germany was also in a position to threaten Japan with strong French resistance in Indo-China and the destruction of oil wells in the Dutch East Indies; or to promise French surrender and pressure upon Dutch East Indies officials through the threat of reprisals against their relations in Holland.

Hitler's power over Stalin is, however, likely to have been Germany's trump card in forcing Japan to make its choice of sides and take the consequences. For it is Germany, not England, which can curb Russia, and British efforts to appease Japan and keep its navy out of the war must have been nullified by the simultaneous effort to secure Russia as an ally of the British Empire. Hitler may have threatened Japan with a Russian attack in Manchuria or Mongolia, while promising to make Russia stop all aid to China if Japan committed itself to the Axis. Since Japan's chief aim is the conquest of China, this would be no small reward for its compliance.

It is in the Far East that we are likely to learn whether Stalin is already Hitler's vassal or whether Russia is strong enough to pursue an independent policy. Should a Russo-Japanese pact eventuate, the Chinese Communists would be likely to receive orders to split the United Front and abandon the war of national liberation under Chiang Kai-shek's leadership. This would be the greatest service Moscow could render to Tokyo, although personally I doubt whether at this stage Russia could break Chinese unity or cause the majority of the Communists and their followers to betray their country. On the other hand, it is possible that Germany, having long experienced Japan's unwillingness or inability to challenge Britain and the United States, may consider it wise to hold Russo-Japanese relations in suspense until it has definite proof of Japan's readiness to fulfil its promise to the Axis. The menace of Russia is no doubt of great use to Hitler in pushing Japan over the precipice.

The Kremlin, if it does come to an understanding with Japan, may of course be actuated as much by the hope of seeing Japan direct its aggression southward, thus becoming embroiled with England and the United States, as by the need to do what Germany wishes. It is difficult to see Russia agreeing to the "liquidation" of Chinese nationalism, which constitutes so important a defense for the U. S. S. R. in the East. However, it may consider that it would acquire greater security plus a field for expansion by a deal with Japan which would call for the establishment of a Chinese Soviet Republic in the Northwest—a kind of Russo-Japanese partition of China.

China's fate must now more than ever depend upon the United States. Should this country be bluffed by Japan into continuing to supply it with the sinews of war, while still giving only dribbling aid to China, it is hard to see how China can fight on, especially if it is abandoned by Russia. A real embargo against Japan, coupled with arms to China, would keep Japan too busy and too short of supplies for it to be able to implement its promise to Germany and Italy. Real aid to China would help materially to decide the outcome of the European war. The announcement that Britain will reopen the Burma road implies recognition of this fact in London.

The Brazil of Vargas

BY SAMUEL GUY INMAN

THE Brazilian government, like a sailing ship, bends to the prevailing wind—North American breeze, German cyclone, or "the trades" from Brazil's own rapidly developing interior. The last man I talked with in Brazil said that the army was pro-German, the government pro-army, and the Brazilian people 95 per cent pro-Ally.

Fed by the highly colored news reports published at home, the visitor from the United States lands in Rio with his camera all set to take pictures of Nazis marching in the streets and of the swastika flying over buildings. But nothing of the kind is visible. Life in Rio seems about like life in Washington. One hears the usual number of stories about the divisions between the President and his Cabinet, about intrigues in international circles, and about the dictatorial policies of the Chief of State. But on the whole people move about freely, and there is no feeling of oppression.

Brazil is experiencing a boom. The amount of building is enormous. Municipal improvements, new roads, new factories, and housing projects are everywhere in evidence. I have visited Brazil every few years since 1914, and never have I been so struck by the material growth of the country as on this visit from which I have just returned. Vigorous government action to solve the social problems of this great sprawling, disorganized land has accompanied the national expansion.

Recently the President of the republic, for the first time in history, visited the "Far West" of the nation, to dedicate the new capital of the state of Goyas and at the same time to meet the aboriginal tribes of that section. The new state capital, Goyanna, is a city literally made to order. When it was decided to abandon the old capital instead of trying to modernize it, engineers were sent out to select a site with the proper climate and health conditions. Goyanna has been so well planned that every house, every street, every piece of plumbing, every playground, every factory will play its part in keeping slums, traffic jams, unsightly and unhealthy sections from ever appearing. The skill with which this bold undertaking has been carried out shows that Brazil has at its command every modern scientific device for extending the frontiers of its civilization.

While the conquest of the west is arousing the nation's enthusiasm, the eastern seaboard is busy on a program of industrialization. São Paulo with its population of 1,300,000 is the largest manufacturing center in South America. When Woolworth first opened ten-cent stores in Brazil, 95 per cent of the stock had to be imported. Today 95 per cent of the goods sold in these stores is made in the country. Among the five tire factories in Brazil, I chose to visit Goodyear in São Paulo. I found that it was more modern than any tire factory in the United States and that it was operated under the most enlightened social laws, with an eight-hour day, annual vacations, a minimum wage, workmen's compensation, pensions, and other protective measures. The Brazilian government is putting social legislation of this kind into effect in all urban communities at least. Brazilian tire factories buy rubber in the open market from brokers in the Amazon Valley. Their product is of the same quality as tires made in the United States and is sufficient for Brazilian consumption and for export to neighboring countries like Paraguay and Venezuela. Textiles are being manufactured in increasing quantities and are now being sold in the Argentine market.

Clearly Brazil is facing the future with enthusiasm. It is aware of only one shadow, the shadow that threatens the rest of the world—Adolf Hitler and his totalitarian allies.

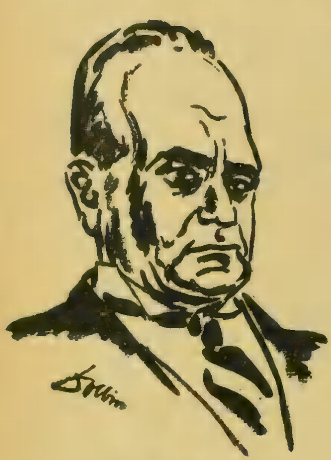
I have just examined a collection of material used in German, Italian, and Japanese schools before they were closed by the federal government in a drive to eliminate foreign propaganda. All the maps as well as all the textbooks were in Japanese, German, or Italian. One German map I examined in detail had three southern Brazilian states which contain a large German population marked as Germany; another had the whole of Brazil thus designated. The common introduction to all German textbooks stated: "Wherever you live, be sure to extend the influence of your country, for there some day your country must rule." Italian texts declared: "Italians always obey il Duce, and they know, as is written in the decalogue of the soldier, that Mussolini is always right." In the state of São Paulo alone were 242 Japanese schools.

It took a good deal of courage for the federal government to overrule the educational authorities in the various states, make a thorough investigation of all foreign schools, and, with the evidence in hand, compel these schools to close or to make a complete change to the national language and curriculum. When this was done and decrees were issued prohibiting foreign secret organizations, the German Ambassador briskly demanded "justice" for his people and the liberty to do whatever they wanted to do. The Brazilian government replied by requesting the recall of the German diplomat. Diplomatic relations have since been restored, and German propaganda continues, though not so openly. The German embassy in Rio is reported to have a staff of 150, and consulates in all parts of the country have a large number of employees devoted to every kind of propaganda and espionage. Contributions are levied on German business men and since early summer on citizens of the conquered countries. If these are not paid, reprisals are visited on relatives at home. Any refusal to dismiss Jewish employees, to boycott designated business or social organizations, to proclaim loyalty to the Führer, or to give lavishly to the National Socialist Party is mercilessly punished.

In many perfectly aboveboard activities the Germans simply outplay the British and ourselves. Their cultural-exchange and radio programs are greatly superior. After all we have heard from our broadcasting companies about their improved service to Latin America, it is very disappointing to listen to it from that end. Of course the flow of goods and travel between Brazil and Germany has stopped temporarily, but the German business man, even today, is promising early deliveries and long-term credits. He will go to any trouble to give the customer exactly what he wants. Take, as an example, the experience of an interior town which sets up an electric-light plant and buys an odd-sized electric bulb for use throughout the town. When a new supply is needed, an American salesman will insist that the first purchase was a mistake and that a standard size must be bought. A German, however, will cater to the whim of the officials and deliver what the customer wants.

Brazil has the greatest supply of iron ore in the world, but the small mills now existing do not begin to supply the current demand for steel. Recently the United States Steel Company paid $85,000 for an investigation of the possibilities of opening a plant, and then made the Brazilian authorities a proposal requiring changes in labor and mining laws. The authorities refused it. The Germans said, practically, to the Brazilians, "Name your terms and we will build your plant." It was only because of the present international situation that the Brazilian government refused the German offer and sent a commission to the United States to obtain funds for the plant's construction. The commission got a loan of $25,000,000 from the Export-Import Bank on a pledge by the Brazilian government to invest an equal amount in the project.

Brazilian aviation is still under the domination of foreign countries. Pan-American Airways is constantly improving its service and has done a splendid job in increasing American prestige. New lines have recently been opened to Asunción, Paraguay, and the interior of Brazil. Its direct line from the Caribbean along the Brazilian coast to Buenos Aires is now the only route for air passengers and mail between South America and Europe. Former German, French, and Italian services across the southern Atlantic have been abandoned. Germany, however, has a strategic system of local lines within Brazil. They extend through the sparsely populated Amazon region, the far west, and the south. The landing fields, often located in remote sections, offer many dangerous opportunities to an enemy.



Getulio Vargas

Any discussion of the dictator of Brazil, President Getulio Vargas, must take into consideration, first, the tremendous needs of this unorganized, underpopulated, uneducated country, and, second, the threat offered to the nation by the Hitler machine. Vargas, to be sure, has the personal qualities of a leader who loves to rule, who is a past master in playing one side against the other, who believes that government must vigorously tackle social questions and always talk reform but must never go so far with reform as to risk being unhorsed. Undeniably he is dominated by the army. But he is determined to advance Brazil—and himself as its representative—cost what it will. There is a kind of *camaradería* between the people and their chief that is quite different from the fear and plotting that usually mark that relationship under Latin American dictatorships. Jokes about "Getulio" are heard everywhere. Naturally those who suffer under his heavy hand, in prison or in exile, are not so nonchalant about him.

The Brazilian Congress has not met since November, 1937, when Vargas told it to stop its senseless debates and go home. But one of the largest of the great new buildings in Rio de Janeiro is the home of the new Ministry of Labor. A few years ago Brazil was behind all other South American countries in social legislation and interest in labor problems. Now it is among the most advanced. A new building soon to be finished for the Department of Education is indicative of the emphasis being placed on the effort to reduce the country's enormous illiteracy, estimated at from 60 to 75 per cent. In this field, however, the President has a bad record of yielding to the army. He has eliminated some of the most progressive of the younger leaders trained in the United States, and all liberal Brazilians are ashamed of the refusal last year to permit the World Education Association to hold its meeting in Brazil.

Brazil is traditionally the friend of the United States. In these days when the totalitarian countries offer so much it is difficult for it to understand some of the acts of this country. When the Brazilian delegation faced the problem of how to arrive on time at the hastily called Havana Conference, the government sent letters to the Moore-McCormack Line and a Japanese line inquiring about rates and whether one of their ships could be ordered to put in at Havana. Within forty-eight hours the Japanese officials answered that they would be glad to change the route of their next ship, sailing to Panama ordinarily, so that it would bring the delegates to Havana on time. As for rates, a 50 per cent reduction would be given. The United States line, with a large subsidy from the government to run the "Good Neighbor fleet," replied later that the problem was difficult, that it would have to be referred to Washington, and that rates would be in accordance with regular tariffs. The Brazilian delegates traveled on the Japanese vessel to the Good Neighbor meeting at Havana. To further a better understanding with this country, the Brazilian government sends from ten to twenty students every year to the United States and is amazed that we should propose to send to Brazil only two students and one exchange professor annually—no more than we would send to the smallest Latin American country. This student exchange and many other friendly gestures are due especially to Dr. Oswaldo Aranha, Brazil's Minister of Foreign Affairs. An outstanding advocate of pan-Americanism, Dr. Aranha is doing much to hold Brazil steady on the democratic course.

Practically any Brazilian who is not pro-German will tell you that the United States alone can save Brazil from Nazi domination. President Roosevelt and Mr. Hull more than any other men living seem to represent the hope of Brazil and the world. If your South American audience is sleepy and inattentive, all you have to do is bring in the name of Franklin Delano Roosevelt and it will raise the roof. Whether the Germans should attack from the outside or strike through well-prepared Nazi groups within, the small defense forces of a country like Brazil would be absolutely helpless. Brazilians, therefore, dislike to have their northern neighbor hurl insults at Germany in the name of all the Americas.

What can the United States do to cooperate more effectively with Brazil? It is a question I have often put to my hosts. The hundreds of replies I have received revolve around four major points. First, it should provide more cultural exchange—students, professors, professionals, artists, social workers, radio, press. Second, it should increase its trade with Brazil, taking many

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products now bought from non-American countries, such as rubber, vegetable oils, minerals, woods, in exchange for manufactured goods. Third, it should furnish the capital that Brazil needs to develop its raw materials. Most of these materials, including manganese, so greatly needed by our steel industry, are found in the interior. Railroads must be built to transport products to the ports, and ships must be provided to carry them to the United States. Thus the very defense of North America can be aided by the investment of American capital in Brazil. As for the recently proposed pan-American cartel, which would enable the United States to meet the German enonomic thrust by buying up the surplus crops of South America, Brazil sees little in this scheme. Suppose Brazil should close up its trade with Europe and put all its eggs in Uncle Sam's basket. A few years later, when the war is ended, the United States might well decide to "return to normalcy." Brazilian foreign trade would then be left suspended in the air. What Brazil wants is aid in developing its own national life; it is quite willing that this be made complementary to the economy of the United States.

The fourth step for the United States to take, and the one most insistently advocated in Brazil, is to send more aid to Great Britain. If England is defeated in the present war, South American development as now planned and desired will be upset, whatever the United States may afterward be disposed to do.

London: Democracy in Action

BY HAROLD J. LASKI

London, September 11

IT IS not surprising that the Germans should have decided upon the indiscriminate bombing of London; the men who were responsible for the massacre at Guernica set no limits to their barbarism. I have seen the results so far—serious damage to some docks, extensive demolition of house and industrial property, three or four underground-railway stations harmed, hospitals, nursing homes, and cinemas damaged; about 800 people have been killed and some 3,000 seriously injured. Today is the fourth day of the raids. Whether they are to continue on the same scale I do not know. I assume that they have two purposes—attacks on military objectives and the demoralization of the civilian population.

The first purpose has definitely not been accomplished. Except for last Saturday evening, all the serious raids have been at night. The German planes have flown at a height of more than 15,000 feet, where it is difficult for them to see their objective through clouds and impossible to hit it with any accuracy. If the extent of dock damage and factory demolition be plotted on a map, it shows neither plan nor volume of success. As a purely military operation, its cost—over 200 planes—is out of all proportion to the results achieved. On the scale of the war the results are insignificant.

There is no evidence of demoralization. I do not pretend for a moment that bombing, especially at night, is not a grim experience. It is. The utter darkness, the continual drone of the planes, the boom of the anti-aircraft guns, the dull thud of the bombs varied by the shriek of the "whistling" type, the crash of falling buildings and the sudden outbursts of fire, the clang of the fire engines as they dash through the streets—all these combine to make night hideous indeed. And the coming of dawn, when the "all clear" sounds, is beyond question welcome, though it brings heart-rending sights.

The civil-defense services have worked most admirably, and the tales of individual heroism are beyond number: of firemen who have attacked fires while bombs were falling, of demolition workers who have dug out buried persons in areas where there were unexploded time bombs, of wardens who have ceaselessly led people to safe shelter amid explosions and shrapnel. Two telephone girls stayed at their post after the walls of their building had been blown away, and their supervisor arrived on time for her "duty" even though her own house had been bombed during the night. A telephone engineer mended some broken wires in a bomb crater, though bombs were striking around him and unexploded time bombs were in the neighborhood; the wires were needed for the pivotal control-room of the local town hall. I must, too, say a word of praise for the busmen and the railwaymen. They have carried on their vital transport work without attention to danger and with a cheerfulness that has put new courage into all who have had contact with them.

I have met people who have lost their nearest relatives; I have met others who have lost all their personal possessions; I have seen people bombed out of hospitals; I have spoken to scores carrying on their normal work when they have had little or no sleep for seventy-two hours, have, indeed, been compelled to spend three nights on end in a public shelter. I have met angry people, grim people, people whose mood has been sometimes more sober, sometimes more defiant, than is their wont. I can honestly say that I have not met a single person on whom the effect has been a desire for a settlement other than that of victory. The morale of the people is superb; it is shown in their indomitable cheerfulness, the amazing kindness of neighbor to neighbor, the resolution with which unaccustomed burdens have been shouldered.

In a time like this odd incidents stand out in one's memory. There was the old lady who did not feel herself much affected but was terribly upset for Mrs. Jenkins, "whose cat fair 'ates them raids." There was another old lady who, dug out of her demolished tenement house, came to the light of day with the expressive remark, "Blast that 'Itler." There was the family that, at five-thirty in the morning, had tea ready for thirty neighbors as they came out of their shelter in their mean little street. There are the people who hurry to the town hall to offer room or beds or blankets for neighbors who have lost their homes. There is the special gift, some flowers, perhaps, or fruit, for one who has suffered bereavement, tendered as a rule without words, because the feeling is too deep for expression. And the talk one hears is always of pride in the R. A. F., confidence in Mr. Churchill, and unbreakable certainty of triumph.

Two other things it is, I think, worth while to say. I spoke this afternoon with an eminent R. A. F. officer about reprisals, of which, naturally enough, there is some discussion. He was against them on three grounds: First, the R. A. F. had an air policy with the results of which it was satisfied; it would be folly to change it in response to an enemy policy which was militarily unsuccessful. Second, he did not think his pilots would carry it out; it was against the whole temper and training of the force. Third, on a long view it was a grave political error to teach masses of young men to have a general contempt for human life; that, he thought, would merely breed gangsterism of the fascist kind after the war. He did not deny that any form of air attack must involve civilian tragedy, but he was emphatic that it was neither just nor wise to make civilian casualties an objective.

The second thing is the new respect these grave days have given me for the common people. It is not only their fundamental courage and inherent decency; it is not only, also, their amazing power of recovery and adaptation. The number of little people who in crisis display gifts of leadership is only surpassed by the number in whom crisis brings out the power of generosity. Those who are skeptical of the democratic way of life ought to go through three days of air raids in which the people have to cope with their horrors through institutions they work themselves. They will then know as sharply as I do that the enemy of democracy is the enemy of mankind.

Conscientious Objectors

BY ROGER N. BALDWIN

PROVISION for conscientious objectors under the recently enacted Military Service bill falls short of the liberal measure advocated by the Quakers and other agencies. It does not include non-religious objectors and does not permit total exemption for any man. But what failed to be written into the law may yet be achieved by regulation. Even the War Department officials responsible for the draft regulations have stated privately that they favor an interpretation of the provisions generous enough to exempt, as in the World War, all genuine objectors whether religious, humanitarian, or political. Though the World War provision for objectors was narrowly written to include only members of "well-recognized religious sects historically opposed to war," it was in practice extended by regulation to include even members of the I. W. W., Socialists, anarchists, and, indeed, Irishmen who objected to fighting in a war on England's side.

The measure advocated by the Quakers and others was almost identical with the provisions now in effect in Great Britain, where the whole issue of conscientious objection has been handled without the conflict which marked the World War. So far as the records show, not a single man found to be a genuine objector has been sent to prison. Non-combatant service in the army or civilian service outside has been provided for the majority; about 10 per cent have been exempted from any service; and political objectors have been treated on precisely the same basis as religious.

Congress, however, fearful that Communists and German-American Nazis might take advantage of too liberal a provision for objectors, refused to extend a definition which recognizes only those who "by reason of religious training and belief are conscientiously opposed to participation in war in any form." Even in peace time Congress could not be induced to be as generous as Britain is in war time, though in the hearings before the Military Affairs committees of both houses not a single voice was raised against the proposed provisions and an impressive array of witnesses supported them.

Congressional fears of leaving a loophole for Communists and German-American Nazis are, I believe, un-founded. The Communists, despite their opposition to conscription, have already advised their members to obey the law and enter the army here as they have in other countries. German-American sympathizers with Hitler and Irish-Catholic followers of Father Coughlin, though opposed to the draft, will raise no issue of conscience. The conflict between conscience and conscription will revolve around the religious objector who refuses all service and the comparatively few Socialist, anarchist, and "ethical" objectors.

The present Military Service Act is an improvement upon the World War Draft Act in that conscientious objectors are to be dealt with outside the army. They first declare themselves in a questionnaire to be filled out after registration and then get a hearing by the local draft board. Those found to be genuine objectors may be assigned either to non-combatant service in the army or, if they refuse any military service, to "work of national importance under civilian direction." In the World War, under a similar provision, objectors were furloughed from the army to farm work under civilian direction or to work with the Quakers abroad. Similar assignments are doubtless now contemplated.

Men who refuse even civilian service will inevitably be prosecuted and will face penalties potentially more severe than in the World War. The maximum prison term for a man tried in the civil courts for refusing to obey the Draft Act in the World War was one year; under the Military Service Act it is five years, with a fine up to $10,000. It is possible that some at least of those who refuse all service may be assigned to the work they are doing if such work is regarded as of "national importance." That has been done in England, and it offers a means of breaking the impasse between some of the "absolutists" and the government. High officials in the War Department are quoted as saying that they wish the act to be so administered that no genuine objector will be sent to prison.

All objectors dissatisfied with a local board's ruling and those who refuse all service will have the right of appeal to the regional appeals boards. These boards will refer all appeals to the Department of Justice, which will investigate and give a hearing to each objector. Just how the machinery of the department will operate is not yet known, but efforts are being made to prevent the FBI from handling such a delicate task as searching a man's conscience. The department's recommendations to an appeals board are only advisory. In each case the decision of the appeals board is final, unless the President can be induced to intervene. Efforts are being made to secure the appointment by the President of a special national board on conscientious objectors, limiting the discretion of the appeals boards, since only some central authority thoroughly familiar with the varieties of conscience can insure uniform and just treatment. It would be an injustice, for example, to have members of Jehovah's Witnesses considered insincere in one area and exempted as genuine religious objectors in another.

If the decision of the appeals board is against an objector, he will be notified by his local draft board to report for physical examination preparatory to induction into the army. If he then refuses he will be subject to trial in the civil courts. If he should take the physical examination and pass it he would be eligible for military service, and as soon as he took the oath required on induction into the army, would come under the jurisdiction of a military court martial. Refusal to comply at that point or with any subsequent order would subject him to the almost limitless penalties of a military court.

Most objectors obviously will be tried in civil courts; among these will be those who refuse to obey any order of a local draft board, whether they are adjudged sincere objectors or not, and those who refuse to comply with the requirements for registration. It is known that a considerable number of men, including some of the most obviously sincere religious objectors, will refuse to register on the prescribed forms and merely notify the local draft boards of their names and addresses so as not to be confused with draft-dodgers. Since refusal to fill out the forms is a violation of law, these men will almost certainly be prosecuted. Thus at the very beginning of the draft there will be held those trials for conscience which the administration seems anxious to avoid, and the civil courts will be confronted with the unwelcome duty of creating martyrs for principle. Washington officials have stated that men who refuse to register will be leniently treated and have even suggested that registration by others in their behalf might be accepted, but refusal to give any information except name, age, and address will make prosecution almost inevitable. While objectors will have no formal opportunity to state their position until they are reached by questionnaires in the process of calling men up, many intend to indicate it by writing "conscientious objector" on the margin of their registration cards. Such a notation, even though outside the information specified, is not a violation of law.

The prospective number of objectors, by any estimate, will be small. Most of them, as in the World War, will be members of pacifist religious sects. And most of them will accept non-combatant service in the army or work of national importance under civilian direction. In the World War 65,000 out of more than 3,000,000 drafted men registered as conscientious objectors with the draft boards, but only 4,000 so declared themselves after arriving at a military camp, and less than 500 were court-martialed for refusing all service or as insincere. In England, in the present war, of 3,500,000 men registered for service up to June 1 only 48,000 declared themselves conscientious objectors. Of 16,000 whose cases came before the tribunals, all but a small percentage that were granted total exemption accepted some form of service under conscription.

The task of distinguishing the genuine conscientious objectors from the draft-evaders will be a difficult one. In the World War this delicate probe into sincerity was conducted by a special board appointed by the Secretary of War, composed of Harlan F. Stone, now Justice of the Supreme Court, Judge Julian W. Mack, and an army officer. This board went about the country interviewing men segregated at military camps. Their decisions as to whether a man should be treated as a genuine objector or as a "slacker" were final. The records show that a few men will pretend to conscientious scruples to secure their personal safety or convenience, but that their resistance is easily worn down and their pretense exposed. In England 20 per cent of the objectors examined up to June 1 were classed as not bona fide and were ordered into the army.

When men of unfamiliar and apparently inconsistent views come before the boards that will judge the validity of their scruples, some injustice may be done. Consistency will be demanded by agents of the government; complete consistency can rarely be furnished by objectors. The Christian pacifists will be perhaps most easily understood, though Jehovah's Witnesses will be a problem, as they were in the World War. Men whose conscientious objections rest upon loyalty to humanity, to the international working class, and to political philosophies that seem "un-American" are the most likely to be unfairly treated.

Legal aid to conscientious objectors will be rendered by the American Civil Liberties Union in all cases in which injustice appears and in appeals to the regional boards. The Union will not aid men prosecuted for refusing to identify themselves on registration day, though it may aid those prosecuted for refusing to fill out the prescribed forms. It advises all objectors who desire to be treated as such to comply fully with registration requirements and to state plainly their views. Conscientious objectors will also be aided by the leading Protestant agencies, not only the denominations historically opposed to war but others as well. The Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America has established a National Committee on Conscientious Objectors; the Quakers, Mennonites, and other pacifist sects have their committees; and the Fellowship of Reconciliation in New York City has established a National Board of Conscientious Objectors to furnish information and advice.

Not until the Department of Justice announces the personnel of its investigating agency, and until we know whether a central reviewing body is to be created, shall we be able to tell just how liberal the administration of the law will be, what burden the private agencies will carry, or how well the government will be able to resolve the historic conflict between conscience and military conscription.

Everybody's Business

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

Three Per Cent and No Risk

SO FAR the defense program has brought surprisingly little new business to the banks. Since May almost all the indices of economic activity have advanced rapidly, but the aggregate of Federal Reserve member banks' commercial, industrial, and agricultural loans, which was $4,394,000,000 on May 22, had risen by September 18 only to $4,578,000,000. On the other hand, during the period June 25 through September 18 the Reconstruction Finance Corporation authorized loans and commitments in connection with the National Defense program totaling no less than $558,959,990. Of this sum $338,250,000 had been made available to four subsidiary corporations formed to carry out special defense tasks, such as the building up of reserve supplies of rubber and strategic metals. The remaining $220,709,990 represented advances to private corporations, ranging in magnitude from $92,000,000 to $6,000.

The energy with which Jesse Jones has been employing the resources of the RFC in furtherance of the defense program has not added to his popularity with his former comrades in the American Bankers' Association. At the recent annual convention of this body at Atlantic City many speakers hinted that the patriotic willingness of the banks to shoulder loans in the country's service was being ignored. It may well be asked why this anxious ability to lend, at a time when there is a real demand for money to expand defense industries, has left no perceptible mark on the balance sheets of most banks. The answer is that the cooperation of the banks with the government, like that of many industrialists, is conditioned on the elimination of all risk. The point is made clear by an example quoted in the *Wall Street Journal* of September 3:

> Last week representatives of a leading aircraft company were in New York talking with their bankers about a loan to build new plants. The bank was willing to loan the money on the general credit of the company. The company was unwilling to do that, holding that such a step would place an unfair risk on the shoulders of the company's stockholders. The bank's view that without this general credit backing the depositors' money could not be risked.

Escape from impasses of this kind are now provided by a form of contract devised by the National Defense Advisory Committee. Used when a plant or new facilities are found to be necessary for the defense program, this is essentially an agreement by the government to pay, as part of the cost of the materials which it is to obtain from the new plant, the total cost of the plants. These payments will be paid in five annual instalments, and under the amortization clauses of the Excess Profits Act the recipient is able to write them off as a depreciation allowance before calculating his taxable profits. A contract of this kind takes care of the manufacturer's risk pretty effectively and might, one would think, warrant even a conservative banker in making a term loan repayable in five annual instalments.

The bankers, however, are not yet satisfied, for under present law such contracts cannot be assigned as collateral and hence are regarded, in the jargon of the profession, as not "bankable." To meet this objection a bill has been introduced permitting the assignment of claims against the government. This has already passed the House and is expected to receive the approval of the Senate shortly. Once this bill becomes law, William S. Knudsen declared recently, "I believe that manufacturers needing to expand their plants on account of the defense program should have no trouble in obtaining funds for construction promptly and at low rates of interest through their usual banking channels."

There are signs, however, of new difficulties, for according to the *Wall Street Journal* some banks are alarmed by Mr. Knudsen's reference to a low rate of interest. They are said to believe that 3 per cent would be about right, but the government has a much more modest figure in view. And rightly, for since the desire of the banks for the avoidance of risk is being met to the extent of giving the proposed loans an effective government guaranty, there is no reason why they should earn more than on government paper of comparable maturity. This indicates a rate of 1½ percent at the most, and anything paid over that will be an unnecessary tribute to the bankers and an unwarranted addition to the cost of the defense program.

An amusing incident at the American Bankers' Association convention was the failure, once again, of A. P. Giannini, chairman of the Bank of America, to secure the election of his candidate for second vice-president. This position is important because it leads directly to the presidency two years hence. The two contenders were W. L. Hemingway, president of the Mercantile-Commerce Bank and Trust Company of St. Louis, and Russell G. Smith, executive vice-president of the Bank of America, N. T. and S. A. When it was clear that his chances were nil, Mr. Smith withdrew from the contest, whereupon his chief exploded: "I do not know what prompted his withdrawal, but I do know that certain sycophantic satellites of the most arbitrary and bureaucratic departments of the federal government have been perniciously active lest the bank . . . which is linked with my name be given appropriate recognition."

The real reason for Mr. Smith's lack of appeal for the convention is much less sinister than that attributed by Mr. Giannini in his alliterative wrath. It is that the Bank of America not only is the biggest branch banking house in the country but carries on a vigorous propaganda for the legàl extension of branch banking. A large number of the convention delegates, on the other hand, were stout adherents of unit banking, believing, in the words of one speaker, that "widespread branch banking . . . is clearly in violation of that principle of division of powers which runs through our governmental and economic setup designed to preserve the vital liberties of our people." No doubt Mr. Giannini thought it bad policy to mention the real cause of his defeat, and since he was angry and had to hit somebody he chose to lash out at the federal government, which to his mind has been unduly curious about the activities of his financial octopus. Since his fellow-bankers knew what had bitten him, I doubt that he won much sympathy.

In the Wind

SEVERAL WEEKS AGO this column reported that anti-Willkieites were preparing to use a blast which McNary delivered against the G. O. P. candidate some years ago. The story came from a source that has always been reliable, but on further inquiries no such document has been found—despite a search by Democratic Party publicity men. The editors of *The Nation* therefore withdraw the story and apologize.

OTTO TOLISCHUS, the New York *Times* correspondent who won a Pulitzer prize for his coverage of Germany, has been telling New York dinner parties that France's fall was all due to the Popular Front and Léon Blum. He is also taking shots at Pierre Cot for not building up air production. Several guests have done some heckling.

HEADLINE IN the *Journal of Commerce:* "New Deal Failure on Farm Program Charged by Willkie." The subhead: "Favors Conservation, Loans, Credit System, Electrification, Crop Insurance."

WHEN NEW YORK society convened at the Monte Carlo opening and gave the proceeds to the Funds for France committee, a group of young men identified with the William Allen White committee picketed outside. As they marched up and down, a group in evening dress entered the building and one beautiful lady pointed sourly at the picket: "They might at least have dressed."

NOEL COWARD, who is in New York working for the British government, has told intimates that he still fears appeasement maneuvers in Britain. But he is opposed to any airing of the subject and thinks British sentiment will prevent any deals.

A NEWSPAPERMAN who covered the Spanish war told friends recently of a talk he had with Del Vayo during the conflict. The Spanish minister said he had just conferred with French and British officials and urged them to send military missions to study German tactics in Spain, but the invitation had been politely rejected.

REPUBLICAN HEADQUARTERS were divided about whether to publish the list of "labor leaders" supporting Willkie. With only fourteen signatories and half of them local ones, there was some pressure to drop the whole matter. It was finally issued, however.

J. WARREN MADDEN is now almost certain to be reappointed chairman of the NLRB. Inside sources say that the President had hoped to let Congress adjourn first and is still delaying because it is in session, but that the decision is made.

[We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind—either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. A prize of $5 will be awarded each month for the best item.—EDITORS THE NATION.]

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W YORK, N. Y.

A Native at Large

BY JONATHAN DANIELS

HE DID come home again. His last book has been published now, and the critics recognize that this, like the others, is vitally alive and complain still about his sprawling looseness of structure. They are grateful but by no means content, which maybe is what critics ought to be. But Tom Wolfe's last chapter, which would suffer from the same fault, has not been written. It won't be.

"Only Tom's hand reaching from the grave could adequately chronicle that day," a wise Asheville woman wrote me about his funeral, which we saw together. "And wouldn't he have enjoyed it!"

Of course, as Tom himself has told us, you can't go back to the picture in your memory, which never was anything but a picture in your dreams. But Tom proved, too, that there is no more escape than returning.

As pall-bearer I looked at him lying against the crinkly undertaker's satin in the Dixieland tourist home in Asheville. If they had not told me I would not have known that after he died a wigmaker had to make a wig for him to be dead in. They told me that there had not been in Baltimore a coffin big enough for him. The oversized one that had to be assembled in New York filled half the front room of the old boarding-house, under the long cracks in the yellow plaster ceiling. He was home.

"Those melancholy cracks in the yellow plaster looking down at him!" my friend said. "I know he fled from those cracks, and there he lay helpless while they triumphed over him."

I am not sure. I am not even sure I know what triumph is. But in little cities you can see a tribe. The matriarch stood beside the coffin of the man. She was both the mother Tom put in the book and the living woman who seemed to have walked out of it. Tearless and strong, she stayed through the morning and talked, as one to whom the realities of living and dying are alike unterrifying, about the operation on Tom's brain. The brothers were there in the house where the brother Ben had died. The sister Tom loved most of all, who had nursed him across the continent on those roaring trains he loved too, was there—vigorous and talkative and overwhelmed together. She did not go to the funeral. "I went out with a bang," she told me.

All of them were not only Wolfes, tremendously alive, they were also Gants out of the book, utterly true. Tom had come home to them.

A great many flowers came from far away, but not many people. Professor Frederick H. Koch was there almost desperately determined that he must find violets to send to the funeral from the Carolina Playmakers, because Tom had mentioned violets in a Playmakers play. Clifford Odets had been, I think, in Tennessee and came over the mountains. Max Perkins, who had been Tom's first and great editor, stood on the edge of the funeral party like a man hurt and as lonely as the very spirit of Tom's books.

The rest of us were a part of Tom's native land. Three of us were pall-bearers who had been with Tom on a party at my house not many months before. In my closet there's still a quarter-bottle of an American absinthe Tom had picked up in New Orleans. There were Asheville people—a few bewildered and uncertain ones, some boarders in the house, people of the big Gant-Wolfe tribe; and there were thousands who stayed away and hardly knew he was dead. But there were enough to fill the Presbyterian Church and to make it look like the funeral of a prominent local insurance man. I remember there was a smooth young preacher. We sang lusty hymns. And then there was the old preacher who knew Tom was saved because he had always come to call on him when he was in Asheville.

The coffin was heavy. There was a steep terrace up to the lot in the cemetery, and we cut the turf on it with our shoes. Some of us went back to the hotel afterward and had some drinks. And I tell the truth that we were strangely gay. All of us wished that Tom could have been there and told us about the people who were at his funeral and who helped make it the funeral of a small city's son, son accepted, son forgiven, son somehow saved for the Presbyterian Church. But it was a magnificent day. In the late afternoon sun there was mist on the mountains, or perhaps it was smoke from the noisy trains which run down the valley of the French Broad.

They will let him rest there. Some critics in the cities may still prod him in his grave. Two years dead, they still want him to be something that he never was, something more disciplined and precise. They rejoice in his strength and power, the formless eloquence and the roving force. But they ask for other things still. In Asheville not many people even understand such things. But they let him sleep and that may be home. It isn't anywhere else.

BOOKS and the ARTS

THE LAST OF YEATS

BY MORTON DAUWEN ZABEL

THE tragedy of the poet who dies young is an accepted tradition of martyrdom and heroism in the mythology of literature. It thrives with all the benefits of rarity, moral indignation, and potentialities that remain safely undecided in the pathos of speculation. The tragedy of the poet who dies old is another story—commonplace, human, and seldom inspiring. It too is a matter of common acceptance, but chiefly as evidence on the ways of human compromise, or as a source of grim satisfaction to the laity who look to the frustrations of genius for consolation in their own defeats. Even in cases of popularly successful talent reaction can make the old age of art a bitter experience in isolation and lonely endurance. If a poet placates or defeats the enemies that contrive the martyrdom of a young genius—social hostility, moral conventions, practical necessity—his success carries the odium of a truce. A Goethe, Hardy, or Yeats is allowed to rely on none of the arguments that make the silencing of a Keats, Pushkin, or Rimbaud heroic. Every deviation he shows from consistency or organic maturity is held suspect as a mark of eccentricity or imposture. *"Peu de gens savent être vieux"*: a poet is usually dishonored not only when he fails to learn but when he tries.

Yeats's long life and achievement have not lacked recognition during the past twenty years, but it seems to be the thing once more to hold his career in renewed skepticism, to discount his struggle with modern life, and to diminish his spiritual ordeal to "the quarrel he made with himself." He is written down as an exotic by-product of the major European tradition. His peak was unquestionably reached in "The Tower" and "The Winding Stair," and Mr. Leavis was right recently in noting in the "Last Poems"[*] an inferiority of organization, a weakening of the positives of "sensual music" and "monuments of unaging intellect" that created the subtle and majestic tension of "Sailing to Byzantium." But even he underestimated the fact that Yeats wrote for over a decade after that poem's appearance and was constitutionally unwilling to make it an end-stop of his art or to accept the common definition of the moment in life at which organization should be permanently established. What is more confusing is that this skepticism has shifted from Yeats's artistry and thought to his character. Mr. Auden, reducing Yeats's gift to one of diction and word-magic ("always more concerned with whether or not a phrase sounded effective than with the truth of its idea or the honesty of its emotion") and impugning him for an "utter lack of effort to relate his aesthetic *Weltanschauung* with that of science," has denied him the refuge of selfhood itself, that "foul rag-and-bone shop of the heart" to which the desertion of his masks and legends finally abandoned him. Mr. MacNeice, reviving the notion that the public considered Yeats "safe because he was an exotic" and that "his ingredients became odder and odder," has lately emphasized the idea that Yeats's temperament was dominantly histrionic, veering between aristocratic sympathies and a "praise of war" falsely inferred from his envy of "lust and rage," and failing in his reaction against the aesthetic servility of his youth because of a "constitutional inhumanity." There may be an echo in this of the recent talk about Yeats's "unconscious fascism"; he has provoked and survived these shifts of veneration and skepticism before. But when the complex integrity of his whole career, his passionate sense of the conflict between art and life, and his hard-won insights are thus reduced to the shreds of moral analysis—when, indeed, we hear of a young English poet's verdict that he was "a bad old man"—we begin to feel that his critics are not a thousand miles removed from the musician who once wrote him: "You should have heard my setting of your 'Innisfree' as it was sung in the open here by two thousand Boy Scouts."

Yeats made his life and art vulnerable to accusations of vanity and instability because he combined the exorbitant self-consciousness of his post-romantic generation with continuous efforts to resist the confines of his age and its hostile abstractions of science and society, which to him spelled the blight not only of poetry but of the personal life. He is, superficially viewed, the major escapist of modern literature. His first flight was from the moral and scientific determinism of the eighties (Ibsen, Tyndall, Huxley) to the mysteries of legend and poetic symbolism as the Irish myths, Pater, and Paris taught them. His induction into these rites ("traditional sanctity and loveliness") was barely achieved when the disgust and reaction of an intense personal crisis drove him, in the middle nineties, to nationalism and Irish political culture. This extroversion enriched his style and energies at the cost of convincing him of the enmity of popular emotions to art and idealism, and of the sacrifice of human worth that even the noblest heroism entails. ("Did that play of mine send out Certain men the English shot?") He turned again: to abstractions of "pure mind" in the quietism of India; from these to Balzac's aggressive principle and the compulsions of human personality as shown by the Blakean symbolism of the Great Wheel; from the Wheel, intractably altering its phases in the successive editions of "A Vision," back to the simplest elements of folk nature as they exist in ballad and martial chant. The last phase of all, final in its isolated austerity, was his inescapable retreat to the secret courage of the heart, where, bereft of his "circus animals" and no longer transfigured as "character isolated by a deed," he faced his fundamental identity as a man. In that confrontation he found, as Baudelaire had done before him, his highest realism and his severest passion as a lyric poet.

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[*] "Last Poems and Plays." By W. B. Yeats. The Macmillan Company. $1.75.

"Letters on Poetry from W. B. Yeats to Dorothy Wellesley." Oxford University Press. $2.50.

To demand that a career as bred in conflict as this, exposing itself with this courage and refusing the protective mandates of moral or political orthodoxy, should emerge with no exaggeration of personality or with its passionate sense of hostilities "organized" into a perfectly lucid balance, is to go beyond the scale of human merit. Yeats's whole animus derives from his hatred of such mandates, of the tyranny of abstraction. The travail of his people's soul meant less to him, when it hardened into ignorant persecution, than the suffering and death of Synge. The rough justice of modern warfare collapsed into ignominious baseness when the punishing of treason meant that Casement's character must be officially slandered and an unpopular man be denied "his last refuge—Martyrdom." It is true that Yeats's insistence, in his last poems, on his isolation, his scorn of complacency, and his prolonged virility suggests the failure of another balance, that of personal certitude. Excesses of protest and self-justification betray a kind of spiritual paranoia, and like common cases of paranoia that exist this side of insanity, they derive from an uneasy conscience or a defect of courage. The pride and contempt in Yeats's later manner are continuously harassed by this persecuting sense of guilt. "Lust and Rage" were his goads to the end. He was never able to rise to the serenity of a grand old age. But it is a question if the true poet ever should—if a restlessness of vision and the continuous distress of human sympathies are not more important. "I got sleepy & tired & spent my day in bed and thought of my soul," he wrote Dorothy Wellesley in 1936. "Then I noticed that every time I thought of my soul I used some second-hand phrase & knew by that that I was thinking of my soul from ambition & vanity. I said to myself, 'Your job is to avoid deep places & to die blaspheming' & I got well at once."

The "Last Poems" revive the full range of Yeats's personae and symbols. Their oppositions are fixed in peasant character or political action and in the timeless and indifferent superiority of aesthetic and ideal absolutes: here in love, gallantry, wickedness, faith, sensual delight and misery, and self-reckless courage as embodied in "High Talk" and "Hound Voices," the martyrs of 1916, the tragedies of Parnell and Casement, in O'Rahilly, Colonel Martin, John Kinsella, lady and chambermaid; there in "Beautiful Lofty Things," the arrested image of perfection in the bronze head of a museum ("As though a sterner eye looked through her eye On this foul world in its decline and fall"), in a memory of Maud Gonne ("Pallas Athene in that straight back and arrogant head"), in the eternal figure of a young girl. It has been said that in later life Yeats turned only to the simplest or most complex things, scorning all middle grounds, but the truth is that simple and complex things existed for him only in a state of constant attraction and repulsion, of continuous interdependence, and that this oscillation of qualities made all reality a complex middle ground of polarities, refusing simplification and dreading the purity of abstract synthesis. His humanism is that of Hopkins:

> No angel insight can
> Learn how the heart is hence:
> Since all the make of man
> Is law's indifference.

It is right to ascribe to Yeats an obsession by dialectic. His oppositions play restlessly and imperatively against one another, but the antithesis is never resolved. It was his special role as man and poet to represent that inexhaustible tension and irresolution in all its meanings.

His letters to Dorothy Wellesley show that it kept him alive and writing to the end, the source of his energy and delight. As a poet's letters they are completely without pompous authority or didactic benevolence, and also without the intense critical observations that appear in the letters of Keats, Hopkins, or Rilke. They form an annotation of his last years and his last poems, and for what she did to spur Yeats, by a sensitive talent and apparently by physical attraction, to his last work, Dorothy Wellesley will hold her part in his history. The letters show no easy tranquillity, no flattering satisfaction of mind or achievement, and also little power of piercing with a phrase or an insight. Their wisdom is agitated. In this they reflect the last poems. Of these only a small number are in Yeats's richest manner ("A Bronze Head," "To D. W.," "The Statues," "John Kinsella's Lament," "Politics," "Under Ben Bulben," "The Circus Animals' Desertion," and the two Casement ballads). The others are often marginal or echoes of earlier work. Yeats lacked the anguish of extreme penetration as Hopkins knew it; his rhetorical habit and symbolist derivations deprived him of that "terrible pathos." He lacked on the other hand a mastery of critical organization, of condensing allegory and controlled vision as it appears in Rilke, Eliot, or Stevens. The antinomies were always too close to him. His last two plays show an exaggeration of disgust that makes them dramatically flaccid through their excess of anti-human revulsion. Lyrics like "Sweet Dancer" and "The Wild Wicked Old Man" revive the simple pathos of his earliest years. The grand manner and the naive, the terror and the pathos of beauty, were never completely harmonized in his thought. What Goethe managed to achieve in the "West Oestlicher Divan" is never fully arrived at. But Yeats shows us anew—he is perhaps the only modern British poet to do so—what Mann has recently reminded us of in Goethe: of how the ideal of aesthetic autonomy must be constantly forced out of superiority or abstraction by the "Antaean compensation" of the earth. Yeats lacked Goethe's intellectual and moral capacities, but he is Goethe's superior as a lyric poet by the fact that art and earth were never separated in his life or verse: they exist by their mutual inadequacy. It is in their complementary necessity that they enter his poetry, bringing the full realism of the lyric experience and giving his work its emotional validity and its unflagging beauty as song.

If this realism, and its power to illuminate human struggle and aspiration, is to stand convicted of "constitutional inhumanity," the question is, What kind of humanity do we want? Yeats lived in an age that gave him opportunities to see all types of human energy and ambition at work. He found reasons to be edified and enlightened by few of them. He had no taste for prophetic or moral arrogance; he saw that no one can be blinder than a self-sufficient artist; he saw that no one can be crueler than the common man. He summoned men into a society, an order, where aristocrats of spirit might give the ignorant a standard to live by, but where the passionate and the miserable also give the proud a reason to be humble. This was his conception of the artist's mediation, and he not only used the historic opportunities that came his way to make that mediation active, but gave his own nature over to the learning of the lesson. As Mr. MacNeice says, Yeats assuredly provides no occasion for "irresponsible gibes or zany gush." He provides rather an occasion for learning the meaning of the present moment in history, not from frenzied oracles and spokesmen of righteousness, but from the agony and truth of self-knowledge extended to a knowledge of humanity. This was for him the true source of energy and fortitude:

> All things fall and are built again,
> And those that build them again are gay.

Yeats took forty years to learn what Lady Gregory meant when she taught him Aristotle's maxim: "To think like a wise man but to express oneself like the common people." It took the endurances of his troubled career to justify his epitaph: "Cast a cold eye, On life, on death." In 1937 he wrote: "I have recovered a power of moving the common man I had in my youth. The poems I can write now will go into the general memory." A month before his death he said: "I do nothing but write verse."

Notes by the Way

IT IS no small tribute to James Farrell's powers as a novelist that to readers of his books the place name Chicago stands for the world of Studs Lonigan; that this world is so complete and tangible that it forms a part not only of our libraries but of our experience; and finally that it represents one important segment of American urban life. In the trilogy "Studs Lonigan" Mr. Farrell did more than this. Dealing with a social and human setting from which a lesser writer would have extracted only pathos he succeeded in creating a character whose conflict with his universe produced genuine tragedy.

This achievement could not but seem the fulfilment of a phase, major to be sure, in the development of an important novelist, particularly since Farrell had presented the given milieu so thoroughly in the documentary sense that it did not need to be done again and, more important, had projected in Studs Lonigan what seemed not only one of many possible characters but *the* character who embodied most dramatically the essential elements-in-conflict of a setting that is, after all, limited. This is not to say that Mr. Farrell should have tried to make another milieu as thoroughly his own as that of the Lonigan trilogy. Such an attempt would in any case be futile. What the reader demanded was not a change of setting but a progress in conception.

In his second series of books, of which the third has just been published ("Father and Son," Vanguard Press, $2.75), Mr. Farrell has been unfolding the story of the boyhood and youth of Danny O'Neill, a character quite different from Studs Lonigan. Danny, growing up, and his father Jim are the central characters of the present book; the minor ones are drawn from Danny's family and that of his mother, the O'Flahertys. The characters are fully realized; the family life of the O'Neills and the O'Flahertys is presented in that solu-

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tion of pervading tenderness which marks Mr. Farrell's work as a whole. In itself, "Father and Son," though far too long, is impressive. It suffers, however, by the inevitable comparison with "Studs Lonigan." It lacks the intensity and dramatic force of that trilogy and moves at a slower pace. In relation to Studs, even the main characters in "Father and Son" seem minor, and we are so familiar by this time with the tone and texture of life in Farrell's Chicago that his unrestrained presentation of it seems repetitious and superfluous. Similarly, one feels that his main characters are at times submerged by their very documentation, and for me at least the drawing of Danny's mother Lizz is sharper and more satisfying than that of Danny and Jim, who are much more thoroughly blocked in. The world Mr. Farrell pictures is so real, so circumstantial, that one loses the sense of reading a book; but that is to say, as well, that one loses the sense of a shaping hand.

So far then, in this second series, documentation wins over distillation. But the character chosen by Mr. Farrell as its hero at least suggests that he is making the same demand as his readers. Danny O'Neill is a shy, sensitive boy who might well be the young James Farrell. He is the boy who in "The Young Manhood of Studs Lonigan" promises himself that he will one day write a book. If the destiny of Danny, in later volumes, is to become a writer, we may expect an attempt at a synthesis far broader and deeper than any Farrell has made so far. Whether he can fulfil the requirement of the first-rate novelist to be poet and philosopher as well, still remains to be seen.

IF YOU'D give a dollar, in the old American phrase, to know what Anne Morrow Lindbergh thinks of it all, in view of her husband's speech at Soldier Field, you may buy her article-in-stiff-covers, "The Wave of the Future" (Harcourt, Brace, $1). You will find the Lindbergh thesis stated in the "poetic" terms of a sensitive schoolgirl who doesn't know much about economics and politics but knows what she feels. Her feeling is that the war is part of a vast revolution, that the leaders of Germany and Italy and Russia have "felt the wave of the future and they have leapt upon it. The evils we deplore in these systems are not in themselves the future; they are scum on the wave of the future." As for America, "the wave of the future is coming and there is no fighting it. What is our course to be? Shall we leave our own troubles and crusade abroad?" Mrs. Lindbergh would have us stay at home and work out our own solution in our own way. "It should be possible to change an old life to a new without such terrible bloodshed as we see today in the process in Europe." It may, she says, "mean sacrifice of selfish interest; it may mean giving up part of the ease of living and the high material standards we have been noted for. But it might also mean a heightening of more important standards . . . a gain in spirit, in vigor, and in self-reliance. . . ."

When a Socialist argues that we should stay out of the war and put our own house in order, we know what he means by order and we respect his point of view. When the wife of Charles Lindbergh talks of a gain in spiritual values, and particularly when her only specific remark about the new life is one about lowering our standards of living, we have a right to be suspicious of what she means by "reform." Vagueness plus left phrases equals demagogy. "Nazism is invincible" plus "we must give up your high standard of living" equals appeasement. These are big bad words to use in connection with Mrs. Lindbergh's genteel essay, but I let them stand.

ELEANOR ROOSEVELT also talks of reform and sacrifice in her short book "The Moral Basis of Democracy" (Howell, Soskin, $1.50), but the words have a different ring. On the basis of the record of at least twenty years we know what Mrs. Roosevelt means by reform. The sacrifice she asks of every citizen is the time and energy to decide what he believes and, if he believes in democracy, the further time and energy necessary for actual participation in its processes. Mrs. Roosevelt is even more concerned with spiritual values than Mrs. Lindbergh, but there is no talk of lowering living standards. On the contrary, "We must maintain a standard of living which makes it possible for the people really to want justice for all, rather than to harbor a secret hope for privileges because they cannot hope for justice."

JEROME WEIDMAN, author of "I Can Get It for You Wholesale," has written in "Letter of Credit" (Simon and Schuster, $2.75) a sardonic and amusing account of a hard-boiled but very provincial New Yorker's trip around the world in the ominous pre-war months of 1939. The sense o impending catastrophe haunts the book, and serves to point up the characterizations of the people Mr. Weidman met from London to Singapore. These character sketches, as might be expected, are the best things in the book. Those who have traveled long distances alone will also appreciate Mr. Weidman's acute descriptions of the dismal moments in every solitary traveler's progress when he wonders why on earth he ever left home.

I FIND the first issue of *Common Ground* a little solemn in format and content. This is the quarterly magazine to be issued by the Common Council for American Unity. The Council's purposes are to promote "the unity and mutua understanding resulting from common citizenship" and "the acceptance of all citizens, whatever their national or racia origins, as equal partners in American society," and to increase appreciation of what each group has contributed to America. These are high purposes, but it seems to me that *Common Ground* would be more effective if it were cas in popular form. There is not a picture in its hundred o more pages of solid type, though the country is fairly aliv with artists of foreign extraction who should be more than willing to cooperate. It has an impressive list of contributor and many of the articles and stories are excellent; but it is s tightly packed as to be a little forbidding. I may have been spoiled by *Life* but I hope future issues of *Common Groun* will be less grave and more gay.

"YOU KNOW what the Germans did in Paris?" said th prosperous looking gentleman. "People with safety-deposi boxes had to turn over their keys to the Germans and th Germans stole everything." He paused. "That's somethin to keep in mind. If anything happens in this country, you g right down and get the stuff out of your safe-deposit box."

MARGARET MARSHALL

The Master of Strawberry Hill

HORACE WALPOLE: A BIOGRAPHY. By R. W. Ketton-Cremer. Longmans, Green and Company. $3.

REFERENCES to Horace Walpole are usually condescending—or worse—even when his talents and his achievements are being recognized. That is no doubt partly because Macaulay made him the subject of one of his recklessly memorable portraits but also partly because the reasons for Macaulay's distaste have operated pretty generally. Even dilettantes do not usually reserve their greatest admiration for others like themselves, and Horace was always a dilettante even though he was an unusually industrious and capable one. The very fact that he was the exquisite son of a rough and powerful father counts against him. So also does the fact that he was an incorrigible amateur who probably felt that there was a kind of professional competence which a gentleman must avoid acquiring—just as Chesterfield felt the necessity of warning his godson against playing the fiddle too well. All his tastes were minor; they were for decoration and bibelots and curiosities, for historical paradoxes, and antiquarian anecdotes, and contemporary gossip. With some justification a neighbor called Strawberry Hill a "Gothic mousetrap," and though the fact is hardly to be charged against Horace as an individual, any eighteenth-century gentleman who went in for collecting even a cabinet of curios was likely to produce something which looked like a faint anticipation of one of Mr. Ripley's Odditoriums. But Horace's enthusiasm for the Gothic was probably genuine and influential even though his taste was not so very far ahead of that of the times, and he did leave a carefully planned epistolary record of his age which is universally recognized to be able, informative, and delightful.

Mr. Ketton-Cremer's biography is in part frankly a rehabilitation, and within the limits of what it attempts it is highly successful. Horace's faults and absurdities are freely admitted, as is the dominance in him of those tastes and qualities which are commonly called feminine. "He gossiped with old ladies for days on end; he was fond of china and goldfish and little dogs; he committed every architectural absurdity in the building and adornment of his house; he once stuck sweet peas in his hair and sang to a roomful of dowagers at their card tables." He could also on occasion exhibit pettiness and spite which, unlike the pettiness and spite of most people, are the subjects of permanent record. All these things are doubtless sufficient to rule him out as a hero; in fact, a man who deliberately sought detachment, who regarded the possibility that he might fall in love with distaste and even horror, and who invented that extraordinarily penetrating formula "Life is a tragedy to those who feel and a comedy to those who think" was hardly asking to be recognized as of heroic mold. But Mr. Ketton-Cremer clears him —he has been cleared before—of the charge of any shadow of responsibility for the death of Chatterton, who may have been a "marvelous boy" but who was also a swindler with a very far from endearing personality. He also clearly reveals Horace as a man who, despite his failings, was usually more than ordinarily generous, kindly, clever, and amusing.

Though the author has had free access to the great collec-

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University of North Carolina Press
Chapel Hill, N. C.

tion of material in the hands of Mr. W. S. Lewis, one of the editors of the new edition of the letters now in course of publication, he claims no considerable number of important new facts and lays no great stress on revolutionary interpretations. His book, however, is a good deal more than merely entertaining and informative because it is unmistakably the result of a fresh examination of sources by a man who is plainly at home in the eighteenth century and who is writing at familiar first hand even when describing events which have been described before. Even more a portrait than a narrative of events, it is remarkably clear, fresh, and entertaining. Incidentally, and though he does not overwork the theory, Mr. Ketton-Cremer develops at some length and very convincingly a suggestion which has previously been made, namely, that many of Horace's peculiarities are related to the fact that Horace was, as Mr. W. S. Lewis has just recently put it, a mother's boy. It is at least a curious fact that his only serious dramatic work, "The Mysterious Mother," should be a strangely and uncharacteristically intense tragedy on the Oedipus theme, in which the son is, like Oedipus himself, ignorant of the nature of his guilt while the mother is fully aware that her lover is also her son.

Sir Robert Walpole had left Horace exceedingly well provided for, chiefly by means of sinecures which the latter held for life and the holding of which he defended, despite his doubtless somewhat dilettante anti-monarchical principles, on the ground that they were as legitimate as any other base for artificially maintained inequalities. It is, however, worth remembering that even a highly privileged gentleman in that Utopia of privilege, the eighteenth century, did not feel or have any right to feel the "security" which some seem to think was possible in all ages except ours. In 1745 when the threat of the Young Pretender was reaching its height, Horace wrote playfully, but also in earnest, to his friend George Montague:

> Now comes the Pretender's boy, and promises all my comfortable apartments in the Exchequer and Custom House to some forlorn Irish peer who chooses to remove his pride and poverty out of some large unfurnished gallery at St. Germain's. Why really, Mr. Montague, this is not pleasant! I shall wonderfully dislike being a loyal sufferer in a threadbare coat, and shivering in an antechamber at Hanover, or reduced to teach Latin and English to the young princes at Copenhagen.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

The Fall of France

FRANCE UNDER THE REPUBLIC. By D. W. Brogan. Harper and Brothers. $5.

NO SINGLE event in the second World War, and perhaps in the twentieth century, has shaken us more deeply than the fall of France. For France did fall. Poland was invaded, destroyed, enslaved, but did not fall. The German conquerors could not find a single Pole willing to form a government in submission to Germany. Warsaw is in ruins, but the saga of the defense of Warsaw will be the cornerstone of the resurrection of Poland. Norway and the Netherlands were invaded and captured, but they did not
submit; they kept their inner independence, and th
ments carry on the fight with the approval of the
The fall of France became clear when the govern
France, after having declared its fierce resolution t
would be defended to the last man, suddenly fled
and irresolution and the capital of Western civilizat
delivered to the enemy without one resisting shot. Th
of Paris were saved, but the spirit perished. London
wiped out, but the morale of the government and
common people of England will be a monument
English spirit more eternal than stone or steel could e

Many of us have loved France more than any othe
try. For two centuries every liberal on the European co
and in Latin America had two fatherlands—his native
try and France. We loved the country itself and the
of its language, but above all we loved the spirit of F
This spirit was contained for us in the heritage of Des
in the French passion for clarity, for the enlightenm
reason, for tolerance and moderation, for that human
tude for which the Romans had the word *humanitas.* I
for us was the country of the generous dreams of 178
1848, of the ideal of the equality of all men, of the inc
struggle for justice.

In 1870-71 Paris was besieged twice; it was defeated
but it did not fall. *Fluctuat nec mergitur.* How did the
Republic come to so inglorious an end that Frenchmen
proclaim it a crime to have tried to resist the Nationa
cialist flood? For the trials at Riom are not designed
responsibility for the collapse of France but to pillory
who dared to believe that France should maintain its pos
as a great power and preserve its spiritual heritage. C
night France has accepted the outlook and philosoph
the conqueror, has denied its own past. And mankind
lost one of the few great lights on its difficult and dark r

How did that come about? Many books are being wri
about it, but for a real answer one will do well to tur
this book by an English historian, the successor to Er
Barker in the chair of political science at the Universit
Cambridge. Strange as it may seem, there has been no sa
factory history of the Third Republic in any language. At
death hour an Englishman who knows France intimately
loves France passionately presents this story. It is a book
more than 700 large pages; it is the work of a scholar;
the general public will read it with unflagging inter
Although it avoids all scholarly paraphernalia, it gives ca
ful attention to every detail, and it is based on the m
conscientious research and intimate contact. It is not a hist
of French civilization for the last seventy years; it is a pol
cal history of France, but the term "politics" assumes he
its rightful plenitude as the foundation and image of t
whole communal life of a society. On his broad canv
always skilfully integrated, Professor Brogan brings out wi
great clarity and an understanding which is beyond partisa
ship and above acrimony the causes for the fall of Fran
the deep sicknesses and cleavages that operated in the Frenc
body politic long before 1940. It becomes clear from readi
these 700 pages, covering 70 years, that it is futile to accu
the right or the left.

The hour of France's fall has given us a truly great boo
in which the Third Republic lives on, with all its mistake

d all the pettiness of its citizens, but also with all its heroic eatness, its human promise, its fundamental decency. "Of at Western civilization (of which with all its faults we are escapably the children) France has been the main sword d the main shield." A tired hand has dropped the sword; confused mind has sullied the shield. But whatever happens France in the future, our deep gratitude for the immense which France has given to mankind, for being what it en in past centuries, will remain. HANS KOHN

e Poet as an American

T WALKING YANKEE. By Henry Chapin. Howell, Soskin and Company. $2.50.

EMS AND PORTRAITS. By Christopher LaFarge. Coward-McCann. $1.25.

LLECTED POEMS OF KENNETH FEARING. Random House. $2.

MR. CHAPIN'S "West Walking Yankee" is a romance of the American pioneer written no more romantically common sense will permit. His early voyagers are occa- y made to use a speech as high and ponderous as their s, but for the most part the narration is as plain and as their sailors. In the first section of his book there ery properly, passages reminiscent of Elizabethan poetry. efore the seventeenth century is out, the tone is lowered, d the style neatly carries the transition to the eighteenth ntury, when the colonial speech becomes for the first time early marked as American. And again it changes after the st settlers have crossed the mountains, corresponding to a ange in the character of the Americans, who, the seaboard ft behind them, coveted a continent and, setting out across e plains, came, still unsatisfied, to the sight of the Pacific.

All these changes, so conscientiously set down, do not revent a certain monotony. Mr. Chapin, following his pio- eers across the country, has kept, whatever the period, close the vanguard. And one trapper, one Conestoga wagon, is ery like another. The migration which began with the voy- ges of discovery and ended only when there was no further nd to the westward would seem to be of epic proportions. ut in spite of Mr. Chapin's poetic rendering the events main immense and prosaic. "West Walking Yankee" is ot an epic. In part this is the poet's fault, for though he as noted the motives that impelled the pioneers westward, e has not dramatized them. But in part, it must be admitted, ilure is implicit in the material. It contains too many anti- imaxes. We are, with the pioneers, continually setting out r the Land of Promise, and wherever that may be, as one Mr. Chapin's characters remarks, it "certainly ain't Pitts- urgh." And it is with Pittsburgh that we are left.

It is with the panning of gold in California that Mr. hapin brings the West Walking Yankee to a stop. His ng effort of two hundred years to escape the consequences f pride and greed in others ends in his succumbing, all but atural pride lost, to the consequences of his own greed. hough Mr. Chapin draws a moral from this, he does not oint up its irony; he gives us this episode as he has told the st of the story, with matter-of-fact honesty, but without dignation, without severity.

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Mr. LaFarge's "Poems and Portraits" are mostly made up of personal and pastoral loves. His private emotions, though they have had to be recollected in a time without tranquillity, seem to have been tranquil enough. His stream, strictly contained, has known only "petty torrents." It is as an American that he is troubled; it is the rivers of America, no longer at flood, whose subsiding most disturbs him.

> We are the children whose lips have tasted the alkaline,
> bitter
> Water of stagnant liberty.

He is aware of his country, of its past and its present, and aware, too, that in its future lies his fortune. He is indeed so thoroughly an American that he feels no need to be "tempestuous in his statement of it."

In one of his poems Mr. LaFarge puts together as many of the discordant elements that make his America as he can think of, the silly and the sound, Emily Post and Chief Justice Marshall, the hot dog and the sagebrush, the Texas longhorn and Saint Cecilia's Ball. But though something happens as the result of these juxtapositions, the essential for poetry does not happen. The relation that makes it possible to bring all these people and things together on the page is that they are American. It is true; we accept it because it is true, and that is all there is to it. But Mr. La Farge has none of that unpredictable vision which brings separated things together in a way that continues to move us and disturb us.

It is precisely this "madness of vision" that makes practically everything that Kenneth Fearing writes exciting and gives it that disturbing quality that belongs to poetry. He sees red, and what he sees of the "gray, hungry, envious millions" which since the depression are more than ever a part of America has made him mad in the popular sense of the word. In the other, he is only apparently so.

> These, however, are merely close-ups.
> At a distance these eyes and faces and arms,
> Maimed in the expiation of living, scarred in payment, exacted through knife, hunger, silence, exhaustion, regret,
> Melt into an ordered design, strange and significant, and not without peace.

The madness, we begin to see, is in the movement of the images, in which Mr. Fearing has caught something of the meaningless rapidity with which the modern world impinges on the mind.

Mr. Fearing is a poet who can compete in excitement with the journalists and surpass them in that his words have a speed equal to his impressions. He at times seems too closely in competition with them, so rapidly does he pass from a personal anguish to a cold impersonal dismay. What saves him is that in his approach to what he sees "hatred and pity are exactly mixed." He is a product of the depression and somewhat limited to its mood. In his America is more despair than hope, and even hope is ominous. But it is a country in which, while he disclaims his ability to bring miracles to pass, he knows that miracles still occur; where even that mercenary and corrupt fortune-teller—to whom he gives the last word—facing the clients on whose credulity she preys, must still admit

> That always I feel another hand, not mine, has drawn and
> turned the card to find some incredible ace.

JOHN PEALE BISHOP

Portrait of Frank Hague

THE BOSS: MACHINE POLITICS IN ACTION. By Dayton David McKean. Houghton Mifflin Company. $3.

DAYTON McKEAN was elected to the New Jerse Assembly while he was teaching at Princeton. Becaus he was intelligent, courageous, and a liberal his term a Trenton was short. Before he left the State House, however he had accumulated some interesting first-hand observation of the Jersey machine in action which he incorporated into most valuable little book on pressure groups at Trenton. Now he gives us this full-length portrait of Mayor Frank Hagu of Jersey City, the state's foremost one-man pressure group

"The Boss" should be in the hands of those new-foun champions of democracy who go about the country organizing chauvinist cheering sections for the "American way." It is also to be recommended to New Dealers who have thei pictures taken sitting cheek by jowl (very much by jowl) with the Honorable Frank Hague, vice-chairman of th Democratic National Committee. It is not safe reading fo our youngsters who are currently being taught the democrati beatitudes of the two-party system of government, universa suffrage, freedom of speech, and our ingenious device o checks and balances.

Contemplating the remarkable rise of Frank Hague fro hoodlum to His Honor, as faithfully chronicled by Mr. McKean, who can say that the revolting little boy from th tenement in Jersey City's Hook did not follow the "American way"? Here's a political and financial success story tailo made for our go-getters. Frank Hague was manufacturin *Ja* majorities in Hudson County when Adolf Hitler wa a bum in a Vienna flophouse. In his long attachment to hi unhappy bailiwick's pay roll the Mayor has never receive a salary above $8,000 per annum, yet he lives like th millionaire he is in his penthouse apartment on Hudso Boulevard, his summer home at Deal, or his rented villa a Miami Beach, and he owns everything that any other ric man owns with the exception of a yacht.

Dayton McKean was long enough in Jersey politics t know that viewing Frank Hague with alarm or calling hi "the Hudson County Hitler" gets you nowhere except in a probability into Hague's private hoosegow at Secaucus. S Mr. McKean, with a wealth of first-hand data, sets out "t explain how this political leader and his associates came t dominate their community and to describe how their machin operates." Ominously he continues, "What has been don in Jersey City may conceivably be done in any similar American municipality. Frank Hague has no patents on his methods." Whereupon he shows with chapter and verse th Hague's waterfront fascism is by no means incompatib with the run of American party politics.

If I have any quarrel with this racily written story of t humorless illiterate whose shadow falls across one of o most important industrial commonwealths, it is with M McKean's soft handling of Jersey City's so-called "respectab business element." It is the author's contention that "th [the business men] tolerate the machine because they can nothing else." Mr. McKean is frank enough when he dea with the sinister role the Catholic hierarchy plays in t

Hague regime. Why be so easy on the industrialists, business men, and financiers of Haguetown, who have never raised penny to help in organizing a real opposition to the Boss ut on the contrary have ganged up with the Monsignors, he phony veterans' organizations, and the multitudinous ay-rollers against the few fearless souls who dared to buck His Honor?

By and large, though, it was a good job to get the whole f Frank Hague between book covers. Nor would I give the npression that all of it is disheartening reading. Toward he very end there is a note of hope. Mr. McKean quotes Hague as saying, "In the Horseshoe I was born and in the Horseshoe I will die." While the author regards it as more robable that Hague will die at Biscayne Bay, Florida, or his estate at Deal, "unless he spends more time in Jersey City han he has done in recent years," he does express belief in Hague's mortality. After a long experience in fighting Frank Hague it begins to look as though only the Grim Reaper can ead an effective opposition to the Boss.

MCALISTER COLEMAN

Class and Mass

TATE OF THE MASSES. By Emil Lederer. W. W. Norton and Company. $2.50.

THE RAPE OF THE MASSES. By Serge Chatokin. Alliance Book Corporation. $3.

PROFESSOR LEDERER'S posthumously published analysis of the "mass state" is something of a recantation f his Marxist faith. Though Dr. Lederer, who was the dean f the faculty of the "University in Exile," was never a roponent of dictatorship and always belonged to the democratic and liberal wing of Socialist thought, he feels compelled in this book to disavow his previous faith in a "classless society." He is driven to this recantation by his observation of the nature and the fruits of the fascist state. The significance of fascism for him lies in the fact that "for the first time in history mankind must witness not the domination but the destruction of society, the pulverization of all groups, the melting together of all various layers of society into crowds, the transformation of these crowds into one social institution dominated by doctrines intended to guarantee an eternal state in which nothing can change."

The traditional and historical classes of society have rightly affronted our sense of justice, he argues, by the disproportion of their privileges. But we have failed to recognize, until fascism destroyed them, to what degree they were means of integrating society by their disciplines, ideas, and interests; and how far such justice as we have was achieved by the tension and balance of power between these groups. What fascism does is to destroy every subordinate grouping in society; so that the national community is reduced to a "mass" or "crowd" which can become articulate only through a tyrannical leader and which can find unity only in terms of the most primitive emotions. In elaborating this analysis of the character of the "masses" Lederer is obviously indebted to Le Bon's well-known study.

But what has all this to do with Marxism? The answer is that the Marxist hope of a classless society must be seri-

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LITTLE, BROWN

ously called into question by this development, particularly when contemporary communism tends to postpone its final Utopia into an indefinite future and to borrow the aura of this Utopia for its supposedly temporary but remarkably tenacious "dictatorship of the proletariat." "As the dictatorship of the proletariat is not meant as a transitional stage to cope with an emergency, it must in our times transform the population into masses and create a mass-state just as fascist dictatorships do," declares Dr. Lederer. The similarity between Communist and fascist dictatorships is now apparent to all but the robust devotees of the true faith. Nevertheless, the author illumines this similarity from the standpoint of his particular thesis very strikingly.

There are profound insights in this social study, but it raises more questions than it answers and answers some of the questions which it raises very inadequately. Dr. Lederer's conclusions drive him to a reaffirmation of an evolutionary Socialist faith: "Does this mean that we must abandon the idea of an economic democracy? Certainly not. But it means that we must win these goals only through a process of evolution or social transformation, of changes and compromises." Very well; but how are we to get out of the hell which these tyrannical integrations of disintegrated masses have created in modern history? We can't simply start all over again as if this were 1900 instead of 1940. One reason Dr. Lederer does not face that issue is because he assumes that fascist terror and propaganda reduced modern society to this amorphous mass and does not realize to what degree fascism merely accentuated and used a process of disintegration which must be attributed to the mechanical rather than organic means of cohesion in an urban and technical society. The fascists have proved themselves capable of corrupting a whole nation, once they achieve power. But their own power has grown out of a previously existent corruption, revealed particularly in middle-class life.

The author's hope of starting anew on the road to justice by allowing the various classes to make their claims and counter-claims hardly takes account of the fact that the present crisis in Western civilization is at least partly due to such serious disproportions in the economic power of the various classes that the equipoise of social forces envisaged by liberal economic and social theory has been destroyed. Nor is it realistic to regard the economic classes as the primary forces of social cohesion within a national community. One might abolish hereditary social privileges and still allow all kinds of social, cultural, religious, functional, and traditional groups to perform their task of coordinating life and preventing it from falling into the abyss of the atomized "mass." In a modified sense, a "classless" society would seem less incompatible with an organically integrated society than the author assumes, though obviously a dictatorship is incompatible with it.

Serge Chatokin's analysis of the same problem of the relation of fascism to the man in the mass offers striking, though unwitting, corroboration of Lederer's thesis of the similarity of fascist and Communist social practice. After describing the effects of fascist propaganda upon the masses, he comes to the conclusion that its ability to reduce everything to the lowest common denominator is both desirable and necessary.

Chatokin, who seeks to derive a social psychology fro Pavlov's individual psychology, is convinced that huma action "is nothing but a consequence of biological processes. The intellectual level of his theories may be gauged by hi conclusions about the relation of "abstract interests" to wha he defines as the primary instincts of "struggle, nutritio sexuality, and maturity." His conclusions are (1) that "th social idea or the Socialist doctrine . . . derives from th depths of instinct no. 1" (struggle); (2) that "philosoph . . . is an excrescence of psychical phenomena, physiological connected with the function of nutrition"; (3) that "a regards the third, the sexual instinct, no one will deny th art may be interpreted as a sublimation of the feeling o love"; and (4) that there is "nothing astonishing in th logical emergence of the maternal instinct into science. This fourth corollary is established by a tortuous logic whic borders on the ludicrous.

It may be added that Chatokin's book is commended b an extravagant tribute from H. G. Wells, which rather prove previously held suspicions that this old man is in his dotag

REINHOLD NIEBUHR

Presidents and Parallels

THE PRESIDENT MAKERS: THE CULTURE OF POL
TICS AND LEADERSHIP IN AN AGE OF EN
LIGHTENMENT, 1896-1919. By Matthew Josephso
Harcourt, Brace and Company. $3.75.

THE third of Matthew Josephson's colorful studies i American sociological history has in fact comparativel little to do with President makers and a great deal to do wit three Presidents—Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilso directly and at great length, Franklin D. Roosevelt subtl inferentially, and with only one mention of his name. Th one mention, moreover, occurs in the Foreword. I suspe nevertheless that Franklin D. Roosevelt will be very muc in the minds of those who read "The President Makers, and that Mr. Josephson would not have it otherwise.

Josephson's study of Theodore Roosevelt is spirited an much the best part of his book. Although the author n where makes the direct comparison, it is a brilliant portra of a pre-fascist. American finance capital in T. R.'s early da had for the first time come up against mass unrest whic could not be channeled into geographical expansion. T first contact was a shock. T. R. himself was horrified at t Chicago railway strike of 1894, which he feared threaten a duplication of "what had occurred during the Paris Con munes." "I know the Populists and the laboring men we and their faults," he wrote to a friend; "I like to see a m handled by the regulars, or by good State Guards, not ove scrupulous about bloodshed." It was against this kind background that Brooks Adams preached to a coterie young aristocrats, including Roosevelt, that sooner or lat our commercial civilization would be unequal to the compl social problems it would create and would give way to rev lution—all through the weakness of the ruling class. T answer was to strengthen that class by elevating it from i crass materialism through nationalism and the "soldier virtues." Along with this savage animosity against organiz bor ran a contempt for the bungling industrial overlords. The business man dealing with a large political question," id Henry Cabot Lodge (Wendell Willkie please note), s really a painful sight." A glorification of war and race pped off the ideological pattern. Thus Albert Beveridge: We are a conquering race. . . . We must obey our blood id occupy new markets and if necessary new lands." And . R. himself: "No triumph of peace is quite so great as ie supreme triumph of war."

Diluted by the responsibility of office, and still further by ie grossest opportunism, this attitude was never far from . R.'s mind, and his whole conception of the Presidency as that of an aristocratic arbiter appointed to prevent the ch from exploiting the poor and the poor from plunder- ig the rich.

Compared with this approach the New Freedom of Wood- w Wilson was the essence of economic sophistication. oosevelt's philosophy of government was a mixture of iddle-class morality and violence, calling for a highly cen- alized government by the "élite." Wilson's was a neo- ffersonian attempt to break up bigness and extend the ontiers of political democracy. Mr. Josephson, it seems to ie, blurs these differences in a systematic effort to show the itility of capitalistic reform and the inevitability with which ich attempts issue in foreign adventuring.

Thus, according to Mr. Josephson, it was when Teddy oosevelt's bag of domestic tricks thinned out that he took excursions into world affairs, such as arbitration of the usso-Japanese War. Similarly, he argues, Wilson's New Free- om was not stopped by the war; it had already stopped.

> [Wilson] was then in the position of a man who wields great power, yet feels convinced that his mission has nearly been completed, or has reached its natural limits. . . . Such a moment is dangerous. A great part of the work appears to be done, yet the leader is convinced that he must continue to lead if only because he thinks now of his place in history.

The parallel with Franklin D. Roosevelt might normally ccur to the reader at this point, but the author leaves little chance. Repeatedly he emphasizes aspects of the Wilsonian ra, some rather obscure, which call to mind present-day ccusations: Wilson's habitual resort to "noble" phrases in rder to conceal ignoble aims, the bungling attempts at nediating the European quarrel, the visit of House (parallel- ng that of Welles?) to sound out possible peace terms, the xtent to which the press indulged in German "atrocity" tories, the arguments that if Germany won the World War ve would have to become a military nation and that South merica would be endangered by a German victory.

No one can gainsay Mr. Josephson's right to view Amer- ca's entrance into the World War at least partially in these erms, letting interpretations fall where they may. But some ight on where Mr. Josephson would like them to fall is shed y a strange foreword which renders his analysis a shade oo pat for comfort:

> Historical parallels may be vastly instructive, though they must be used with caution. For example, early in the second term of President Franklin D. Roosevelt, toward 1938, the movement of progress showed signs of reaching its natural limits, halting before apparently insurmountable obstacles, in a manner nearly identical with the stoppage of President Wilson's New Freedom program.

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> . . . Once more, by a historical "coincidence" in the midst of domestic crisis, unfinished and unsolved, we turn as a nation to confront the world's wars, the dangers and the opportunities they offer. (At such times, there are always wars on hand.) . . . The clock can be turned back, the large social gains abandoned, as decaying monuments to forgotten victories of peace time.

The point can be argued: Were the achievements of the New Freedom "abandoned" or "forgotten," or did they, as Mr. Josephson himself admits, later flower into the New Deal, just as the New Freedom itself drew on T. R.'s Square Deal? Is there "always a war on hand" just for the convenience of hamstrung reformers? Is exactly one precedent ground even for a hypothesis? Present problems should be threshed out on their merits, and I found myself wishing that Mr. Josephson had not marred a lively and well-documented piece of history by slyly pushing his readers toward a conclusion which is certainly not proved. ROBERT BENDINER

Necktie Party

THE OX-BOW INCIDENT. By Walter Van Tilburg Clark. Random House. $2.

WHEN Gil and Croft ride into Bridger's Wells after the spring round-up to learn that (a) Gil's girl has left town for good, (b) unidentified rustlers have driven off six hundred head of cattle and killed a ranch foreman named Kincaid, and (c) Gil and Croft themselves, as comparative strangers, are not above suspicion, it sounds just like the beginning of any two-gun Western with tough hombres and uneasy trigger fingers. But easy thar, stranger—no sooner have the punchers lined up for a good old-time shooting-bee than the plot turns a startlingly unconventional corner: the book's dominant conflict, which is fought more with words than with Winchesters, grows out of the almost fanatical efforts of Arthur Davies, an elderly merchant, to avert mob violence and preserve the spirit, or failing that at least the forms, of law and order in the pursuit of the rustlers. Unable to hold the mob after it has been illegally deputized by a deputy sheriff, he rides along, in the forlorn hope of insuring a fair trial for anyone who may be captured; but when the improvised posse overtakes three men with some apparently stolen cattle, the overwhelming weight of circumstantial evidence swamps Davies's pleas. There is a perfunctory trial, the gruesome business of lynching is done, and on the way back the sobered and badly shaken avengers meet a party headed by the sheriff and including Kincaid, who was supposed to have been killed, and Drew, a cattleman, who corroborates the victims' story of having purchased the cattle.

The book is noteworthy for its restraint, its deliberately subdued sense of drama, which, like much of his style, Mr. Clark obviously owes to Hemingway. A "Western" in which the people are real people and not just appendages to shooting-irons, "The Ox-Bow Incident" is an adventure story without a hero, a genuine psychological study in a horse-opera setting, with significant overtones drawn from the complex ethics of human justice.

LOUIS B. SALOMON

Realism on the Far East

OUR FUTURE IN ASIA. By Robert Aura Smith. Th Viking Press. $3.

THIS is an amazing book. Issued a few days after th German-Italian-Japanese alliance had challenged ou fundamental interests in East Asia and thereby brought tha area within the zone of our national defense, it has all th freshness of this morning's newspaper. Yet it is no slapdash journalistic job, rushed through the press to meet an emergency situation. It is an extraordinarily careful and thoughtful survey of America's place in the Far East. It is the firs book to deal in any adequate sense with the entire Eas Asian area from the Dutch East Indies to Japan. Much of it content is, it is true, elementary. A whole chapter is give over, for instance, to the economic geography of the Sout China Sea area. This contains little that cannot be found in good school geography, yet it is just what the average perso wants and needs to know about the region.

No one can come away from reading this remarkable boo without a fairly clear understanding of the importance o Southeastern Asia for the United States. As it points ou we buy more from three colonies in the South China Se region than from the whole of South America. Our trad with the Philippines alone outranks our trade with Brazi Argentina, or any other South American country. We depen on the South Seas for such strategic raw materials as rubbe tin, coffee, tea, and vegetable oils, which are not available i adequate quantity in any other part of the world. Of th eighteen raw materials essential to our national defens which are not to be found in sufficient quantity in the Unite States, ten are major products of the South China Sea are

There are those who will charge Mr. Smith with bein imperialistic because of his constant stress upon the impo tance of American interests in Asia. Certainly no one h argued the case for defending these interests more powe fully than he has in this book. Yet he is deeply consciou of the interests of others as well. And he is undeniably co rect in pointing out that the future of the Filipinos and th Chinese will be best served, under present conditions, if th United States adopts a strong policy in defense of its ow interests. Such a policy would require first of all that w immediately stop all economic aid to the Japanese w machine. Mr. Smith complains of the hollowness of ou present so-called embargo and pleads for a more drast measure. He is under no illusion that such a step will chec the mad drive of the Japanese militarists, but neither do he minimize its effect. The next thing to do, he declare is to clarify the Philippine situation by making it quite de nite that outright political and military independence impossible in the near future. Then, after strengthening o naval and aerial defenses in the Far East, we should be in position to render really effective aid to the Chinese, wh have been fighting America's battle just as Britain has be fighting it on the other side of the world.

This program may be subjected to violent attack in son quarters, but even those who are most opposed to it shou be grateful to Mr. Smith for his forceful, realistic present tion of the basic issues of Far Eastern policy.

MAXWELL S. STEWART

DRAMA

The Fool Made Perfect

ACCORDING to John Dryden your really outstanding nitwits are hose who "help nature's work, and go to school, To file and finish God A'mighty's fool." He can, of course, hardly have been thinking of Ed Wynn even though Mr. Wynn has been puttering hopelessly about stages longer than I can remember, but he would have thought about him if Ed Wynn had been there to be thought about, and it all just goes to show that the classics, being eternally apropos, ought to be the foundation of all education. No doubt God A'mighty gave Mr. Wynn his long foolish face, but to Mr. Wynn himself must be assigned the credit for having learned how to live up to it.

While thousands of people with no aptitude for the tasks they were setting themselves struggled hopelessly through the years trying to acquire grace and poise and competence, Mr. Wynn was divesting himself of these qualities. While they were reading the "How to" books, he was making himself master of the art of How not to. While they were failing to learn coherence in public speaking or the most effective way of telling an anecdote, he was perfecting the skill with which he gets hopelessly entangled in his own efforts at exposition or tells a story the intended point of which grows steadily more obscure until, by what appears to be a glorious inadvertence, a disconcerting point, apparently as far from the speaker's intention as it was from the hearer's expectation, suddenly emerges. The result of all this is, of course, that in a world full of people continuing to make after-dinner speeches, play the piano, and speak French just as badly as their friends expected they would Mr. Wynn has at last actually become what he began some years ago to proclaim himself—the Perfect Fool.

There are, I suppose, persons who do not think that he is funny. Abstractly I am willing to agree that since taste is unpredictable and no virtue or vice necessarily implies any other, such persons may love their mothers and be loyal citizens, but this concession is purely one of theory. In practice I would not trust either the taste or the character of anyone who did not agree with me that Mr. Wynn's new show, "Boys and Girls Together" (Broadhurst Theater) is the best that he ever appeared in and as delightful an evening of sheer fun as it is possible to imagine. It is not—God forbid—that he has developed any new style or method: he is the same amiably incompetent master of ceremonies, pathetically eager to establish a rapport with his audience and only vaguely aware that he is not making his point or achieving the results intended, the same incurably hopeful enthusiast miraculously muddling through and eternally surprised both at the difficulties in which he gets involved and at the lucky chances that enable him to get out of them. His duck-hunting expedition is, if possible, a little goofier than anything he ever previously imagined, and there are stories he has to tell quite as involved and surprising as the saga he composed many years ago concerning the parrot which laid square eggs.

That particular tale is not any better—and this is high praise indeed—than the one in the present production of a young married couple who go to live with their parents who were still living with *their* parents. Nor, to discuss a somewhat different genre, is his current account of the previous experience of the members of his company or his also current story of the deaf young lady who could not hear her swain's proposal of marriage until he produced a diamond ring (she was not stone deaf) one whit less absorbing than the one he used to tell about the hard-hearted farmer father of the little bootblack who continues making hay while the son shines. This particular sort of tale, which seems to be Mr. Wynn's own invention, I can describe only by saying that it is a sort of verbal equivalent of those complicated mechanical devices which Goldberg draws and Joe Cook used to realize physically on the stage. A tremendously elaborate machinery is set in motion; it lumbers with fantastic inefficiency toward its ostensible end; and then suddenly it collapses because its creator has perpetrated sabotage by carelessly dropping a fearfully elaborate but unintended pun into the works. Only Mr. Wynn could imagine anything as far-fetched as the tale that his company was recruited exclusively from show-boats, and imagine it in order to arrive ultimately at an unexpected remark about the cast being bred upon the waters.

He is also the only star comedian I know who does not seem to be either too much or too little on the stage. He

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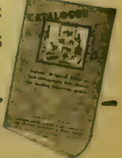

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has not failed to provide a company including half a dozen excellent and well-known performers, and he gives them ample opportunity to exhibit their talents, but he himself is almost always present watching them with sympathetic interest or, occasionally, getting himself hopelessly involved in an effort to be helpful—as he does in one of the most excruciating scenes of all, wherein his unwelcome presence somewhere in the midst of the tangle devised by two athletic contortionists is agonizingly funny. Probably "Boys and Girls Together" will be very popular indeed, but in my opinion it is worth even a ticket scalper's prices.

Joseph Daltry's "Lyric Opera Company," which is presenting a repertory of Gilbert and Sullivan opera at the Forty-fourth Street Theater, got a pretty consistently chilly reception from the press. It is composed of a pleasantly youthful group which sings very agreeably, but it is a bit amateurish so far as the acting and the staging are concerned.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

RECORDS

AT THE head of Victor's October list I would place Volume 7 of the Haydn Quartet Society (Set 689, $7.50). Opus 74 No. 1 is enjoyable; Opus 50 No. 6 has a fine first movement and a marvelous slow movement; but Opus 64 No. 3 is one of those works in which Haydn's high spirits raise his inexhaustible invention, his humor, his audacity to sheer incandescence. The early Opus 3 No. 4, which has some charming passages, provides an occasion for the unprofitably perverse and quarrelsome Cecil Gray—whose booklet for the set Victor has reprinted—to pick a fight with Tovey about its form; and since Tovey listened to the work to hear what was in it but Gray listened to discover anything at all that he might throw at Tovey, Tovey came away with a more accurate idea of the form than Gray. The performances of the Pro Arte Quartet are fair.

Ernest Bloch's Hebrew Rhapsody, "Schelomo," for 'cello and orchestra, which offers highly impressive pages and somewhat unconcentrated structure, comes to us in the performance by Feuermann and the Philadelphia Orchestra under Stokowski (Set 698, $3), with Stokowskian tonal magnificence, a Stokowskian tautness that counteracts the looseness of structure, and playing by Feuermann that is characteristic in its beauty of sound and phrasing and finish, as well as its lack of the sharpness and bite which some portions of the work need. I am still hoping for a recording of Bloch's "Voice in the Wilderness," which impressed me as his finest work a few years ago; and what I hope for is a recording made by an orchestra and 'cellist under Bloch's own direction.

Mendelssohn's "Scotch" Symphony, which is not the minor masterpiece that his "Italian" is, but which is a fin minor work, gets a first-rate performance by the Rochester Philharmoni under Iturbi (Set 699, $4.50). The performance seems well recorded, thoug it is hard to be sure with all the chatte from the surfaces of my review set.

I recall what the exquisite taste an grace of Schnabel's performance accomplished with another minor work— Weber's Piano Sonata in A flat; an the loveliness of certain pages is to b heard also in Cortot's recorded performance (Set 703, $3.50), though in th lesser degree achieved by his mor crudely "romantic" style, with its exaggerated nuances of pace and tone. Another piano record offers excellent performances by George Copeland of tw short pieces—Turina's Fandango Opu 79 No. 5, and Villa-Lobos's Saudade das Selvas Brasileiras No. 2—that ar inconsequential.

Helen Traubel's voice, as revealed o her record of "Dich, teure Halle" from "Tannhäuser" and "Divinités du Styx from "Alceste" (17268, $1), has youthful freshness and power, but also strong tremolo which indicates defectiv production and leads me to fear tha after a few years of singing Wagner th voice will sound like Marjorie Lawrence's on her record of Richar Strauss's songs "Lied an meine Sohn" and "Des Dichter's Abendgang (17230, $1)—that is, with the youthful freshness gone and the power an tremolo left. The Strauss songs themselves I do not find interesting. Huld Lashanska's singing of Schubert, Brahm Strauss, and Wolf (Set 612, $3.50 which I did not hear until now, is completely undistinguished; but Maria Ku renko's singing of some fine songs b Tschaikovsky, in her recent album (67 $4), is excellent.

Not everything that Irving Kolodi has assembled in "The Critical Composer" (Howell, Soskin, $2) is wort the trouble; but there are interestin extracts from the writings of Berlio Wagner, Tchaikovsky, Wolf, and Debussy. And children who are enjoyin Prokofiev's "Peter and the Wolf" ma like the little book with the text, th themes, and pictures by Warren Chappell (Knopf, $2).

B. H. HAGGIN

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Letters to the Editors

Shall Fascism or Democracy Change the Rules?

Dear Sirs: After reading Charles E. Noyes's article Nazi Challenge to Democracy in *The Nation* for September 4, I am unable to make out what Mr. Noyes thinks is wrong with "conventional" capitalism other than that it works very badly. Such phrases as "eliminating scarcity value" and "operating on an economy of abundance" merely beg the question; and it appears that profits, ownership of the means of production, and the class struggle are all ruled out. Since I don't know what he thinks is wrong, I am equally in the dark about what he thinks fascism has done or democracy might do to effect a cure.

According to my view of these problems, the basic weakness of capitalism, considered purely in its economic aspect, is the extreme inequality of income, which results in relatively restricted consumption by the masses and a relatively large volume of saving by the wealthy. Only under favorable conditions with respect to demographic, territorial, and technological expansion is it possible for the savings of the wealthy to find outlet in income-creating investment. When such conditions are lacking, as they have been for the last ten years and give every indication of being in the visible future, either chronic stagnation of economic activity sets in or the rules of the game have to be changed.

Changes in the rules may take the form of collective action designed to effect a drastic redistribution of income. But unfortunately for this method, the pattern of income distribution is based squarely on the private ownership of the means of production, the very essence of capitalism, which it is the sacred duty of constitutions, laws, officials, and solid citizens alike to protect. A substantial redistribution of income under capitalism has never been attempted and does not appear likely.

Alternatively, changes in the rules may take the form of collective action designed to find outlets for the savings of the wealthy while leaving the private ownership of the means of production undisturbed. Warlike activities offer the best available outlet: first, because they absorb huge quantities of savings directly; second, because if they are successful they open up new fields for investment at the expense of the vanquished; and, third, because they increase the internal power of the ruling class and weaken the resistance of the dispossessed.

Germany, under the Nazis, has adopted the second method of curing the economic weakness of capitalism. That there has been an almost complete fusion of economic and political power at the top should not be allowed to obscure the true meaning of German fascism. No important change has been wrought in the ownership of the means of production, in the distribution of income based thereon, or in the basic class structure of society. The future of Nazism depends, of course, on military success or failure. If Nazi ambitions—which, in the nature of the case, know no limits short of world domination—are realized, the system can be stabilized on the basis of universal tribute to the conquerors. This will no doubt involve an increase in living standards for all Germans, a development which would both accord with the imperatives of Nazi race theory and act as an effective guaranty against revolution at home. But for the rest of the world it will mean unrelenting oppression and exploitation.

The dilemma of the United States is this: that the menace of Nazi imperialism may force us to take the same road that the Nazis themselves have traveled. Our armament program has just begun; as it expands there will be an end to economic stagnation just as there was in Germany. Our own ruling class will, if it can, seize the opportunity to impose upon us a regime indistinguishable in principle from that which has been imposed upon the German people. And then, if the Nazis are so far successful, will come the great struggle to decide whether the world shall be ruled by German or American exploiters.

The question for true democrats is not, as Mr. Noyes seems to believe, whether "democracy" can match the economic efficiency of Nazi Germany. Given a comparable expansion of war industries there need be no fear on that score. The real question is whether democracy itself can survive the effort to resist Nazi expansion. If it can, it will be only because there is still time for the people to gain secure control over the whole defense program and to organize a successful resistance to fascism both at home and abroad. If that is done, it may be confidently predicted that in the future the way to economic progress will lie along the road of redistributing income and increasing the consumption of the dispossessed and underprivileged. PAUL M. SWEEZY

Cambridge, Mass., October 4

A New Reformation

Dear Sirs: I write to thank *The Nation* for printing Charles E. Noyes's Nazi Challenge to Democracy. It is a relief to read a quiet discussion of what may be ahead in Germany, where private capital may permanently give way to state control.

The Nazis challenge the democracy of private capital, but let us also think of democracy as the right of each individual to a proper share in the wealth of the community, to adequate food, shelter, health, education, culture. Looking at the Soviet Union we find that the ability to plan for the country as a whole has brought astonishing success. If we remember czarist Russia and then look at the same territory today we find the emancipation of women and of races, educational and cultural accomplishment, free medical aid to all, and an increase in wealth and comfort so enormous that it can only be accounted for by the establishment of a new economic system.

Nothing approximating these improvements can come out of Germany under its present government because it starts out by declaring that its benefits shall only go to the Aryan and to the man before the woman. But even then this limited group of workers must benefit from the greater efficiency of production that comes with government control of wealth.

We of the middle class do not sufficiently recognize, or at any rate acknowledge, that we have failed. Since the Reformation we have had the upper hand on this earth, and present-day conditions have been brought about by us. Perhaps another Reformation is at hand, and the proletarian is now the protestant. He may seize our land and hurl our saints from their niches. And we shall fight back, for men fight for their own interests and their own gods.

But some of us know that we deserve to be beaten. The poor will not inherit the earth under our leadership. Let us then step aside, perhaps be kicked aside, and see what others can do. Certainly let us not rail against the younger generation as Waldo Frank did in *The Nation.* We made the world for them; they may make a more humane one.

MARY WHITE OVINGTON

Alford, Mass., October 2

Misplaced Alarm

Dear Sirs: The editorial report in your September 28 issue on the New York State C. I. O. convention carries in it implications which impel me to view with alarm. Three things about it bother me: your attempt to balance "right-wing" and "left-wing" blame evenly, with an "on the one hand, on the other" motif; the statement that "there is no way of getting at the truth"; and finally, a definite acceptance of the third-term issue as the touchstone of judgment.

I realize the grave dangers involved in blame-placing. Nevertheless, the liberal press must brave these perils to be of service to all labor. I should like to suggest the following points, based on information obtained from all available sources:

For days before the Rochester convention the press gave heavy play to statements by Louis Hollander, Amalgamated vice-president, that his union was going to Rochester committed to a last-ditch fight on Communists. He also emphasized the pending third-term resolution, indicating a clear resolve to brand in advance all opposition as Communist. Thus, it seems to me, the split was created by loose talk and looser unionism before the convention ever got going. You "note the compelling external evidence, that the left-wingers could have avoided the split." The evidence, on the contrary, points to a definite pre-convention barrage designed to make the split unavoidable.

You neglected to go to the heart of the controversy over the seating of delegates. The credentials committee, weighted on the "right-wing" side, denied seats to ninety-one delegates because, the report said, they represented "paper unions." This subterfuge, ridiculous on its face, convinced the unseated unions that the situation could not be compromised.

Your greatest mistake, I believe, is overemphasis of the third-term issue. Certainly you wouldn't contend that all unionists opposed to Roosevelt are Communists, yet you tread dangerously close to it. The danger lies in pressing the third-term issue falsely, just as resolutions about Russia have been utilized to split unions where no "red peril" existed. Some people just don't like resolutions, you know.

Labor's big job is to guard itself against all attempts to break its strength. I think the Hollander-Hillman faction deserves blame, and that you should have said so.

FRITZ SILBER

New York, October 1

[(1) Mr. Silber has misread our editorial comment if he thinks we tried to "balance 'right-wing' and 'left-wing' blame evenly." Our conclusion was that "the left-wingers could have avoided the split." (2) The left wing itself introduced a pro-third-term resolution a year and a half ago and has been responsible for countless resolutions on political and foreign affairs, certainly without the objection of those who now coyly hint that they "don't like resolutions." Do they think that advance notice gives a minority the right to withdraw rather than take a beating on the floor? Or would they have liked it better if Mr. Hollander had kept silent before the convention and sprung the resolution without warning? (3) The provisional report of the credentials committee barred some delegates on the ground that they represented defunct, or "paper," unions, but Mr. Silber neglects to say that in the overwhelming number of cases, including that of the American Newspaper Guild, "paper unionism" was not the issue; the delegates were *temporarily* barred because the committee had good reason to investigate their credentials, though it finally seated all ninety-one. (4) We don't know where Mr. Silber gets the fantastic and irrelevant notion that we "tread dangerously" close to contending that all anti-Roosevelt trade unionists are Communists. (5) If Mr. Silber believes that the main issue at Rochester was not the reelection of Roosevelt he not only flies in the face of all the evidence but disagrees with the bolting Guild delegates whom he defends. In his report to the New York Guild their chairman devoted more than half his attention to a blistering attack on the President. (6) We agree with what Mr. Silber says about labor's need to guard itself "against all attempts to break its strength." The least effective way to guard against disunity, it seems to us, is to bolt a convention when you find yourself in a minority.—EDITORS THE NATION.]

Faith Above Conscription

Dear Sirs: Universal military service did not save France from the most disastrous defeat in its history. Nor will i save from defeat any democracy in which a people has lost faith. To a democracy whose house is in order universal military service may be a means of defense. To a democracy whose affairs are in confusion it may prove the best means of attacking it.

To restore faith in our democracy by putting our house in a democratic not a fascist, order is the first indispensable step to defense. Neglect of this may mean a formidable defense for a United States that is no longer a democracy.

FRANK D. SLOCUM

New York, October 1

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FREDA UTLEY was in the Chinese war zone in 1938 as correspondent for the London *News Chronicle.* She is the author of "China at War."

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MORTON DAUWEN ZABEL, autho of "Literary Opinion in America," will soon bring out a book on nineteenth century poetry.

HANS KOHN, professor of modern European history at Smith College, i the author of "Revolution and Dictatorships."

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THE *Nation*

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The Shape of Things

EVERY TIGHT-ROPE WALKER HAS HIS BAD days, and perhaps we should not be too hard on the New York *Herald Tribune* for falling on its face. For years now its editors have performed a rather remarkable feat: though their typical reader has been a conservative commuter from Westchester, they have flaunted and on the whole lived up to the line from Voltaire which appears on the correspondence page. Last Monday, however, the commuter overcame Voltaire, and in a burst of blind suburban rage the sophisticated editors of the *Herald Tribune* suppressed a column by Dorothy Thompson which appeared as usual in at least a hundred other newspapers. On the previous Wednesday Miss Thompson had come out for Mr. Roosevelt, and the *Herald Tribune* seemed to be taking her heresy in its stride, though it printed column after column of letters from outraged readers, an alarming number of which called for the suppression of "that woman" who had come out for "that man" in the White House. Miss Thompson's column, ran the explanation of its non-appearance, "was devoted to an incomplete and inconclusive discussion of the Axis powers' attitude toward the American Presidential election. Taken by itself it seemed . . . misleading, tending to inject into the campaign an un-American issue." The explanation hinted that the column might yet be printed provided the "full development" of its thesis was forthcoming. It may have appeared by the time these lines are read. But the *Herald Tribune* has accomplished two things: it has injected into the campaign the "un-American issue" of censorship; and it has given Miss Thompson's point of view an even wider circulation than it might otherwise have had.

*

DAVID SAPOSS HAS BEEN DISMISSED AND THE Economic Research Division of the National Labor Relations Board has been abolished. So ends one of Dies's pet campaigns to make America safe for violators of the Wagner Act. The persecution of David Saposs on the ground that he is a Communist despite conclusive evidence to the contrary may stand as a memorial to the Texan's rugged imperviousness to fact. It also offers vivid commentary on his real objectives. Thanks to the bogy which Dies and the Smith committee fashioned from the mild figure of a noted scholar in economics and labor history, the board's personnel has been cut twice this year. At a time when the volume of its work shows an increase of almost 20 per cent, the board's staff and appropriation have been reduced by 10 per cent. Had it not been for a last-minute fight by Senator Wagner, the rider to the Deficiency Appropriation bill which eliminated the Economic Research Division would have crippled enforcement of the act. For as passed by the House, this rider forbade the board to carry on any of the division's functions. This was too much even for a tory Democrat like Woodrum, who helped Wagner obtain a safeguarding clause in conference committee. Senators Barkley, McKellar, and Adams also deserve labor's thanks for the aid they gave to Wagner.

*

WENDELL WILLKIE HAS BECOME SO LAVISH with his pledges that one wonders whether he has any expectation of having to redeem them. He promises to retain all the social gains of the New Deal. In addition, he has guaranteed a job in private industry to every unemployed man by undertaking to get 700,000 new enterprises started. This means an addition of some 35 per cent to the number of business concerns filing internal-revenue returns—a pretty tall order. He is not very specific, however, about how the new investment which such a business expansion would require is going to be brought about. One gathers that the principal agency is to be our old friend "growth of confidence." According to Mr. Willkie, capital refuses to go to work, not because of New Deal legislation—he approves of nearly all that—but because of the administrative errors of the New Dealers and their defeatist doctrines. Roosevelt's administrative record is certainly not perfect. But how many of the breakdowns have been caused by the persistent efforts of Mr. Willkie's business friends to nullify, circumvent, and sabotage the law? As to the charge of defeatism, this is the favorite theme of the

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reactionary press, which accuses New Dealers of losing faith in America because they declare that private enterprise has become stagnant. Attacking this belief, Mr. Willkie states, quite correctly, that a huge increase in production could be brought about by raising the standard of living. But he fails to recognize the relation of this huge volume of unfilled needs to the maldistribution of wealth. No one lacking understanding of the vicious circle into which private enterprise has worked itself can hope to cure unemployment, which, let us not forget, was a problem in 1929 when capitalist confidence was at its height.

*

COMMUNIST PARTY CANDIDATES HAVE BEEN barred from the ballot in eleven states—Arizona, Arkansas, Georgia, Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, Kentucky, Ohio, Tennessee, Washington, and West Virginia. In four states action was taken on the ground that the party favors overthrow of the American form of government; in others fraud in obtaining signatures to petitions was advanced as the reason. Grim stories have been authentically reported from all parts of the country illustrating the lawless and often violent methods that have been used to intimidate those who sign Communist petitions and to frame those who canvass for signatures. Such behavior is more dangerous to American democracy than the Communist Party ever was. No one who has been reading *The Nation* can believe that we think highly of the Communists, and we are filled with contempt for their thinly veiled efforts to keep the Socialists off the ballot in Illinois. But these are not the issues at stake. The old truth still holds that in an atmosphere of contempt for the law protection vanishes not only for Communists but for all of us. Vigilantes are notoriously unable to tell a single-taxer from an anarchist at five paces. The American people may one day decide that the Communist Party has cashed in a bit too much on this truth and that because of its slavish dependence on a foreign power it is unworthy of a place on the ballot. If and when they do, the party will be automatically and legally barred. Until then democrats owe it to themselves to cooperate with such organizations as the Committee on Election Rights (100 Fifth Avenue, New York) and the American Civil Liberties Union in defending the right of Communists to present their candidates to the electorate.

*

TWENTY HONEST AND EARNEST YOUNG Christian pacifists at the Union Theological Seminary in New York have refused to register for the draft—even as conscientious objectors. Their purity of heart is transparent, but their intellectual condition seems to us a little cloudy. The draft act not only makes provision for excusing from active service all sincere religious objectors; it also specifically exempts ministers and students for the ministry whether their consciences demand it or not. But this very liberality is at the heart of the students' defiance. They don't want to be exempted. They want to object. And since the act deprives them of that opportunity, they are forced by the logic of their hatred for war and conscription to resist the one obligation laid upon them—the obligation to register. By taking this stand, which seems to us a form of libertarianism perilously close to anarchism, the students expose themselves to rigorous penalties. We don't know whether or not, in arriving at this stand, they have been counseled by pacifist or other organized groups. If so, we think a heavy responsibility rests on the shoulders of their advisers. It is the boys and not they who will go to jail.

*

IF MAYOR JOSEPH K. CARSON OF PORTLAND, Oregon, is nominated to succeed Rear Admiral Henry A. Wiley on the United States Maritime Commission, we hope the Senate will order an open hearing before voting on confirmation. Mayor Carson is not so well known as he should be, but his career is well documented. The Labor Board decision in the Oregon Worsted Company case, the La Follette committee's report on the use of industrial munitions in strikes, its printed record of the labor-espionage activities of William J. Burns, the decision of Dean Landis in the Bridges case, the testimony of the Portland chief of detectives before the Dies committee on December 7, 1938, and the minutes of the public hearing held by the Portland City Council on the shooting of four pickets by police during the 1934 longshoremen's strike—these are all relevant, and revealing. Carson is both mayor and commissioner of police, and an examination of the material referred to indicates that he has been willing to go the limit in strike-breaking. The Senate may find particularly interesting the peculiar "bomb plot" and the more peculiar attitude of the Portland police toward it, as discussed in the Labor Board decision cited above. West Coast Congressmen in Washington have been quietly informed that "Carson's the man" to be named for the Maritime Commision vacancy, and the chambers of commerce on the coast are jubilant. The maritime unions, naturally, are doing their best to make that jubilation premature.

*

ALTHOUGH ANTI-FASCIST REFUGEES ARE encountering unprecedented difficulties in entering the United States, this country appears to have opened its gates to royalty and ex-royalty from all parts of Europe. No one so far as we know has attempted a census or registration of resident royalty. But among those present are the former Empress Zita of Austria, her sons Archduke Otto and Archduke Felix, and a daughter, the Archduchess Elizabeth. Others are Prince Felix of Luxembourg and his six children, who came on an American cruiser, and Crown Princess Martha of Norway and her children, who came on an army transport. Among the lesser lights is Countess Alexander Mercati, whose husband was grand marshal of the court of Greece. And the latest, but by no means least offensive, is Prince René de Bourbon of France, who has just arrived to join the Princess. In an hour's discourse with the press Prince René volunteered the opinion that "France had had her fill of a republic dominated by the masses and would return to a monarchical form of government." His attack on the fundamentals of democracy is particularly interesting in view of the zeal recently shown in Washington to exclude members of radical parties as potential members of a fifth column. We do not suggest the exclusion of royal refugees no matter how obnoxious their views may be, but it is fantastic that they should be given the asylum that is denied those who have sacrificed everything in the struggle against the new tyranny in Europe.

*

CUBA'S DICTATOR, FULGENCIO BATISTA, HAD his six-year rule legitimized last week when he was sworn in as the island's first President under the new constitution. Last-minute efforts by opposition groups to have the inaugural delayed until the protests against July's farcical elections were cleared up proved fruitless. In insisting on taking office on the date set in the new constitution, Colonel Batista overrode the provision in the constitution that the President shall be proclaimed by Congress. Owing to numerous unsettled protests, only a few members of Congress have been authorized to assume office. This prevented Congress from assembling as scheduled in September, a mishap of no real consequence since power under the constitution is concentrated largely in the hands of the President and his Cabinet. The next few months should provide, if nothing else, an interesting test of the sincerity of Batista's avowed conversion to liberal democracy from his former totalitarian practices.

*

THE STATE OF FRANCE BECOMES MORE AND more pathetic. In his latest speech Marshal Pétain was supposedly informing his fellow-countrymen about their new constitution, but he failed to reveal any concrete particulars about the regime of the future. Instead, he indulged in those misty generalizations characteristic of fascist thought. He dismissed liberty as a worthless abstraction and equality as a false ideal, but promised a new national fraternity under a government which was to achieve the miraculous combination of liberty and authority. France, he said, had recognized the bankruptcy of economic liberalism and would now embark on the new economy, without, however, engaging in "a servile imitation of foreign experiments." With such vaporings the French people must content themselves until the end of the war, for only then, according to Foreign Minister Paul Baudouin, will the new constitution actually be promulgated. This, at least, is realism, for it is abundantly clear that if Germany wins the war, the political and economic future of France will be prescribed in Berlin, and neither Pétain nor any other Frenchman will have anything to say but *Ja*. Pétain himself admitted this, in effect, when he appealed to the conquerors for generosity, saying, "Germany can choose between the traditional peace of oppression and a wholly new peace of collaboration. . . . In the presence of a conqueror who knows how to dominate his victory we shall know how to dominate our defeat." As the old Marshal said once before in a momentary flash of honesty, the Nazis have put a cord around his neck and are constantly pulling tighter.

Drang Nach Osten

AS GERMAN troops and arms pour into Rumania, the outline of the strategy agreed upon by Hitler and Mussolini at the Brenner becomes fairly clear. Bucharest is important as a station on the way to Suez, but as a barricade against any further Russian advance in Europe it is vital. And if the British position in the Near East is to be outflanked, an essential preliminary is to forestall any possibility of Soviet interference. The planting of strong military and air forces at the mouth of the Danube is both a warning and challenge to Stalin, and the expressive silence of the Moscow press bears testimony to the extent of the dilemma in which the Kremlin now finds itself.

When Russia marched into Bessarabia at the end of June, Germany was successfully concluding the Battle of France and preparing for another *Blitzkrieg* across the Channel which, it was hoped, would bring the war to an end before the fall. Hence Berlin, while obviously displeased by the Soviet move, chose to pretend that it had been consulted beforehand and had given its approval. Meanwhile Rumania's other neighbors with territorial claims against it, Hungary and Bulgaria, started to turn on the heat. They received some encouragement from Germany, but the latter made it clear that its chief desire was to avoid any disturbance in the Balkans. At one point Berlin is believed to have declared that the Transylvanian question must remain in abeyance until after the war. Then, at the end of August, incidents began to multiply along the new Russo-Rumanian border, and a new Soviet advance seemed imminent. At that moment the Axis, with hope of a speedy victory in the West fading, ordered the Hungarian and Rumanian governments to submit their dispute to arbitration, and the Vienna award was promulgated. This handed over the whole Carpathian wall to Hungary and provided Rumania with a full guaranty of its remaining borders.

Writing in *The Nation* on September 14, Louis Fischer foretold the occupation of Rumania by the Reichswehr and pointed out that Germany was now in a position to put light naval forces on the Black Sea. "If Russia accepts the new situation passively," he said, "Soviet expansion in the Balkans is at an end." There was no immediate reaction from Moscow, but also there was no immediate movement of Nazi troops down the Danube. This was because the Axis was attending to another detail—the completion of the tripartite pact, which not only offered a threat to the United States but also neatly isolated the Soviet Union.

The dangers of appeasing Hitler must by now be fairly obvious to Stalin. It is true that the Nazi-Soviet pact has brought some large rewards by making possible the reincorporation of most of the lost czarist domains. But important as these gains are, the price was heavy if it means a threat to the security of Russia's own *mare nostrum*—the Black Sea. Nor is this security menaced merely by German forces at the mouth of the Danube. Much more serious is the probability that Hitler's grand strategy will necessitate an early attempt to seize the Dardanelles. If he succeeds, Russia's only remaining open window to the west will be Murmansk, and in this connection the concentration of German troops reported in the far north of Norway appears ominous.

It is hardly surprising that in these circumstances there are rumors of a defensive alliance among Turkey, Greece, and Yugoslavia, with Russia participating in the negotiations. Yet it would also be surprising if these talks achieved any convincing results. Yugoslavia is almost wholly surrounded now by Axis forces, and Greece, already threatened by Italy from Albania, may at any moment be attacked in the rear by Bulgaria, which is hoping to win access to the Aegean and is willing to pay a stiff price for Axis assistance. Assured of real support from Russia, Turkey would perhaps go to the aid of Greece, and almost certainly the Turks will fight if their own soil is invaded. They have a fairly large army of good fighting quality, but their material is no match for that of the Germans, and without strong support they could hardly hope to hold the Straits for very long. But where is that support to come from? Britain presumably can lend some naval aid, but only Russia can provide really effective assistance.

That Russia has a paramount interest in keeping the Straits out of German hands is beyond dispute. Yet it is very doubtful whether Stalin is ready to risk war with the Axis at this time. That would mean a test of the Soviet army, the Soviet economy, and the Soviet leadership which he may well wish to postpone, hoping the prolonged British resistance will eventually provide a more favorable opportunity.

Free Speech and Ford

THE National Labor Relations Board has won two more major victories in the courts. The United States Circuit Court of Appeals in Boston has upheld its order against Bethlehem Steel, and the Circuit Court in Cincinnati has granted enforcement of its order against Ford in the Dearborn case. But the Circuit Court in Cincinnati ruled against the board on one of the points raised in the Dearborn case, and this exception, if upheld by the Supreme Court, threatens to open a loophole of considerable size in the Wagner Act. The exception involves the question of the limits of an employer's freedom of speech in labor relations, and the court's interpretation of this right seems to us dangerously broad. The facts and the issues involved have been so distorted in the daily press as to demand careful consideration at this time.

The Labor Board order, which the Cincinnati court declines to enforce, did not forbid Ford to say anything he liked about unionism. It merely required him to desist from circulating his views on labor unions among his employees in a manner calculated to interfere with their right to organize themselves as they pleased. The order was issued because the circumstances under which anti-union literature was distributed in the Ford plant and the manner in which it was distributed seemed to the board part of a campaign to prevent Ford workers from joining a union. The literature containing Ford's views was given out while a campaign to organize the plant was under way. Ordinarily at the Ford plant literature is placed in boxes near the entrance, and employees are free to take it or not. In this case members of Ford's strong-arm squad, the so-called "service department," forced every employee to take a copy. The uncontradicted testimony showed that workers took the literature because they were afraid that if they didn't their number would be noted, and they might be discharged. The conditions of terrorism and espionage under which Ford employees work and the discriminatory discharges common in his plants made that fear appear to the board as a reasonable one. The "service men" handing out the literature were the same men who have handed out the beatings to union members. When they give an employee an anti-union leaflet by Ford, it is not likely to be mistaken for an invitation to engage in a theoretical discussion of the merits of trade unionism.

"The right to form an opinion," the Circuit Court says in objecting to this part of the board's order, "is of little value if such opinion may not be expressed, and the right to express it is of little value if it may not be communicated to those immediately concerned." But the workers' freedom of organization is endangered if the employer is free to thrust into their hands leaflets expressing his strong disaproval of unionism. "The position of the employer," as the Seventh Circuit Court said in the Falk Corporation case, ". . . carries such weight and influence that his words may be coercive when they would not be so if the relation of master and servant did not exist." The employer's right to unlimited free speech conflicts in this area with the employee's right to bargain collectively. Congress has decided that in collective as in other kinds of bargaining there can be a real bargain only when each side is independent.

The realities of the case also invalidate the court's second line of argument: "the servant no longer has occasion to fear the master's frown of authority or threats of discrimination . . . express or implied." The facts demonstrate the effectiveness of the frown. That Ford was not merely engaging in abstract debate is proved by the punishment dealt out to workers who tried to take the other side in it. At least three of the men reinstated by both the board and the court had been fired for exercising their freedom of speech in favor of unionism. In one case the foreman, who hated to lose a good workman, said, "Well, George, God damn it, I warned you, and warned you to keep your mouth shut." In another a man was discharged two hours after he asked his foreman to read an article in the Detroit *Free Press* in which an employer was quoted as saying that his employees were free to join a union. The employer was Henry Ford.

War in the Far East?

THE State Department's warning to Americans to leave China and the Japanese Empire as quickly as possible indicates that Washington regards recent developments in the Far East as extremely grave. There are whispers that we shall be at war with Japan before the end of the year. Already steps have been taken to strengthen our Pacific defense. Battleship crews are being brought to war strength. A detachment of the California National Guard is being dispatched to Hawaii to reinforce the anti-aircraft defenses.

All this is slightly bewildering to the average citizen. He has no difficulty in recognizing the threat offered by Hitler. But Japan is a long way off, and there seems little, apart from the recent Axis alliance, to suggest immediate danger in the Far East. The only really ominous signs on the horizon are the extraordinary measures taken by the Japanese military after the Chinese puppet-mayor of Shanghai was killed. On the surface Japan would seem merely to be pursuing the career of conquest begun in 1931 and speeded up since 1937.

If Japan were acting alone, recent events would not be cause for alarm. It is the fact that the Axis powers are cooperating in a long-range program directed primarily against the United States that gives significance to each hostile gesture. The United States must be on its guard lest effective Japanese moves against China or the British possessions deprive us of the cooperation which minimizes Japan's threat to this country.

Although prophecies are dangerous, it seems safe to say that Axis plans do not call for an immediate attack on American possessions or on primary American interests in the Far East. One cannot rule out the possibility of a crisis over some explosive issue such as the policing of Shanghai, but in Axis strategy tests of strength with a powerful enemy are usually avoided. For the moment Japan has its hands full in Indo-China, and it is likely that the Tokyo military clique will consolidate its position there before attempting a further advance in the South Seas. Then step by step Japan would prepare for an eventual showdown with the United States.

There are indications that the Administration is at least determined that this strategy shall not serve Japan against the United States with the effectiveness that it served Hitler against the European democracies. It is reported that the American embargo will shortly be extended to include machine tools, and possibly copper and automotive tools. The evacuation of Americans from the Far East is a warning to Japan that this country is prepared, if worst comes to worst, to defend its interests by armed force. If the United States takes a strong stand and abandons the halfway measures which have characterized its Far Eastern policy, it will undoubtedly be risking war—the Japanese militarists may want the showdown now rather than after the new American naval program has got fully under way. But that is a chance we must take. We have had abundant evidence that a policy of compromise, appeasement, and retreat leads not only to war but to a war under the worst possible conditions for the appeaser. A firm stand against Japan today might not avert war, but it would at least help to avert defeat. An unconquered China is more important than battleships to our Pacific defenses.

Reports from Tokyo indicate that the exceptional measures taken by the United States in the past few weeks, instead of aggravating the tension, have made Japan hesitate. This is in line with all past experience. The United States still has the power to injure Japan economically and militarily through the imposition of an absolute trade embargo. In 1918 we forced Japan to withdraw the bulk of its troops from Siberia by refusing to sell it cotton or to buy its silk. Similar action today, supported by an arrangement with Britain for the use of naval bases in the South Seas, would find Japan far less able to resist, militarily or economically, than in 1918. War with Japan may yet result from the weakness and blunders of our policy in the last few years, but the chief danger lies in a continuation of those errors rather than in a belated attempt to defend our interests.

Campaign Notes

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

TO PRETEND that the President's defense-inspection trips have no political purpose or significance would be idiotic. Every time he moves, speaks, or shows his face he is asking the confidence and votes of the people; and it is to be assumed that he plans his trips with due consideration of the political importance of the territory through which he travels. But to charge, as Willkie does, that Mr. Roosevelt's inspections are only a slightly camouflaged form of electioneering and to demand that he quit pretending and jump openly into the campaign—these are themselves campaign tricks unworthy of a decent candidate. Just suppose for a moment that the President had acted as Willkie demands. Suppose he had stumped the country answering accusations, defending the acts of his Administration, debating here and there with his Republican opponent. Suppose he had stayed away from his desk at Washington for the length of time Willkie has been on tour. Suppose he had failed to visit and inspect those centers of defense production within easy reach. What would Mr. Willkie have said then? We can hear his loud charges that the President, in hot pursuit of a third term, had ruthlessly and shamefully subordinated to the demands of electioneering the job of steering the country through one of the greatest crises of its history.

THE CHARGE that Willkie must be infected with race prejudice because his grandparents were German immigrants and because Elwood, Indiana, set up barriers to the settlement of Negroes is as unconvincing as it is contemptible. Its prompt repudiation by several leading Democrats, including Lieutenant Governor Poletti of New York and Chairman Flynn himself, should do something to offset the effect of the attack—not on Wendell Willkie but on the Democratic ticket. But the New York *Herald Tribune's* attempt to prove that this miserable abortion was a legitimate offspring of the campaign speeches by Wallace and Lehman is almost as far-fetched as the fantastic contents of the leaflet itself. The assertion that Europe's dictators hope for the defeat of Roosevelt is a plain truth, however little Willkie has done to merit their preference. The charge that Willkie himself harbors Nazi race theories is an equally plain lie. This constitutes a difference in kind which the *Herald Tribune* should be able to recognize even in the heat of battle.

THE PRESIDENT'S SPEECH last Saturday on hemisphere defense has already been characterized as "political" by his squeamish opponents. Most certainly it made votes for the speaker, and this in itself constitutes a transgression of Republican campaign ethics. It made votes because it was courageous, high-minded, and persuasive—in the finest vein of American political oratory. Indeed, it was difficult to imagine an American who had listened to that speech going off to vote for Wendell Willkie. It made Willkie's image shrink to proportions that would look rather absurd in the large dimensions of the Presidential office. Every word bespoke vision and grasp and determination. Without alarmist prophecies, the President promised the Americas a full measure of support from the United States in a total defense of the hemisphere on two seas. He promised to forswear appeasement. And he held out the hope that firmness combined with power and backed by the collective will of all the American nations would suffice to block the plans of the Axis. These are not new ideas, but they carry new portents. On fronts around the world a mighty struggle is taking shape, the outcome of which may depend upon the decisions of the United States today and tomorrow. The President's words were understood in Rome and Berlin and Tokyo. I hope they were also understood in this country.

CONTENTS

THE SHAPE OF THINGS 349
EDITORIALS:
DRANG NACH OSTEN 351
FREE SPEECH AND FORD 352
WAR IN THE FAR EAST? 353
CAMPAIGN NOTES by Freda Kirchwey 354
DEFENSE AND THE WAGNER ACT by I. F. Stone 355
CAN THE EMPIRE SAVE GREAT BRITAIN? by Albert Viton 356
MUST DEFENSE WRECK HOUSING? by Charles Abrams 359
THEY DON'T KNOW LONDON! by Erika Mann 361
WITHIN THE GATES 364
IN THE WIND 365
A NATIVE AT LARGE by Jonathan Daniels 366
BOOKS AND THE ARTS:
THE MAGINOT SPIRIT by Albert Guérard 367
AMERICAN FABLE by Louis B. Salomon 368
EPIC OF THE SPANISH WAR by Lawrence Fernsworth 368
MARX RECONSIDERED by Reinhold Niebuhr 370
RACE AND RACISM by Jacques Barzun 372
IN BRIEF 373
DRAMA: HARDLY WORTH THE EFFORT by Joseph Wood Krutch 373
RECORDS by B. H. Haggin 374

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Defense and the Wagner Act

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, October 14

MR. ROOSEVELT is a master of the art of changing the subject, and his skill in this important branch of politics is being applied to the explosive question of whether companies violating the Wagner Act shall continue to be given defense contracts. On this issue there is silence at the White House and pained embarrassment at the Defense Commission. Mr. Hoover's favorite device as a statesman was to appoint a commission of inquiry and pray the subject would be forgotten before a report could be made. The Administration is trying similar tactics. One is told (off the record) that nothing can be said (off the record) because a subcommittee of Defense Commission lawyers has been assigned to study the question. No effort will be made to hasten their deliberations; it is hoped that the lawyers will continue splitting hairs until after the election. Whether this is possible depends on Mr. Roosevelt's ability to placate Mr. Knudsen without too far antagonizing Mr. Lewis, and vice versa—no easy feat. The crawl that Attorney General Jackson and Defense Commissioner Hillman were forced to execute before the sadistic Smith committee last week can only be understood in the light of this precarious necessity. It is feared that if an attempt is made to enforce the Wagner Act on defense contracts Mr. Knudsen will pick up his marbles and come out for Willkie. It is likewise feared that if an attempt is *not* made to enforce the Wagner Act on defense contracts Mr. Lewis may stage a walkout of his followers from Mr. Hillman's labor advisory committee or call a general strike in Bethlehem Steel.

All this might have been avoided if the New Deal had shown more courage in the past. The Labor Relations Board since 1936 and the C. I. O. since its organization have sought to bar Wagner Act violators from government contracts. A bill to that effect was introduced by Senator Wagner early in 1938, and although William Green—who has since changed his mind—helped to block its passage, similar measures have twice passed the Senate and once the House. Clever parliamentary footwork and the House Rules Committee always managed to prevent enactment. The Administration would neither put up a fight for these bills nor agree to Mr. Lewis's repeated request for an Executive Order requiring observance of the Wagner Act on government contracts. The demand was renewed when Mr. Hillman was named to the Defense Commission, and some concession on this basic labor issue became necessary. The first step was the statement of labor policy unanimously adopted by the commission on August 31. "All work carried on as part of the defense program," it said, "should comply with federal statutory provisions affecting labor . . . the Walsh-Healey Act, the Fair Labor Standards Act, the National Labor Relations Act, etc." The second was the adoption on September 6 of general principles to govern the letting of defense contracts. "Adequate consideration," these instructions said, "must be given to labor. This means compliance with the principles on this subject stated by the commission in its release of August 31." If plain words mean what they seem to, this was a guaranty of justice to labor in the defense program.

Mr. Lewis expressed his satisfaction on September 16 and inquired what procedure should be followed "in advising the commission of the corporations which are violating the labor laws in order that these corporations be precluded from receiving government contracts until they comply with the mandate of the law." Mr. Hillman took up the question. On October 1 he released letters from Secretary of the Navy Knox and Assistant Secretary of the Navy Patterson saying they were working out the procedure "whereby the substance . . . of the aforesaid principles and the statement of labor policy . . . is properly made a condition of all contracts to be awarded."

Mr. Hillman's demeanor when he gave these statements to the press was that of a man who had won a great victory; and so it seemed. It is now clear in retrospect that he would have been better advised to wait for the procedural regulations promised. Instead, accepting these pledges at their face value, and in good faith, he went on to the other question raised: Would a company asking for a defense contract be held in violation of the Wagner Act as soon as the Labor Board so ruled, or would it be able to go on getting government work until a final decision was handed down on appeal? Mr. Knudsen, at best no Wagner Act enthusiast, thought the commission, if it acted at all, should wait for the courts. That might, with good fortune, take several years, and in the meantime Bethlehem, Ford, and du Pont could enjoy the benefit of the doubt, and defense contracts.

When Attorney General Jackson ruled to the contrary, big business sprang to arms with a celerity it has yet to show in the manufacture of planes or the production of armorplate. The press—with honorable exceptions—has rarely staged a more effective campaign of misrepresentation. The Jackson ruling was made public on Thursday, October 3. By the following Tuesday Mr.

Jackson was explaining to the Smith committee that he had merely been answering a theoretical problem in elementary administrative law; and Mr. Hillman, that he hadn't said nothin'. The War and Navy departments revealed that they had never taken the declaration of labor policy seriously. To Assistant Secretary of War Patterson it was only "one of a dozen factors or so that are to be taken into consideration by the contracting officers to work out." Secretary of the Navy Knox agreed. The War and Navy departments did not intend to let the Labor Board or the Attorney General decide for them. "We would have to take into account in any case going before the Labor Board," Judge Patterson said, "how serious the thing was, the stage of the proceeding—whether it had been concluded or whether it was on appeal—and so forth." The Attorney General was forced to say that it was no concern of his "if the defense-contracting authorities decide to deal with men who are in violation of the [Wagner] act." Mr. Hillman's bitterest moment came when he was asked whether he agreed with Patterson and Knox that nothing in the statement of labor policy, the decision of the Attorney General, "or any implications that could be drawn from it" prohibits the War or Navy Department from giving defense contracts to firms which are not obeying the Wagner Act. "I have to agree with whatever they think is their opinion," Mr. Hillman answered, "because they have the power to award contracts."

New Dealers understand the importance of the common man's morale in defense, and there is anguish over this humiliating acquiescence in industrial arrogance. They solace themselves with the belief that all will be different after election, and this vision of pie in the November sky is held with Messianic fervor. It may be justified. But one test of whether appeasement of big business will end after November will be what Mr. Roosevelt does about that vacancy on the Labor Board. I am reliably informed that Mr. Madden will not be reappointed. This does not sound to me as if the cooperative commonwealth were just around the corner.

Can the Empire Save Great Britain?

BY ALBERT VITON

THE next five months will undoubtedly prove crucial in the struggle for the Mediterranean. The present lull in Africa signifies only that Graziani is determined to live up to his reputation as an extremely realistic, if somewhat impetuous, soldier. He is not likely to outrun his line of communications. On the other hand, it can be taken for granted that he will make every effort to reach the inhabited parts of Egypt before next summer. Graziani knows from long experience in desert warfare that if the British succeed in holding his legions anywhere west of Marsa Matruh, he will have lost the African campaign. No army can survive in that desert during the burning summer, which begins in March and continues without a drop of rain till November. But can the British block his advance?

It is not easy to give an optimistic answer. The British are confronting conditions which no one could have foreseen even a year ago. Betrayed by friends and allies, they are completely isolated in the Mediterranean. The greatest and least expected blow was of course the collapse of France's Mediterranean front. But other friends have proved no more reliable. Fear and internal political considerations have prompted Greece, Turkey, Egypt, Iraq, and other Arab lands to proclaim their neutrality, or even to build bridges to the Reich.

Pre-war plans were based on the idea that the standing French colonial forces would hold the lines until the British Empire could swing into action. It was foreseen that it would take at least a year for the demilitarized empire to be able to make use of its immense human and material resources. Some 100,000 French troops were therefore concentrated in Syria and probably twice as many in the colonies west of Libya, plus 1,000 airplanes. The troops in Syria were to defend the Suez Canal against the expected attack, while the Tunisian forces slowly made their way into Libya. That Italy would march first against Egypt was common knowledge from the summer of 1939 on. As I then reported in *The Nation,* Marshal Badoglio had returned from his tour of inspection in Libya convinced that the Tunisian fortifications could not be stormed. British forces in the Near East at the time of Italy's entrance into the war did not exceed 60,000 to 75,000 men.

Only in the light of these facts is it possible to understand the problems created by the defection of France. The defense plan collapsed within forty-eight hours, and the British were left to face the whole force of the Italian armies, which numbered more than 200,000 men in Libya alone. At the same time they lost the services of the French fleet, which was supposed to patrol the western Mediterranean and cooperate in cutting Italy's communications with Africa, and had to send invaluable troops to guard the Syro-Palestinian frontier. Fortunately Marshal Balbo was not prepared to risk a campaign in the desert during the burning months of last summer.

Hopes of reconstructing the French Mediterranean front were doomed from the beginning to disappointment. I do not believe the story that the high command in Syria wavered until General Weygand arrived and persuaded them to abide by Vichy's decisions. Anyone who has had any contact with French colonial administrations in recent years knows that the most reactionary elements were in control long before September, 1939. I found French fascists in the highest posts in the Syrian and Lebanese governments as early as 1935, as I then reported in *The Nation.* In the following year French army officers began to organize native Christian fascist groups. An Arabic socialist daily, *Saut esh-Shab,* or the *Voice of the People,* which was edited by friends of mine, was suppressed first for three months and then *sine die* for publishing documents proving conclusively the connection between local fascist groups, masquerading as Lebanese patriots, and French officers. Later reports from the former editors of this paper show that the French continued these activities in 1938 and 1939.

The collapse of France had a powerful effect in Athens and Ankara. There was a visible change in Greek public opinion, which had previously been loudly critical of the pro-Axis policies of the dictator, General Metaxas. Mussolini's attacks on Greek ships early in August did much to check the drift, but it is important to notice that it was to Berlin that Metaxas turned for help. Ankara has been more faithful and has not broken away from the British alliance, but unfortunately Ankara has to watch not only Berlin but Moscow.

The Arabs and Egyptians have also proved to be fair-weather friends. All the weaknesses of Arab society have been uncovered during the past few months. British attempts to forge a united Near Eastern front have foundered on the rocks of petty dynastic jealousies and personal rivalries among the leaders. Egypt has been torn by factional struggles; the palace clique, led by King Farouk himself, being violently opposed to participation in the war. Ibn Saud has tried to exploit the present emergency to blackmail Britain into making territorial concessions; and the rulers of Iraq have tried to grind a few axes of their own.

It is not that the Near East has become pro-Axis. On the contrary, German and Italian propaganda, though very active and abundant, is not making converts, and the overwhelming majority of Mediterranean peoples fully realize that an Axis victory would spell their enslavement. The Axis has not succeeded in fomenting any anti-British movement in the Near East. Italian reports of an imminent uprising among the Arabs led by Ibn Saud represent nothing but wishful thinking. Fascist propaganda has scored in other ways. Tales of Britain's imminent collapse pour out of Berlin and Bari, accompanied by threats of the dire consequences that will follow even the slightest aid to Britain. And these threats have not fallen on deaf ears. Speakers in the Egyptian Parliament have openly argued that neutrality now would be rewarded by the Axis powers after the war.

Britain's present weakness, however, is not all due to extraneous circumstances. Uncertainty and lack of vision have characterized British policy. Many persons who had for years opposed Lord Lloyd's reactionary imperialist policies greeted with joy his inclusion in the Churchill Cabinet, hoping that he would live up to his reputation as a "strong" man and would infuse some life into colonial officialdom. As far as the Near East is concerned, these hopes have not been justified. All the empire's wealth cannot win a single battle unless converted into guns, airplanes, and shells; its man power is no asset unless converted into mechanics, soldiers, and pilots. The metamorphosis has not yet been made, in the Near East or in any other part of the empire. Of course the difficulties in the way have been immense. It is no easy matter to train Indians or colonial peoples generally for modern warfare; it is even more difficult to turn them into good mechanics. Every part of the empire suffers from the absence of metallurgical industries: skilled labor is lacking, and dies have to be imported. Yet the fact remains that the empire could have contributed far more than it has. The situation in the Near East would be different if instead of a few thousand Indian troops tens of thousands had been available, or if a real attempt had been made to utilize the local population and local resources.

I do not think much has been lost by the failure of Egypt and the various Arab states to cooperate effectively, although it is a sad commentary on British management that so far not one Arab state has declared war on the fascist aggressors. All those states are hopelessly weak; their armies are not mechanized; their combined air forces amount to only slightly more than 100 planes. I believe, though, that Britain might have made good use of the various minority groups, especially the Zionists. These groups—Assyrians, Armenians, Zionists, and others—are far better educated than the Arabs, and they make better disciplined and more hardy fighters. To train them for mechanized fighting would have been comparatively easy. No less important, the Zionists have an industrial machine which could have been used for the manufacture of munitions, as well as a large body of highly skilled labor for the expansion of war industries.

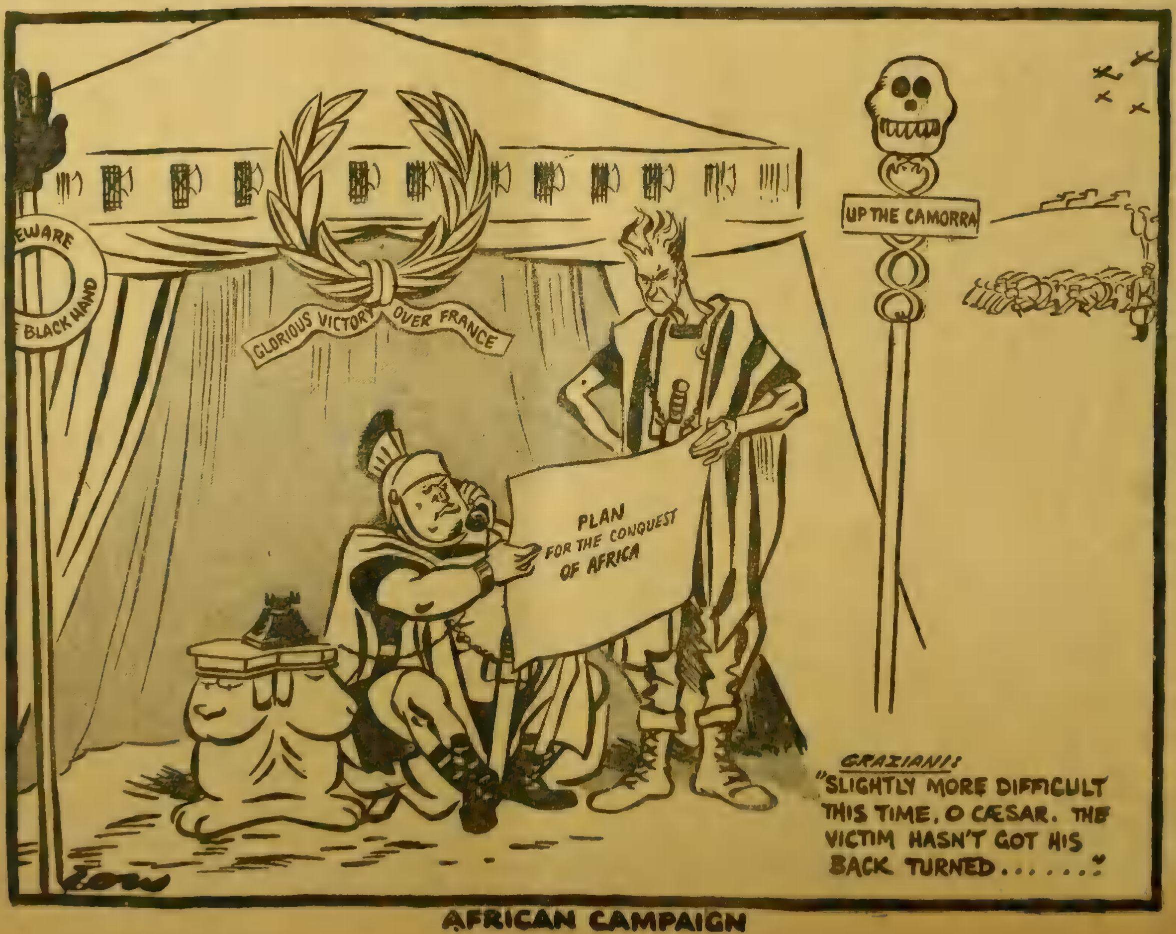
Long before the outbreak of the war, in 1935 to be exact, the Zionists offered to place in the field a modern army if Britain would permit the men to land in Palestine. London was not interested. Since hostilities began the Zionists have repeatedly renewed the offer to raise 100,000 men for fighting anywhere in the Near East. Unfortunately, romantic illusions about the power of the Arabs and the fear of political complications have made the British reject all those offers with scorn. Nor has London taken advantage of numerous suggestions for the local production of munitions. As a result, every soldier in the Near East and every bullet he uses have to be transported thousands of miles.

Today the British forces are short of men and munitions. They still number less than 200,000 men, distributed over an immense area. The destructive Italian air raids on Palestinian cities reveal the lack of anti-aircraft guns and fighter planes. As far as I know, not a single military airdrome from which fighters could intercept Italian bombers has been constructed near Tel Aviv, and until a few months ago that city of 150,000 was even without air-raid shelters.

In the meantime, the Italians have made solid advances. Their conquest of Somaliland was important only from the point of view of prestige, but their activities in Syria and in Yemen may have military importance. And if the British retreat to Marsa Matruh was tactical and nothing of importance was lost, it is equally true that nothing was gained. The 300-mile-wide desert which stretches from Alexandria to the Libyan frontier offers nowhere a natural line of defense. The old line was as good as the new one, and had the added advantage of keeping from sixty to eighty miles more of desert between Graziani's air bases and the Suez Canal. The Italian armies on the Abyssinian-Sudanese border may also strike before long.

Britain's position is without doubt serious, but I do not feel that it is hopeless. And it contains certain elements of solid strength. In the first place, the British have tremendous strategic advantages; secondly, they still control all lines of communication; and thirdly, while Axis supplies of cotton and various vital metals are constantly decreasing, Britain's military supplies will be greatly augmented during the next year by shipments from the empire and from this country. Finally, there is Mussolini's known reluctance to use up all his military material in a few great battles; Il Duce does not relish the possibility of facing a victorious Germany with nothing but the end of the Axis in his hands. Even less does he want German cooperation in the African campaign. To keep Hitler as far as possible from the Mediterranean has been one of the chief planks of fascist foreign policy in recent years. But whether Mussolini will be able to refuse German military aid if the campaign turns out to be more difficult than is anticipated in Rome is another matter.

The outlook for Britain would become worse should Spain be dragged into the war. Commanded by artillery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BLACK HAND
GLORIOUS VICTORY OVER FRANCE
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PLAN FOR THE CONQUEST OF AFRICA
LOW
GRAZIANI:
"SLIGHTLY MORE DIFFICULT THIS TIME, O CÆSAR. THE VICTIM HASN'T GOT HIS BACK TURNED......"

AFRICAN CAMPAIGN

installed since 1937, the Bay of Gibraltar would become a death trap and the fleet would have to leave. The town and harbor works could be demolished in a very short time, though capture of the great subterranean fortifications of the Rock would be extremely difficult. Its long range guns would still command the straits, and the British navy would still be in the Atlantic to continue the blockade.

To drive the British out of Malta would be even more difficult; the rugged shores of this island do not lend themselves to landings. Until now Britain has made very little use of Malta, for the Grand Harbor, which is only some sixty miles from Sicilian airdromes, has become almost entirely useless as a naval base, but the island could be converted into an air base of immense strategic value. What Britain needs to exploit Malta's strategic location is hundreds of bombers and dozens of good airdromes. At present the first cannot be spared from the western theater of war, and the airdromes, which will have to be equipped with subterranean hangars, have not yet been built. If the day ever comes when Britain is able to take full advantage of the situation of this colony, Mussolini will have reason for regretting his great gamble.

Must Defense Wreck Housing?

BY CHARLES ABRAMS

PUBLIC housing is in grave danger of being laid to rest—paradoxically, in the name of defense. The army, the navy, and the Defense Commission say that 200,000 houses are needed at once for workers on the defense program—the houses can be used for slum dwellers when the emergency is over. The United States Housing Authority and the local public authorities acting under it are the only agencies equipped to build and manage them. Yet when the USHA is needed most it is to be scuttled. Responsibility for defense housing is now to be split, and the work is to be parceled out to at least four federal bodies completely unequipped for the job. The War Department, the Navy, and the Reconstruction Finance Corporation have already been authorized to take it over. The Federal Works Administration too will now build houses through other agencies.

Three years ago the Housing Authority was set up as a permanent agency to carry out a long-range slum-clearance program. Like previous housing agencies it has had a varied career. Nathan Straus, the first administrator under the new program, was actually the fifth official to administer housing in six years. He was faced with the problem of decentralizing the PWA's housing operations and perfecting legislation in every state where new local agencies were to be created to build projects. He had to determine the needs and approve the operations of these agencies and fix maximum and minimum dwelling standards. As a result of his efforts, in the face of almost insurmountable difficulties, 500 city agencies with trained personnel are in existence today, and their ability to do their job is demonstrated by more than 150 projects. The transfer of housing from the centralized PWA to the decentralized USHA has brought increased speed, efficiency, and economy: legal bottlenecks have been eliminated; practical norms as to materials, room sizes, land coverage, and density have been formulated. In fact, seventeen defense projects of local authorities under the USHA have already been approved by the President, and some are under way. Yet this setup is now to be scrapped.

Public housing is a depression baby. When business was in the doldrums and something had to be done to revive the moribund building industry, housing for the underprivileged, which up to then had been viewed as an "un-American form of benevolent paternalism," suddenly became acceptable. Both the RFC and the PWA prepared plans to stimulate the materials industries and give employment to the building trades. But the RFC, which made loans to private builders, found builders were no philanthropists, and the PWA, which undertook to build housing projects directly, found its operations a failure and soon joined the chorus favoring construction through local authorities.

With this background, the USHA was set up to subsidize city agencies to rehouse the people of the slums. Thirty-eight states passed enabling legislation; more than 150 authorities were set up each year. Favorable court decisions upheld slum clearance and housing as proper governmental purposes in twenty-five states. Cities granted tax exemption averaging two and a half times the minimum required by federal statute. Livable housing for 160,000 slum families was being built. The average cost of dwelling facilities was more than $667 below the statutory maximum in small cities, more than $1,359 below maximum in the larger ones. The over-all costs per home were driven down to $500 below private large-scale building costs. Buildings were completed in as short a time as four months from the approval date.

For those who opposed public housing all this was too dangerous a precedent. The building and loan associations, the real-estate boards, and the United States Chamber of Commerce viewed housing as an invasion of private enterprise. The more remarkable the success of the local agencies in clearing the slums, the stronger grew the opposition in Congress. That opposition took two forms. The first was resistance to the enactment of appropriations in Washington and in the states where local enabling legislation had to be passed. When that was overcome, efforts were made to impede the program by inserting unworkable restrictions in the legislation. But the great opportunity to destroy it came in 1940.

When the defense program got under way, provision had to be made for housing workers in army and navy posts and skilled workers in factories. In the last war, with more homes available than now, the Secretary of War found that lack of housing facilities "menaced the quick preparing of ships and war materials." Now, with defense operations hardly begun, similar reports come in from all parts of the country. In Bremerton, Washington, men, women, and children are sleeping in the jail, on the grass in the city park, in parked automobiles, on makeshift beds in garages and in tents. Rents there have risen three times in one year. In Rock Island, Illinois, arsenal workers are refusing employment because they cannot find houses. In Youngstown, Ohio, shacks are being built out of boxes. The naval station in Key West, Florida, has not a single house for the families of its men. Workers in Western military posts are paying 50 per cent of their wages for rent. While in the country as a whole vacancies still exist because families have doubled up, there are now, for the first time since the post-war housing famine, more families than homes. In many cities affected by war orders the situation is more critical than it was during the World War.

For a time these developments made it appear that public housing would go on despite the opposition. Events have proved, however, that there are more ways than one to scotch a progressive movement. The USHA was attacked as inefficient. Local authorities were charged with extravagance. It was said openly that Congress would pass no bills giving funds to the USHA, defense or no defense. A provision permitting the War and Navy departments to employ the USHA was struck out in conference. Under the Lanham bill the FWA is permitted to employ the local authorities through the USHA on a contractual arrangement, but even this is prevented by the political situation. For the officials in charge of FWA and the Housing Coordinator of the Defense Commission both fear the wrath of a Congressional bloc that seems to be having its own way with social and defense legislation. They declare that the USHA has no support in certain committees, that the defense program is their most vital concern at the moment, and that they cannot risk opposition. Some say that this opposition exists because Straus failed to employ the utmost tact in dealing with committee members, but those who have fought for housing from the beginning know that the hostility is more deeply rooted.

From the social standpoint, and even from the standpoints of efficiency and economy, the result may be disastrous. The new agencies have never built houses. Unlike the local authorities, they have no qualified employees save those they can entice away from the existing housing agencies. They must begin anew negotiations for local cooperation in matters of streets, sewers, water utilities, tax exemption. They must select sites, draw plans, establish standards, and devise new procedures in the hundreds of problems which the local agencies had already worked out. All this will conflict with the city-planning arrangements made by the cities in connection with their own long-term housing programs. Local opposition will burst forth all over again when new agencies invade the localities and build in them.

Under the USHA plan, most defense housing could have been built with repayable loans, since subsidies are unnecessary to house high-paid skilled workers. Under the new program, however, there is an outright grant of more than a quarter of a billion dollars, with at least another half-billion to come, and the government is authorized to take a complete loss if it must. After the emergency is over, the houses will probably be torn down or sold for what they will bring. Far from being more economical, the scheme is a scandalous waste of public funds.

The houses under the USHA program were to be permanent; they cost little more than temporary dwellings. They were to contain better living accommodations. Above all, they were to be so built that they could be converted after the emergency into low-rent projects for slum families. They would thus represent community assets of lasting value. Short-sighted real-estate interests are pressing for temporary shelter that will not compete with their investments, but it would be a tragedy if their plans were adopted. Temporary buildings, like the shack towns built after the Galveston flood and the San Francisco earthquake, have a tendency to become permanent, quickly degenerating into areas of vice and contagion. In the face of a housing famine, it is doubtful that they would ever be torn down; it might not be wise to do so if people in the community could find no other quarters. Thus instead of employing its vast resources to rehouse its underprivileged citizens and fulfil a great peace-time need, the government would be using them to blast the social program out of existence.

The truth is that there never has been a really strong housing movement, and this more than anything else is responsible for the present situation. Born as part of a depression program, housing was bound to meet stubborn resistance when the depression was over. Social workers lost interest in it once it was under way. Labor gave it only mild and occasional lip service. Members of the local agencies, unpaid officials in the public service, most of them strange and inexpert in the political byways, trembled every time their open support of legislation was branded as lobbying. The slum dweller himself was never vocal. The few people who did fight for housing were dismissed as star-gazers. Senator Wagner and Congressman McCormack have had to support the program almost single-handed. And against this unorganized and inarticulate group there has always stood a well-formed and well-financed array of vested rights trained in political tactics. When the business index pointed upward and the time was ripe to overthrow the program, they had little difficulty in doing so.

Officials cannot be expected to fight for the program alone. There will have to be a public outcry if public housing is to be saved.

They Don't Know London!

BY ERIKA MANN

London, September 23

MY FLAT has been blown up, my typewriter smashed, and most of my manuscripts and notes burned; nevertheless, I will try to give a simple account of last night, when all this happened. By now most of my friends have had the same kind of experience, to say nothing of the people of London East, whose adventures have been more serious.

I was not there when parts of the ceiling came down and a fire started blazing in my room. Down in our cellar nothing particular happened. The windows, of course, were blown in and our whole little blackout setup crashed into the kitchen—boards, shutters, glass, and sand. Nobody was hurt. Our landlord, an elderly Englishman of great dignity, was the only one to get a bit excited, wondering whether his canary next door had survived. After a few minutes of mild confusion and uncertainty, the firemen arrived and saved the house from complete destruction. We could not, however, stay. There was still danger that the building would collapse; besides, little pieces of shrapnel kept coming in, as if with the wind, through the black holes that had been our windows.

We could not see a thing in the smoky darkness. I walked out into the street. The familiar spectacle of a sky torn by exploding shells was before me. The east was bathed in red flames as by the rising sun; I heard the sinister concert we are already so accustomed to—the hollow boom of the anti-aircraft guns, rather consoling in its reproachful persistence, the hiss of falling bombs, followed, within a few seconds, by the shock and thunder of the explosion. Hardly a taxi can be found during night raids, so I decided to walk to a hotel twelve blocks away. More annoying than anything else is the humming of bombers over one's head—the impertinence of deadly bluebottles against which one is powerless. Once a bomb is released, one can do something about it: one can judge from its sound where it will explode and senselessly jump to the other side of the street, or throw oneself down, or do whatever some strange instinct commands. But the roar of the murderous engines in the sky is threatening in a disquietingly vague manner. Besides, it is infuriating. Up above the clouds hide Field Marshal Göring's obedient heroes. Their risk, during these night raids, is almost nothing. True, they cannot aim properly since our gun barrage keeps them at a considerable height. But do they even wish to aim? Their goal is general destruction; London is big and something is bound to be destroyed whenever a bomb is dropped at random. The German High Command, by the way, for once basing its communiqué on a British statement, recently announced: "Most of our bombs have been dropped on the highly important industrial suburb of Random, which has been virtually eradicated."

I walked over to the battlefield, inadequately equipped. Tin helmets are helpful against pieces of shrapnel but at present cannot be bought. The first hotel at which I inquired had been bombed. I went on and realized that I had been walking on glass for the past twenty minutes. The tiny noise produced by glass broken under one's feet is disagreeably distinct and will not be silenced by more violent sounds. The second hotel proved to be crowded. Two Dutch sailors and a woman who seemed to be Polish had just been given the last available rooms but preferred to sit on the staircase, talking to each other in strange, hoarse French. Nothing had happened here except that the bar had been smashed; liquor of all colors was streaming over the floor. I was told I could stay in the cellar till the "all clear." Since this, for almost three weeks, had simply stood for dawn, I chose instead to return to the battle and look for a way out of this particularly lively section of the city.

On my way I talked to many people—home guards, wardens, firemen, policemen, soldiers, and homeless wanderers like myself. No one seemed to be nervous or frightened. "Frankly, I do not like it," was the strongest statement of disapproval I heard. It was a young officer who said it, and he added that at first he hadn't minded at all, but now that he had had hardly any sleep for the

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• • •

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• • •

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"...Here in the United States we still have a 'chosen
land in which because of abundant national resources a
pressure either of internal population or of surrounding p
nations, *mankind is less compelled to travel in specific c*
by hard material fact than in the case of any place els
world... There is no better country anywhere. Let us def

• • •

"...In the United States as well as in the other Amer
find many businessmen who for temporary personal g
strong for economic appeasement between the America
German-controlled Europe. I want to make plain here n

THE AMER

A FOREIGN AND
DOMESTIC POLICY
FOR AMERICA NOW

Helen Hill
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THE BOTTLENECKS OF BUSINESS
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E AMERICANS THINK

IF you believe our heritage is at stake, here are the books for you to read—and urge others to read—now, before it is too late.

lief that if such business men are permitted to pursue
d game, they will lay us open to enslavement . . ."

• • •

he Americas present to the axis powers the same divided
England, France and the little democracies of Europe
assuredly walk the same path of destruction and lost

• • •

re can be no doubt that the Germans look on this
ere as their eventual happy hunting grounds . . ."

• • •

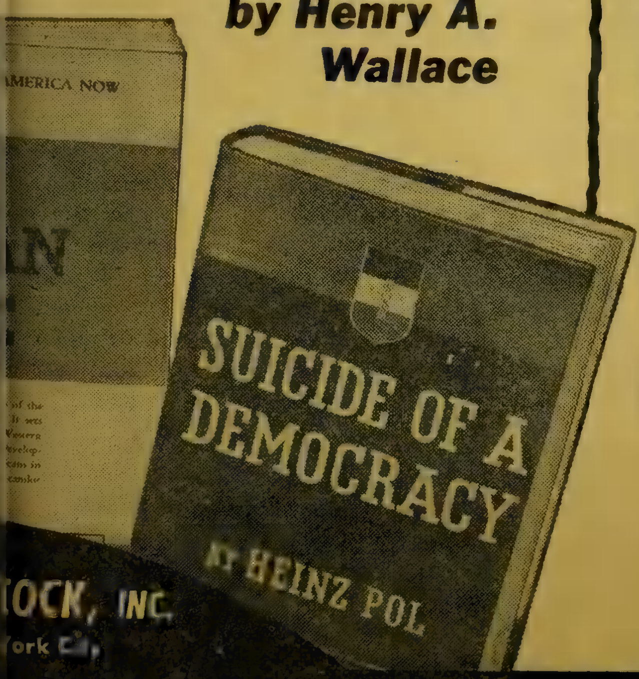
soil, our crops, our trees, and our grass can be made
the bodies and souls of our children's children. We can
h security and beauty in our countrysides. We have made
ut it is only a start . . ."

• • •

ere can be no doubt that we face just such danger. If
ot quickly come to think and to act in terms of a unified
allegiance to democratic designs, both internally and in
with our hemispheric neighbors, then the post-war Ger-
mercial *putsch* upon us, even now developing, will pene-
ry seam and point of division and rip us wide upon . . ."

N CHOICE

by Henry A. Wallace



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"... These confused Frenchmen who failed to understand the reasons for the events in Europe were the first to suffer complete psychic collapse in the spring of 1940. They gave up their cause as lost before it was actually lost . . . victims to a propaganda machine that had done its work so well and so quietly that they had not even become aware of its existence. They were the passive members of the Fifth Column . . ."

• • •

". . . With Pétain, who was a mere pawn on Laval's chessboard, in the Cabinet, the capitulators had almost reached their goal. It is not the fact of surrender that constitutes the crime of these men, but their motives and purposes . . ."

• • •

". . . The tragedy of our time consists in the fact that the democracies offered their enemies the opportunity to learn from mistakes and to turn against democracy the very things democracy itself should have done . . ."

• • •

". . . Those who witnessed the birth and development of Nazism, and so the weakness and the end of democracy in Germany, have developed an especially keen eye for certain things. Today this vision makes it possible for us to analyze and explain many events from a fresher viewpoint and a greater experience than those who are so intimately tied to their country by emotional bonds . . ."

• • •

"In so far as there is any higher sense in history, France had to pay for its own sins . . . Long before the war democracy had become an empty phrase used to cloak incompetence, carelessness, lack of energy, ill-will, and treason."

• • •

"In the final reckoning, events in France proceeded no differently than they did in Germany: Fascism is the consequence of the failure of democracy."

• • •

"Even in 1937 the concept of democracy was merely a shingle hung out on the door of France; there were Frenchmen of tremendous influence who were willing to destroy their own country for the sake of personal interest or for the love of the overlords of Berlin and Rome."

SUICIDE OF A DEMOCRACY

by Heinz Pol

GERMAN ECONOMY 1870-1940
By Gustav Stolper

•

MEIN KAMPF
By Adolf Hitler

past fortnight, he was becoming slightly annoyed. When I finally arrived at a big hotel in the center of the city, blood was flowing down my leg and there was too much glass in my shoes for comfort.

It was one o'clock in the morning. The jazz band was playing in the basement. Dancing couples, occasionally shaken against each other by nearby explosions, seemed in the best of spirits. They were pleased because the noise of the band swallowed up some of the war din. For a while I stood there at the entrance to the ballroom, wondering: did I admire this unconcerned gaiety, or did I think it a bit silly and cynical? I decided that it was at least impressive.

Hotel guests who wish neither to dance away the danger nor to spend the night in the cellar have their mattresses and blankets taken out in the corridors, for some superstitious reason or other. It was an amazing scene, more like an overcrowded field hospital than a chic hotel. Total warfare has strange manifestations: never before has a city been so constantly exposed to nerve-racking assaults of this kind. Even Rotterdam with its seven-minutes-long disaster and its 20,000 dead, even Warsaw, or the cities of Loyalist Spain, did not have to endure the appalling regularity with which London is being bombed for ten hours every night. A few hours of sleep can always be found around dawn, but the rest and awakening are those of an invalid who, after a feverish night full of pains and incredible nightmares, has been given some soothing drug to quiet him. He is exhausted, though happy, and even in his kinder dreams he knows that the peace will not last—that the struggle against death is not over.

It has hardly begun, the struggle. Everybody here realizes this, but nobody—I sincerely believe *nobody*—dreams of capitulation. The reactions of the people are of many kinds, and what is called "morale" varies. But neither hysteria, nor fear, nor the slightest sign of panic can be found anywhere. I watched a man whose house had been bombed while he was away. He stood there before the ruins shaking his head and repeating, in the tone of some highly civilized person who for the first time discovers that bestiality exists among human beings, "But this is disgusting, perfectly disgusting!"

Nor—strange as this may sound—is hatred, passionate hatred, of the enemy encountered. Rather there prevails a kind of pity mingled with astonished contempt. Stories are being told about captured German pilots who break down completely when they gradually realize that they have been misled by their leaders; that London is not by any means on the verge of collapse but is still a living city with buses running, people working, laughing, and dancing; with food distribution and all the services functioning, and the children playing in the streets. "What can you expect?" the people say to one another, "those poor fools *don't know London!*"

Within the Gates

"WHEREVER in the world there is an Italian, there is, alive and present, Fascist Italy with her faith, her organs, and adequate means for action," writes Felice Felicioni, a high-ranking member of the Italian hierarchy, in an American newspaper. Many Italians living in the United States and many more American citizens of Italian descent disagree with the Fascist concept of inescapable allegiance to Italy, but Italian propaganda is constantly attempting to win them over. This propaganda, the best organized in the United States, is heard on the air waves, is found in both Italian- and English-language newspapers, is the inspiration of "cultural" societies and of "shirted" militant groups. It reaches youth, as this column pointed out two weeks ago, by insinuating itself into public and parochial schools disguised as education. Frequently when persuasion fails, it resorts to more direct methods.

The concentration of Italian immigrants in relatively self-contained communities in or near large cities simplifies the work of the Fascist propagandists. No fewer than 2,000,000 persons who fall within Mussolini's definition of Italian live within fifty miles of New York's Times Square, and can therefore easily be subjected to pressure by the propaganda machine headed by Consul General Gaetano Vecchiotti. Radio is perhaps the most effective instrument for propaganda among adults; certainly it is the cheapest. It is effective because it takes the form of objective Italian-language news broadcasts, and it is cheap because it is paid for by business firms which depend largely upon an Italian-American market. The radio stations which sell the time and the business men who buy it may be guiltless of ulterior motive, but the broadcasts are, in fact if not in intent, propaganda of the most flagrant sort. During the summer of 1940 two affiliated New York stations, WOV and WBIL, permitted four well-known Fascists to peddle propaganda in the guise of news. Giovanni Favoino di Giura, sponsored by the Parodi Cigar Company, was at one time secretary of the New York branch of Italian Fascists Abroad. Gaetano Ferri is listed in the Italian "Who's Who" as "a Fascist of the first rank." A third news broadcaster, Leandro Forni, boasts that he started the Fascist movement in Vincenza, Italy. The Italian "Who's Who" describes the fourth, Frank Polimeni, as "radio ambassador of Italianism in America."

The owners of WOV and WBIL, who incidentally are not Italian, disclaim all responsibility for the propaganda content of these broadcasts, and point to the fact that they have censored the material. But their choice of "censors" has hardly been impartial. The first man employed resigned under pressure from Italian anti-Fascists. His successor was recommended to the stations by the Italian embassy; the third was hired on the recommendation of Professor Peter N. Riccio, whose doctorate thesis at Columbia, "On the Threshold of Fascism," has been translated and widely distributed in Italy. Stations WOV and WBIL are not the only offenders. Propaganda masquerading as objective newscasts is heard daily in Philadelphia, Boston, New Haven, Pittsburgh, and a dozen other cities.

Few Italian communities are too small [illegible]port an alian-language newspaper favorable to Fas[illegible] In New ork perhaps the most influential is *Il Grido* [illegible] *Stirpe*—*he Cry of the Race*—whose masthead admits quite frankly at it is a "Journal of Fascist Propaganda." Its publisher, omenico Trombetta, is a man of sufficient importance to ave been granted a long interview with Count [illegible]no in the ummer of 1939. An Italian newspaper report[illegible] the time at "His Excellency Count Galeazzo Ciano received ith warmth one of the sincerest and purest Fascist residents America, Domenico Trombetta." So extensive is his newsaper's circulation among Italian-Americans in New York, nd so important is Trombetta in the community, that business men who import Italian products or sell largely to Italn-Americans find it expedient to buy advertising space. ecently non-advertisers received marked copies of an issue hich carried this announcement: "We shall publish in due me a list of all business houses which refuse and will still efuse in the future to help *Il Grido della Stirpe*. We shall ring them to the attention of our friends, who will know ow to conduct themselves in making purchases." A subseuent issue was even more threatening. In a front-page story ttacking those who had refused to be blackmailed, Trometta wrote ominously that "Fascism will recognize in them s true enemies."

Ranking close to Trombetta in the field of printed propaanda is Generoso Pope, publisher of two New York Italiannguage dailies, *Il Progresso Italo-Americano* and *Il Corriere d'America*. The editorial policy of these papers is omewhat more restrained than that of *Il Grido della Stirpe*, ut Mr. Pope's devotion to Italy is as great as Mr. Trombetta's. t is revealed in numerous statements of his quoted in his wn newspapers. In one speech as reported by them he said: 'First I wish you to shout with me, 'Down with the enemies f our country!' . . . When Italy can boast sons like you, then ictory is here. Long live Italy, long live the King, long ive Mussolini!" During the Ethiopian war Mr. Pope gave is readers thousands of fountain pens ornamented with the ascist emblem. During his last visit in Rome he rated an udience with both the Duce and the King. Messrs. Pope nd Trombetta are but two of the dozens of publishers who eed Italian-Americans their daily ration of Fascist propaanda.

The anti-Fascist Italian magazine, *Il Mondo*, recently isted forty-six Italian-American organizations in Greater ew York whose direction stems from the Italian governnent. These groups, almost without exception, are under he supervision of a "cultural attaché" of the Italian consulate. Their leaders are invariably convinced Fascists. There s not space here to discuss their various activities, but the ollowing telegram to the Italian press from the Morgantini lub indicates their loyalties: "Italians of Harlem, organizng today the Mario Morgantini Club, swear allegiance to l Duce."

The graduate school of all Italian-American organizations s known as the Blackshirts, a group of 10,000 men who ave taken this oath: "In the name of God and of Italy I wear that I will follow the orders of Il Duce and will serve with all my strength, if necessary with my blood, the cause f the Fascist Revolution."

In the Wind

DEMOCRATIC LEADERS are definitely worried about New York State, and Tom Corcoran is on the scene to do something about it. The chief source of concern is the hostility of C. I. O. unions, some following Lewis, some under Communist guidance. Incidentally, New Dealers think the trade talks with Russia will wipe out opposition from the Communists.

AT WILLKIE HEADQUARTERS, where Russell Davenport, ex-managing editor of *Fortune*, is key man, cynics have coined this phrase: "Willkie has made his Davenport—now he'll have to lie in it."

A CONSERVATIVE Pittsburgh lawyer recently agreed to act as attorney for Communists in a free-speech case. When he entered the courtroom an acquaintance murmured to him: "I didn't know you had become a Communist." The attorney flared back: "I've defended murderers in the courtroom for twenty years, and you never called me a murderer."

UNDER THE CAPTION "Americanism, El Paso County Style," the Colorado Springs *Advertiser* ran an item about the activities of a newly formed Americanism Council. The item said the council had set up a committee "to which citizens may report persons suspected of un-American activities. . . . It is hoped that such a service will . . . discourage vigilante groups."

IN THE FUROR raised by Nicholas Murray Butler's warning to members of the Columbia faculty who don't share his anti-Nazi views, this fact has been overlooked: the last student expelled from the university was fired for leading a demonstration outside Dr. Butler's home. The demonstration was in protest against Dr. Butler's appointment of a Columbia delegate to academic ceremonies at Heidelberg University. That was in 1936.

REPUBLICANS ARE talking hopefully of a swift "publicity blitzkrieg" in the ten days before election. It is said that plans have been made for a whirlwind drive, at big cost and under expert guidance, in a last-minute effort to salvage the election.

THIS NOTICE was displayed in a London block of flats: "Visitors wishing to be called during an air raid should leave their names with the hall porter."

AFTER THE New Deal apparently reversed its position on the issuance of defense contracts to firms violating the labor laws, a first lieutenant of John L. Lewis said privately that the chances against his indorsement of F. D. R. had risen to fifty to one.

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind—either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. A prize of $5 will be awarded each month for the best item.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

A Native at Large

BY JONATHAN DANIELS

"THE last spasm was about safety," the State Superintendent of Public Instruction said. He did not say it critically. He had approved teaching the children safety on the roads. Now he was planning with other public-education officials in other states to teach the children democracy in the schools. Everybody was for it.

"We've got to teach our children democracy here, just like the fascists have taught them to believe in fascism in their schools. We've got to make the children know that democracy is worth dying for, too."

I am as much in favor of that as the textbook manufacturers who already are offering new texts on democracy to the suddenly, as it appears, democracy-conscious schools. In fact, I was asked to write one of the texts myself and almost agreed. It would have been fun and maybe patriotic, too. But I think we should be concerned about our public schools if the time has come when democracy must be taught in them as if it were something like the boundaries of Ethiopia, to be learned quickly out of a book.

Democracy has been taking a beating in our public schools for a long time, and the teachers and the books are not altogether to blame. Everywhere but in the smallest towns the old days when the doctor's boy sat next to the laborer's son long ago came to an end. The automobile has speeded our segregation of ourselves in classes based on the location of real estate. Some school officials have helped the process of segregation by a little gerrymandering of school-district lines.

And sometimes I think the social scientists have done as much harm as the snobs. We live in a modern world which has been very sure of itself, at least in the graduate schools of education. They got to know, so they said, more about the mind of the child than anybody had known before. As a result they made a profound change in the teaching. Down in the lower grades they took out the old heroes and their stories and put into the readers "more material from the environment of the child." It sounds excellent, but it meant that the early training of the child as a part of a nation and a civilization extending beyond his scooter was discarded. He was no longer one who shared the mythology of little George beside the cherry tree or the little boy who saved Holland with a finger in a hole. I think he lost something important when he lost contact with them and swapped them for a story about a Scottie puppy.

And the process did not stop there. More and more in our schools, as far as I can discover, the child's contact with history has been decreased to allow more study of the so-called social sciences, which put the intellectual digestive processes of a Ph.D. between the facts and the child. The scheme was designed to teach the child more with less pain, but it substituted the abstract for the concrete. There may have been pure gain in discarding the old business of memorizing dates for the new process of memorizing the 1, 2, 3, conclusions of the Ph.D.—I am not sure. The older I get the more I wish I knew more dates and the less certain I am of the social scientists' deductions. Finally, the process brought the child from American history to what they call civics. I don't know any delicate way in which to describe civics, but the general idea of it seems to be to convince the children that the Constitution was written by Y. M. C. A. secretaries and that the country has been exclusively conducted by the Boy Scouts. I do not in the least object to the purification of our history for young children, but I do despise draining the human blood from the processes of our democracy.

For that reason I'm fearful of the present spasm, as the educator called it, about teaching democracy in the schools in this crisis. My hunch is that there is going to be another book—a whole batch of other books—saying that democracy is nice. I certainly am not arguing about that. But to grow patriots we must have something more than a spasm. We have been, I think, afraid of patriotism. Sometimes even the D. A. R.'s and the American Legion have prejudiced us against it. Americanism has sometimes become—or seemed to become—a word in the almost exclusive possession of scoundrels or fools. We have had a crop of intellectuals who played Jack Horner every time they discovered a departure from the documents in our patriotic mythology.

We are apparently agreed, however, that in the schools and outside them, too, it is time for more enthusiastic patriotism about this land and its meaning in our hearts. Stirring such a patriotism is going to be a much more difficult process than getting some new textbooks. In some places, if it is to succeed, it is going to mean that the schools themselves will have to be democratic. And everywhere, I think, if it is to succeed, it must begin at the bottom. George Washington must have at least an even break with scooters and Scottie dogs—in the first grade and from that point on.

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

The Maginot Spirit

TRAGEDY IN FRANCE: AN EYEWITNESS ACCOUNT. By André Maurois. Translated by Denver Lindley. Harper and Brothers. $2.

I SAW FRANCE FALL: WILL SHE RISE AGAIN? By René de Chambrun. William Morrow and Company. $2.50.

SUICIDE OF A DEMOCRACY. By Heinz Pol. Translated by Heinz and Ruth Norden. Reynal and Hitchcock. $2.50.

A VAST army of witnesses will soon be upon us; this is the vanguard. In each of these books there are two elements—a direct testimony and an attempt to understand and to judge. As a narrative of personal experience, Chambrun's is by far the best. He lived in a fort of the Maginot Line; he was liaison officer at British G. H. Q.; he found himself in the worst of the débâcle in Belgium; he escaped from Dunkerque; he flew back to Paris in a tiny "Grasshopper"; and he was sent on a desperate mission to President Roosevelt. His style is direct, vivid, faultlessly American. In these darkest hours he has not lost his juvenile zest for life or his sense of humor. Some of his pages have the charm of the earlier Maurois, in "The Silences of Colonel Bramble." The narrative parts form at least three-fourths of the book; hey are unimpeachable as well as fascinating.

Maurois likewise was a liaison officer with the B. E. F.; he too saw the tragic flight of the Belgians; he too was ntrusted with a desperate and futile mission. His evidence, n the main, agrees with Chambrun's.

Heinz Pol's first-hand testimony is more limited, but in ts field it is of commanding value. He, a refugee from Nazi terrorism, was interned as an enemy alien. He saw how Daladier's France, still nominally a democracy, treated he victims of Hitler, who should have been its closest allies. Long before the military disaster the French Repubic had already committed suicide. When we have to face a similar problem, it would be well to heed Pol's warning.

The interpretative parts of the three books are of very unequal value. Chambrun is committed to the Pétain government. He is a remote descendant of Lafayette; but he is also the son-in-law of Pierre Laval, that sturdy son of the soil who by the sweat of his honest brow rose from a petty socialist politician to a multimillionaire. His bias is unmisakable, but it is artfully camouflaged. A fair sample of his method is his reference to the Salengro case. It is so worded hat, in a literal sense, it is true: Salengro *was* accused of desertion. What Chambrun fails to add is that the charge was proved baseless by a military commission. Salengro was hounded to death with a palpable calumny, by men who were not merely unscrupulous but in true Nazi fashion adistic as well. Such *suppressio veri et suggestio falsi* is more in harmony with the cleverness of Laval than with the naive chivalry of Lafayette.

Heinz Pol is of the left. He gives an excellent account of the many forces which, more or less openly, were attacking the republic, frequently with assistance from abroad—Cagoulards, Croix de Feu, Camelots du Roi, Tardieu, Doriot, Déat, Bergery. The arch-villain, in his eyes, is Bonnet; his heroes are Reynaud, de Gaulle, and Mandel. The book is well informed in spite of minor flaws, and fair within the plain limits of partisanship.

As an interpretation Maurois's book stands alone. Not because of Maurois's international fame; but because circumstances have compelled him to think more earnestly and with more delicate shades than either Chambrun or Pol. A capitalist, an Academician, an admirer of Lyautey, he belongs like Chambrun to the world of which Pétain is the figurehead. But not quite. His ancestry, like Léon Blum's, is not "Old France." He understands, admires, and loves England. The Battle of Oran caused a horrible wrench in his complex loyalties. There is far more "meditation" in his book than in the other two combined. He does not merely narrate, and he does not blindly arraign; he seeks to understand. And his conclusions are convincing—with one last trace of conservative bias.

Are there any definite lines that come out of this blurred composite picture? Yes. On five of the following points there is among the three writers a fair degree of agreement. On the sixth their testimonies are complementary rather than conflicting.

1. The profound pacifism of the whole people. They adopted any policy, they followed any leader, that promised to keep them out of war. The Communists were a rising influence in 1936; they lost ground because, in the Spanish and in the Czechoslovak crises, they advocated resistance and were branded as warmongers.

2. Of this pacifism the Maginot Line was the symbol. Everything was sacrificed for passive defense. Technically the Maginot Line may have been justifiable; it was flanked, not breached. But the Maginot spirit meant the abandonment of collective security. France imitated the Anglo-Saxon powers. It wanted to feel as safe, as impregnable, behind its formidable ramparts, as England behind the Channel or America behind the Atlantic. It was fooled, and England was fooled. Sink as many billions as you please, there is no safety for any nation unless there be safety for all.

3. The conservatism of the French army, hardened in the glorious memories of 1918. Gamelin tried to be another Pétain—cautious, sparing of blood, turning the whole front into a gigantic Verdun. The army refused to admit the possibility of the *Blitzkrieg*.

4. The pitifully inadequate part played by the British army. According to Chambrun, it held 1 per cent of the front. Even during the last battle most of the R. A. F. was kept at home to protect English cities. Hence the bitter jests current in the French ranks: "Have you seen *the* Englishman?"—"England will fight to the last Frenchman." (How many of us are sternly resolved to defend democracy to the very last Englishman?)

5. However incomplete the French and British armaments may have been in September, 1939, the Allies had eight months to create new *matériel* and evolve new methods. They wasted that providential respite, just as they ignored the lessons of the Polish campaign. According to Maurois, military bureaucrats remained bureaucrats; industrialists wanted to keep profitable orders at home; and the General Staff "prepared for a war which never was to take place."

6. Finally, there was no "sacred union." Daladier treated his whilom associates, the Communists, as national enemies. For Maurras and Weygand, democratic France represented everything evil, and should be destroyed. Mussolini and Franco were Pétain's models. Hitler was Flandin's Führer. Bonnet and Laval now boast openly that they were against the war. Thus there was defeatism at both ends during the eight demoralizing months of "phony war" and bewilderment at the center: what are we fighting for? Maurois—and naturally Chambrun—fails to record that Blum had offered a "sacred union" three years before. Thorez was then ready to accept full cooperation with bourgeois democrats, just as Litvinov was eager to do so in the international field. This offer was rejected by the right. It was this great refusal that destroyed the unity of France.

The lack of "sacred union" explains, not the military débâcle, but the abject surrender that followed. Even if the whole of continental France was lost, need Pétain have sacrificed every vestige of French honor and power? France still had the remnants of an air force, a fine navy, two intact armies in North Africa and in Syria, an empire, an ally, world sympathies. All these were thrown away in order to win the one victory that Pétain, Weygand, Maurras, Flandin had craved for years: a victory over the socialist masses. Only Heinz Pol raises this all-important point; neither Chambrun nor Maurois dares allude to it. The guilt of the reactionary camarilla is too flagrant.

ALBERT GUÉRARD

American Fable

TRANSIT U. S. A. By W. L. River. Frederick A. Stokes Company. $2.50.

IT IS a far cry from Mr. River's last novel "The Torguts," a story of the great eighteenth-century Tartar migration, to "Transit U. S. A.," which is a whimsical and delightfully salty allegory of our own time, a fable that has all the outward appearances of realistic fiction. A dim-witted but very good-natured and lovable young American Don Quixote named Curly Martin, owner and operator of the Original Glass-bottomed Boat for tourists on Buenavista Island, sets out in the company of an eccentric hobo to seek Mr. Borland, the oil magnate who in a sentimental moment had bought the island hoping to keep it always picturesque and unspoiled, and had told Curly to come and see him if anything ever went wrong. Starting from the Pacific Coast with only $12 in his pocket, Curly makes his way across the continent, charging headlong against the windmills of big business and mercenary greed and intrenched snobbery, and such is his pure faith in human good-will that he never even realizes that he has again and again been tossed around and slammed down to earth by the relentlessly whirling vanes. In the course of his trek he smells the inside of several jails and leaves some of his blood and skin on the knuckles of a number of brakemen and hired thugs, and he also meets with one sample each of a good many American types, including queer ducks, reformers, scoundrels, good neighbors, nomads, dumb oxen, even a strange and stormy paintress who lives in the Arizona desert.

Curly is the embodiment of the child-mind of many a bewildered American who feels lost in the spook-filled forest of the present world, but whose wholesome faith in life cannot—to judge by the book—be beaten down by hunger or poverty or the cruelty of man to man. While this thought may furnish very scant comfort to the real Curly Martins when their mortgages are foreclosed, one may hope at least that the wholesome honesty and optimism of the everyday little man will bear him through his trials as safely as they support Mr. River's hero on his pilgrimage.

"Transit U. S. A." is a highly original tale. Imagine "The Pilgrim's Progress" as it might have been written in collaboration by Cervantes and Rabelais in terms of modern America, and you will see why it makes fascinating reading from beginning to end.

LOUIS B. SALOMON

Epic of the Spanish War

THE GREAT CRUSADE. By Gustav Regler. Longmans, Green, and Company. $2.50.

THIS is a cynical world; yet there are still men among us who suffer and die, freely and gladly, for their ideals. It is of such men that Gustav Regler speaks to us in sharp moving accents in "The Great Crusade." Ernest Hemingway, who had close contact with that crusade through many tense and often heart-rending months, has written the preface. The volume is dedicated to Jay Allen, whose devotion never wavered, even in black hours.

Crusaders once fought under the cross—whence the name. These crusaders of Spain, condemned in the name of the cross, could not well hold it aloft. They received no churchly blessings—only anathema and slander. Yet they were fighting Christianity's greatest battle against forces leagued together, as never before in history, to destroy Christianity.

These crusaders—we should devise a word for such men other than this discredited one—came out of France and Italy and Poland and Czechoslovakia, out of England and America, even out of Abyssinia and Germany. They went to fight and die in Spain for what seemed to them the last hope of freedom in Europe—perhaps in the world for a long time to come. If they also fought for Spain, that was a secondary fact. They were fighting primarily for France, for a free Italy and Germany, for Poland, England, America. Not all had the same opinions. Some were old-fashioned republicans and democrats; some were even good Catholics who believed in freedom; others were more "advanced" in their ideas. But all met on the common ground of their devotion to freedom. Blindly the countries whose battle they were fighting did not see where their own interests lay, and held these men in disdain. So the first great battle for freedom was lost in Spain, with the result that today freedom as been driven into a corner, where it is making its last lesperate stand.

After the battle was lost and the curtain rung down, the 'democratic France" that was—if in fact it was—placed the rusaders of Spain in shelterless concentration camps on vindswept sands, there to live if they could. Yet a few nonths later many of them fought again valiantly for 'rance in its hour of danger. The "better classes" of Eng- and ostracized these men. In the spring of 1939, before the choes of the Battle of Spain had yet died away, when the umblings that foretold the Battles of France and Britain vere growing louder, the King and Queen of England went o Paris. Some British soldiers wounded in Spain, who lay n the British hospital, were ordered removed before the oyal visit to the hospital took place. Today England is using he men who fought in Spain, drawing on the experience nd technical skill acquired there; and they are fighting to afeguard the position and possessions of that tribe of ap- easers who so blithely betrayed peoples "of whom we know ittle" and heaped ignominy on the British volunteers in pain. And even upper-class England is learning—if it ever earns anything—what ordinary Englishmen always knew, nat the men who went to Spain went out of loyalty to Eng- and. In our own country the men of the Lincoln Brigade ave been harassed by the police and clapped into prisons. ut America will discover that these men, in fighting the nemies of Spanish freedom, fought also for America.

These are the men we meet in Gustav Regler's book—the olunteers of the International Brigade whom he knew so ntimately for almost three years. He takes us to the front, nto the trenches, across battlefields under fire, into head- uarters, hospitals, and behind the lines. He lets us live with hese men, following the threads of their lives until those ives are snuffed out—in the first days or months, in the rst year, the second, or third. As one or another drops from he scene the reader feels that he too has lost a comrade. ven those who seem to lead charmed lives, Paul the general nd Werner the doctor—a great psychologist cast out of ermany because of his race—are at last found by fatal hells.

Albert, the *comisario*, father confessor, diplomat, judge, llayer of suspicions and passions, military tactician and rategist, the man who steps in to command when cowardice r treachery or death removes a superior officer, is among hose who survive. Albert, we are told by Hemingway, is ustav Regler, who was Hitler's Public Enemy Number 19 hen he fled from Germany before the Great Crusade.

Moving among the men of the International Brigade hom Regler presents to us, we see all the facets of their haracters: their loves and hates, their devotion to comrades nd to principles. Sometimes there are betrayals of comrades nd principles, sometimes unwarranted suspicion. The spy ever is at work here too, and with reason. There are times hen an almost fanatical "party viewpoint" emerges; there e those, who having betrayed comrades to secret police in ermany or Poland, have come stricken with remorse to ipe out their offense under fire. But betrayal is the unpar- onable sin for which there is no atonement.

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LAWRENCE FERNSWORTH

Marx Reconsidered

REASON, SOCIAL MYTHS, AND DEMOCRACY. B Sidney Hook. John Day Company. $3.

NO ONE in America has expounded Marxist philosoph with greater authority and persuasiveness than Sidne Hook. For this reason a book by him in which practically al Marxist doctrines are subjected to some criticism and man completely rejected is something of an event. Taken in th context of the general mood of Marxist revisionism, it i not only an intellectual event but part of a political move ment of real significance. Hook has of course always bee a critical devotee of Marxist thought, and therefore canno be accused of reversing himself. Nevertheless, he here ex tends previous criticisms so far beyond their earlier propor tions that the progress of his thought may be described a moving from heresy to apostasy.

It is difficult to survey in brief space the havoc wrough upon Marxist doctrine by his critical onslaughts, but some thing of its dimensions may be indicated. The Marxist theor of class is termed "so vague that no matter what the evidence it could be claimed as a vindication of the thesis." Th Marxist faith in the working class as the fateful instrumen of mankind's emancipation is found defective. The class ha a fateful and significant position in modern society, bu whether it can fulfil its destiny is another question: "Unfor tunately, being in a position and being able to move fro that position are two different things." The Marxist theor of the state as merely an instrument of class dominatio which will wither away with the abolition of classes is foun too simple. Marxist economic determinism overemphasize the economic factor in social life. The idea of an inevitabl revolution is almost wholly rejected. A revolution "is some thing to be accomplished when economic conditions are ripe But how? By men and not by economic forces." Marxis historical laws, which seek to reduce historical tendencies t "laws of motion," are found to lead to "an unscientific dis regard of the specific factors in each historical situation."

The utopian overtones in all Marxist doctrine are subjecte to an astute criticism which results in their virtual rejection The idea of a classless society, if taken literally, is termed "will-o'-the-wisp." The idea of equality is correctly value as a transcendent principle of justice, as a "guiding principl to reduce differences in living conditions," but as incapabl of full realization in history. The hope that a socialize economy will not only destroy class domination but eliminat "the struggle for individual existence" is termed "eschatologi cal utopianism"; for "more important than the struggle fo individual existence is the struggle for better individua existence." Human desires are infinitely extensible and in clude ends which transcend physical needs, though eve these have no fixed limits.

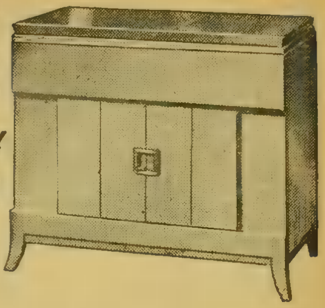
Some of the most discriminating and profound reasonin in Hook's book is devoted to a critical analysis of the dialect cal principle in Marxist thought, which is found to have many meanings, some of which are not clear while others reduce themselves to absurdity. Efforts of such scientists as Haldane, Levy, Needham, and Prenant to construct a Marxist mathematics and biology are found to be no more respectable than similar efforts to establish a Nazi science.

Since the book is primarily devoted to criticism, the constructive elements in its analysis are more frequently implicit than explicit, and, where explicit, they are devoted to specific doctrines rather than to the Marxist structure as a whole. It is therefore difficult to do justice to Hook if one seeks to discover how much of the original structure of Marxist thought is left standing in his system. He is convinced, I think rightly, that "stripped of the metaphysics of its value theory, the Marxist critique of capitalist economy still retains its validity." While he regards Stalinism as not so much a corruption of Leninism as its inevitable consequence he does not believe that Leninism flows inevitably from Marxism. Stalin's dictatorship over the party is an inevitable corruption of Lenin's doctrine of the dictatorship of the party, but the latter is not an inevitable fruit of Marx's doctrine of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The corrosion of Marxist elements in Hook's thought increases the proportion of what may not unfairly be defined as the liberal element in his total system. After rejecting the Marxist doctrine of "ideology" as interpreting the interest which corrupts knowledge and truth in too narrowly economic terms, Hook seems to return to the liberal doctrine of scientific objectivity, appealing for the application of the spirit and the method of science "not merely to problems of physical control but to questions of human value." This idea breathes Professor Dewey's confidence in the possibility of achieving a position of transcendence over warring social creeds by a "free cooperative inquiry." Obviously it must be possible to achieve a degree of universally valid truth in social knowledge. If not, social life could not rise above the level to which Thomas Hobbes reduced it. But there is also an irreducible element of "ideological taint" in all social judgments, and this prevents us from achieving as much objectivity in judging issues in which our interests are involved as we have achieved in charting the stars. This whole problem is a very profound one and neither Marxist nor liberal theory has a fully adequate answer for it.

There are other sometimes rather surprising bits of "liberalism" in Hook's thought. He comes to the astonishing conclusion, for instance, that "the failure of socialist ideals to develop . . . is in the main due to *the failure of men.* The débâcle of Marxism represents a colossal moral failure, a failure of intelligence and courage." One could hardly accuse Lenin of lacking either intelligence or courage unless one meant that he was not intelligent enough to detect the errors in the basic presuppositions of the faith by which he was bound or not courageous enough to admit known errors in his system. But in that sense one might with equal validity say that the only difficulty with capitalism is that its proponents are too stupid to understand that it approaches the complexities of economic life with false presuppositions or too cowardly to admit their false premises. The judgment is, in other words, true but irrelevant.

REINHOLD NIEBUHR



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RACE: SCIENCE AND POLITICS. By Ruth Benedict. Modern Age Books. $2.50.

RUTH BENEDICT, the well-known social anthropologist, contributes to the subject of race a compact and vigorously written little volume which should be of great help in clearing the public mind of cant. She manages in 250 short pages to explain the prevailing attitude of modern scientists on the questions involved in race, and to assert the futility of hooking up these tangled abstractions to the facts of culture and social life which are the world's primary concern. Mrs. Benedict commands a thoroughly disciplined style which enables her to expound technical matters without heaviness or condescension; and with it goes an instinct for hitting on happy illustrations in many realms, all contributing their fragment of truth to the conclusion that race is a real subject for scientists and racism a myth for politicians.

On the latter half of this statement it is not hard to agree, nor to echo whole-heartedly Professor Boas's dictum that Mrs. Benedict's book is badly needed in our time. And perhaps that is all that need be said if one takes an immediately practical point of view. But the theoretical interest in the concept of race remains, and it is there that I disagree with the author—or rather that she explicitly disagrees with me by denying that race is a superstition. She explains in the first half of her book that only a very loose division of mankind into three large color groups, or else a particular study of physical traits found in individuals or families, is possible in the light of science. She adds, later, that race is in these senses an abstraction. So far we are on common ground. Abstractions we must have: the only question is how they work. When they purport to define certain things in a fixed relation, while in fact they cover a variable set of phenomena, they deserve, in my humble opinion, to be called superstitions.

If we take witchcraft as a fitting example, we must remember that there were many genuine facts to support the belief in it, and a sensible man like Barrett Wendell, writing in 1890 after a study of the documents, was able to show that some at least of the Salem witches were possessed (read: hysterical) and a decidedly evil influence in the community. The trouble with the concept "witchcraft" was its pretense to stand for a coherent and virtually invariant set of facts. It abstracted from irrelevant things, such as old age, or deformity, or an interest in reading books. Similarly, I think, with race. The scientists' right, defended by Mrs. Benedict, to study hereditary physical traits is the last thing I should think of denying. But the word "race" itself, implying a bundle of tangible, connected, and transmissible features on which membership in a fixed class can be based, is at worst a dangerous and at best an unserviceable word which has betrayed every writer, including Mrs. Benedict and myself, into suggesting what it cannot mean. It is too late to redefine it, precisely because it has generated the "racism" which modern scientists object to, and it is unfortunately too early for genetics to replace it with a concept XYZ which will truly say what science means to affirm.

JACQUES BARZUN

IN BRIEF

OURNEY THROUGH TIME. By Larry Barretto. Farrar and Rinehart. $2.50.

n this very finished novel Mr. Bar-
:tto, though he never quite grasps the
ettle, has adumbrated the central psy-
iological, and consequently practical,
roblem of the young who have grown
p since what only yesterday was "the
'ar." He sees it through the eyes of
ruce and Jane Randolph, who on the
:ry eve of this war take their nine-
en-year-old son to the France they
ive not been able to visit since that
her one. Bruce and Jane, ruined in the
ash of 1929, have been concentrating
ı holding their own and getting back
here they were in the good old days,
ır their son Allan's sake, they tell
iemselves. But Allan does not want
hat they want for him. This is a ma-
.re novel by a man who has not lost
e intuitive insight of youth.

'OLD BACK THE DAWN. By Ketti Frings. Duell, Sloane and Pearce. $2.50.

ıis is a novel of unusual distinction.
group of refugees waiting in Mexico
ır permission to enter the promised
nd are drawn both sharply and sympa-
etically. The reader can see them as
ey would be in happier circumstances,
ıd in the round. A tale of hope de-
rred, it has a particularly warm-
:arted love story for its central plot.
ıe author writes with simplicity and
rectness, and only an occasional wise-
ack betrays immaturity.

'EEVIL IN THE COTTON. By Samuel Milton Elam. Frederick A. Stokes. $2.

ictatorship, concentration camps, and
ɔrm troops are translated into terms
a corrupt political ring in a Southern
.y. The story, told in the first person
a newspaperman, a member of the
ıg, has a plot that is all too familiar
.d far from convincing in its present
ess. The pulp-magazine style, too,
ıkes dull reading, though it is doubt-
ss in character.

EEP GROW THE ROOTS. By Mari Tomasi. J. B. Lippincott Company. $2.

warm-hearted, unpretentious novel
life in a small Italian hill town at
: time when Mussolini's empire
eam made Ethiopia more than a barbarous foreign name to peasant folk whose horizons had been bounded by their chestnut groves and the village priest. Miss Tomasi depicts a quaint locale with deft, economical strokes, underlining the attachment of the hillman to his land and his fierce determination not to be made a target for spears in an Abyssinian desert.

RUDYARD KIPLING. By Edward Shanks. Doubleday, Doran and Company. $2.50.

A smoothly written, pious, but superficial biography of Kipling. Subtitled "a study in literary and political ideas," it reveals no very deep spade work by Mr. Shanks in either field. It does serve to remind us, however, that Kipling was a better writer than is now commonly recognized, and an important representative of ideas which have a new and terrifying formulation in Hitlerism.

AND SO TO BATH. By Cecil Roberts. The Macmillan Company. $3.

A well-known English novelist, author of "Victoria Four-Thirty," makes a chatty three-months-long journey along the historic road from London to Bath, finding the past in the present. He is a trifle repetitious, frankly interested in the more frivolous aspects of the scene, and sometimes slightly inaccurate; but on the whole to read his book is almost as good as to take the trip oneself.

THE WRONG ATTITUDE: A BAD BOY AT A GOOD SCHOOL. By Chanler A. Chapman. G. P. Putman's Sons. $1.50.

Mr. Chapman has written a small but well-packed book of recollections about his brief career at an old New England school twenty years ago. Since it was on the eve of the first World War that it began, and since Mr. Chapman is a witty, wistful, and wise person, the book takes strong hold of the reader and makes him alternately laugh aloud and weep inside. The laughter is at the young man's knowledge of himself and his Tom Sawyer-like genius; the tears are at the inevitable failure of schools—as against single teachers—to feed and reward the spirit of youth. Those who know and prize the writings of the author's father, the late John Jay Chapman, will find this volume an indispensable postscript to the elder Chapman's strange and magnificent piece on the same school and the same failure a generation earlier.

DRAMA

Hardly Worth the Effort

"TO WRITE a five-act tragedy in verse is extremely difficult. Not to write a five-act tragedy in verse is, on the contrary, extremely easy." This arresting thought is attributed to a nineteenth-century diplomat exasperated by a colleague who had repeatedly taken the hard way, and I found myself meditating upon it during the dull stretches in Maxwell Anderson's new piece at the National Theater. This afforded, I may add, plenty of time to go thoroughly into the subject, and aside from the fact that "Journey to Jerusalem" is in three acts instead of five the observation seems to be the most pertinent which it is possible to make.

Mr. Anderson has already written a good many plays in verse. Some of them are, in my opinion, very good indeed, and most of the rest have at least a certain theatrical effectiveness. Even less, therefore, than the ordinary man who has never written a single play in verse would he seem to be under any compulsion to write one now unless he really had something to say or unless, failing that, he had an idea of some sort for some sort of good show. But it is exactly the *raison d'être,* the excuse for being, which seems most conspicuously lacking in "Journey to Jerusalem." Granted that an extraordinarily large proportion of those who write at all find themselves impelled sooner or later to write about Jesus, granted even that some sort of parallel between the oppressed Jews at the time of Augustus and the oppressed peoples of today is easy to draw, the fact remains that Mr. Anderson seems to have been singularly little inspired by an inspiring legend and to have found extremely little of even the obvious to suggest in drawing the parallel. He has sometimes in the past been annoyingly showy; he has never, it seems to me, been so flat and tame.

The action of the play is concerned with the period when, according to Luke, the young Jesus went with his parents to Jerusalem and was discovered by them answering the question of the men of the Sanhedrin. Mr. Anderson has no reference to the miraculous birth and seems, if I may venture into theology, to assume an Arian view of Jesus. Be that as it may, he represents the young boy as beginning to suspect that he may be the Messiah but assuming still that this means a triumphal leader of his people. An outlaw rebel of the hills first makes him understand that suffering, not victory, is to be his role and that his only triumph will be in the hearts of men who come after him. The youthful Jesus is terrified at first but accepts his mission in the end, and that is all.

Perhaps I should, in fairness, report that some members of the audience seemed to perceive an effectiveness in the telling of this story which was lost on me, but I failed to find much that was not merely pedestrian. Nor with the exception of Frederic Tozere as the fear-haunted Herod and Arnold Moss as the prophet-rebel did the actors seem to me to do much to make their stilted roles convincing. Only a very extraordinary child actor could have made the young Jesus either believable or more than a prig, and Sidney Lumet, with his painfully deliberate, obviously schooled speech, is not extraordinary enough. Elmer Rice has staged the piece for the Playwrights' Company with great care, but most of the scenes still suggest a minor passion play written for some parish house.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

IF YOU want to see ice-skating that is gay, imaginative, and, at least to the uninitiate, skilful beyond previous belief, nothing should keep you from "It Happens on Ice." If it's not skating at all but the presence of Joe Cook that draws you to the Center Theater, it is best to resign yourself to fleeting glimpses of the great zany. Then you can enjoy the color and lively grace of the ice show and accept as an extra-special treat the rare appearances of the little man whose ingratiating smile is more illuminating than the neon tubing which lights up his lion-tamer's coat.

R. B.

RECORDS

MY COMMENTS on the unpleasant sound of the orchestra in Columbia's September recordings of Brahms's Second and Dvorak's "New World" Symphonies brought an explanation from Columbia that the recordings had been made in a way that had been thought up to compensate for the way they would be played. That is, since most people cannot stand needle-scratch and turn the treble-control on their machine down to the point where scratch is eliminated, Columbia had greatly strengthened the high vibration-frequencies of the music so that when the control was turned down to that point enough of them would remain audible. But since I don't mind scratch and had played the records with the treble-control up, and since my machine with treble up itself strengthened those high frequencies, I had heard them overemphasized, said Columbia; and since my treble-control happens to operate not gradually but by large steps, I could not obtain the particular setting which —according to Columbia—would make the records sound well. I report this for the information of readers who may already have or may want to acquire those Columbia records; but I must report also that I proceeded to try the records on other large machines, all equipped with a gradually variable treble-control, and one of them with a frequency response ideally suited to the curve of Columbia's recording; that the records sounded different on each machine but could not be made to sound well on any of them; that in the instance where they sounded best they were played with the treble-control not down but up, losing color and becoming muffled when it was turned down; and that on all these machines Victor records sounded excellent. I will report further that those Columbia records sounded most agreeable under the limitations of a small table phonograph—the Magnavox Concerto, the Lafayette JS-175; but that on these also they did not sound as well as the Victors.

What Columbia's well-intended experiment has done is to add one more difficulty and source of confusion to those already existing—those created by the fact that there is no standardization either of equipment or of recording. That is, recording is not done for one machine of known frequency characteristics, but for a large number of machines—large and small, good and bad —with unknown characteristics that are different and constantly changing; and there are differences and changes in the frequency curve of records, with the purpose of making them sound well on all machines. In this purpose Victor, H. M. V., and European Columbia have been more successful than American Columbia; and even on their better-sounding records one hears now and then the rattle caused by overcutting, in the attempt to produce recording loud enough for the old non-electrical machines that cannot step up volume.

These are difficulties and sources of confusion for the reviewer; since whether his machine is large or small, good or bad, what a record sounds lik on this machine is different from wh it will sound like on others. Reviewe who listen to records on poor machin do not have my worry about the fa that my Scott heightens not only th tonal splendor of a fine orchestral r cording but the rattle due to overcuttin which may not be heard on a machin of limited frequency range. I may a sume that what sounds well on my Sco will sound well on other machines; bu I can't be sure that what sounds bad i my home will sound bad elsewhere. An so, having spent a lot of time takin some October American Columbia around to different machines, I can sa only that on these machines they we not equal to good Victors. The best o the group was the recording of Stra vinsky's superb performance—superb, a any rate, up to the feeble concludin phrase—of his "Sacre du printemps with the New York Philharmoni Symphony (Set 417, $4.50). Less goo —though better than his September r cording of Dvorak's "New World"— was that of Stokowski's excessively har driving performance of Ravel's "Bolero with the American Youth Orchestr (X-174, $2). Worst was the recordin of Bach's fine D minor Concerto, a ranged for violin from the work fo clavier recorded by Edwin Fischer, an with the solo part played magnificentl by Szigeti with the New Friends O chestra under Stiedry (Set 418, $3.50)

In addition Columbia offers a goo performance of Sibelius's enjoyab "Swan of Tuonela" by the Chicago Sym phony under Stock (11388, $1), whic sounds very well on the record—possibl because the music is quiet and mute or possibly because it was recorded b fore Columbia's experiment. And a excellent performance of Mendelssohn unimportant "Ruy Blas" Overtu (70352-D, $1), which sounds so we because it was recorded by Beecha with the London Philharmonic.

Singing, playing, and recording in th National Committee for Music Appr ciation's set of "Aida" are coarse-graine and noisy; and it is hard to imagin anything that would do a better job o obscuring the beauty of the music fo someone who does not know it.

B. H. HAGGIN

INFORMATION FOR SUBSCRIBERS

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Letters to the Editors

reative Faith Called for

ar Sirs: Your issue of August 31 ves me to a protest. The articles by r. Malcolmson and Mr. Frank illus- ite in extreme form, it seems to me, low emotional ebb of our democratic th. Here is defeatism suggesting to elf defeat.

When our liberal press joins the chorus "what's the use? Hitler has us beaten fore we start," it promotes the very ychological inner betrayal that Hitler s used so successfully to defeat democ- y. Your own fine editorials have none this defeatism, but the bulk of your ntributors certainly lack the emotive wer of a strong faith.

Why do you not offer even a page or o in each issue to those who believe ongly in the creative energy of cour- e, faith, and democratic cooperation? times of crisis such as this we need ld, reiterated suggestions that democ- y is based on positive creative forces d that fear and avoidance of evil are suitable as leading motives in democ- y's crisis. The totalitarians cannot ild a new order based on destructive tives. As soon as reconstruction be- ns they will have to unlearn the deep tincts Hitler and Goebbels and Stalin ve so passionately taught them. They ll have to reverse themselves emotion- y and accept democracy's creative th.

We must not hesitate now to speak to r people of the great role that spirit- l faith plays in all historical crises. e future of democracy depends now the driving power of our emotional nvictions. At times of active crisis gic and reason cannot effectively op- se emotion or substitute for it. At h times we live as we feel, not as think. When I say "spiritual faith" do not refer to any form of sectarian igious belief. I mean the simple faith t the principle of love is the master rtner of creative life and the principle fear-hate its necessary but destruc- e servant and scavenger.

We cannot reason or appease the alitarians out of their destructive urse. We must simply love democracy d justice and human brotherhood with re emotional power than they hate it. e must be as willing to die for that e as they are for their hate.

If this power of creative suggestion has even a grain of truth and hope in it, then you should open your pages to those who have such a faith to offer our people. There are better men than I to make such an appeal, in wiser, more impassioned words; for God's sake seek them out and give them audience in every issue! Do not again tell us so bleakly that our forefathers' creative work is at last bankrupted by our ease-loving cowardice. LEWIS A. RILEY

Leonia, N. J., October 9

Good Hunting!

Dear Sirs: England has always been a powerful and lazy country which has put its imagination into gardens, its emotional power into love of dogs, and its tremendous fighting strength into sport. Now Hitler has done us a great service. He has given us something with the cunning of a fox and the wings of a bird as an object of prey. I think it is a mistake which may prove his doom. For hundreds of years the Englishman's whole tradition has been sport. Every drop of blood in him is a hunter's, and now he is hunting in his own skies to save his own flesh and blood. I cannot tell you what a miracle is going on all round us. Our children will really become citizens of the world. They are penetrating into new homes and opening wide our narrowed island hearts. Our soldiers are being treated like equals —in many cases they are our superiors, still, what a step this is! People in air-raid shelters cannot fail to become friends and talk to each other like one family. The unbending all round is all the more thorough for being unconscious.

Churchill is using to the full, and in the right direction, his magnificent talents, and England has accepted him whole-heartedly. There is still a certain amount of dead wood from the old regime in every government office. There are still people with Nazi leanings who, if they were pinched enough, might go back to their old league with evil, but the proportion steadily dwindles. In my belief, Churchill's friendship with Bevin is one of our strongest planks. The healthy section in the Conservative Party is having its eyes opened to the right aims of the English people, and the unhealthy section is gradually being squeezed out.

This is the political situation as it is at present. If there should be a very severe catastrophe, the weak link might snap again. If, on the other hand, we get America as a democratic ally, so as to strengthen the best forces in us, I shall have no anxiety about our spiritual future. PHYLLIS BOTTOME

Bude, North Cornwall, England,
September 12

Selected Negro Artillerymen

Dear Sirs: There is a little item in connection with selective service which you probably never heard of but which has some point in the present situation. I was secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People before the World War, and after receiving my commission as a captain of artillery was transferred to the 92nd Division at my own request. I found the colonel commanding the artillery brigade in a funk, saying he "never could make artillerymen out of niggers." He was short of mechanics and electricians and technical men generally. I considered the matter overnight and then told him I thought I had a solution for him.

"Here," I said, "is the problem. You have only one combat division to recruit from the draft, less than 20,000 men; but the draft all told has the cards of half a million Negroes. Among those half-million are all the automobile mechanics, electricians, machinists you possibly could want as nuclei for your gun crews and members of the headquarters company. Let me go down to Washington and see the Secretary of War and get permission to comb the draft."

"Can you do it?" he said. "I can't pay your transportation to Washington, but I'll give you leave to go down and try."

So I went to Washington at my own expense and through the Washington branch of the N. A. A. C. P. Archibald Grimke and I got an interview with Newton Baker, then Secretary of War. General Hugh Scott, Chief of Staff, was called in, and I laid my proposal before them. They approved it almost at once —Baker, of course, was always sympathetic toward the Negro—and gave the artillery of the 92nd Division authority to take 200 men per regiment from the draft. I personally combed the cards and forever endeared myself to my fellow-officers by including, on my own responsibility, twenty men per regiment who had been Pullman cooks. There was no grousing about the impossibility of making artillerymen out of Negroes after my selections arrived.

ROY NASH

Sacramento, Cal., October 3

Opportunity

Dear Sirs: It is unfortunate that men of the undoubted capabilities and intelligence of the WPA worker from San Francisco whose letter appeared in the September 21 issue of *The Nation* are forced to spend their time and strength in futile labor and their emotional energies in that bitter, despondent, desperate hate which alone makes possible the rise of a Hitler. Surely he must know that fascism is not the answer to the "poverty, misery, sickness, ignorance, filth, and stupidity" which he so rightfully deplores.

Some of us "liberals" have suffered the same indignities, have seen and been moved by the same stupid, unnecessary callousness to human suffering, but we have not given up hope that a legitimate, progressive American way out can yet be found. I refer to those of us who are actively participating in one of the many real cooperative movements which are gradually gaining prominence in the United States. Oscar N. Hult, the manager of our cooperative, the Bluox Lumber Cooperative of Cheshire, Oregon, authorizes me to offer the writer of that letter the opportunity to participate in our movement. If he sincerely wishes to perform useful work and to enjoy the incalculable rewards of cooperative effort he should get in touch with us.

A SATISFIED MEMBER

Cheshire, Ore., October 9

Healthy Disunity

Dear Sirs: We were rather startled to learn from the In the Wind column of September 28 that the leaders of the "Union Now" movement were trying to keep quiet "definite disunity" among us about our current policy.

This dispute was openly and freely discussed in the August and September issues of *Federal Union World,* and in the October issue Dr. Vernon Nash outlines the misgivings of the minority who disagree with Streit's present point of view.

You will agree, we believe, that such disagreement, openly discussed, is a sign of health and democracy in the movement rather than of weakness. There is no "party line" here. The minority is free to voice its opinion, and the majority rules.

And is Britain the only nation left to unite with? In the proposed Union Canada, Eire, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa would enter, if they chose, as separate nations, on the same footing as the United States and Great Britain. Moreover, as a token of hope to all the conquered or captive Scandinavian peoples and because it is a democracy, Iceland should also be included in the original founding nucleus Union.

WILLIAM P. BLAKE,
Secretary, Federal Union

New York, October 3

Refugees from New York

Dear Sirs: Only 164 years ago it was New York City rather than London that was threatened with invasion, and then as now the situation of the women and children was causing concern. On August 17, 1776, the New York State Convention considered the following letter from General George Washington, who was then trying to hold off the armies of General Howe:

> *Gentlemen:* When I consider that the city of New-York will, in all human probability, very soon be the scene of a bloody conflict, I cannot but view the great numbers of women and children and infirm persons remaining in it with the most melancholy concern. When the men of war passed up the river, the shrieks and cries of those poor creatures, running every way with their children, was truly distressing, and I fear will have an unhappy effect on the ears and minds of our young and inexperienced soldiery. Can no method be devised for their removal? Many doubtless are of abiity to remove themselves, but there are others in a different situation. Some provision for them afterward would also be a necessary consideration.
>
> It would relieve me from great anxiety if your Honorable Body would immediately deliberate upon it, and form and execute some plan for their removal and relief, in which I will cooperate and assist to the utmost of my power. . . .

The convention voted to remove all women, children, and infirm persons from the city, appointed a committee to supervise the evacuation, and pledged itself to pay the expenses of removal and maintenance of those unable to pay for themselves. The story is told in "The History of Public Welfare in New York State, 1609-1866," by David M. Schneider.

OLIVE L. SAWYER

New York, October 14

Welcome Suggestions

Dear Sirs: I should like to see *The N* *tion* make its film reviews a week feature covering many more picture This department seems to me at lea as valuable a subscriber service as th Records department. My wife and I a fond of good legitimate theater, but w see ten movies to one play, and I su pect many other *Nation* readers are the same situation. Our problem is get intelligent and conscientious advi on the merits of the films advertise Newspaper reviews, being designed reflect the standards of the great m jority of newspaper readers, are unr liable.

Turning to another topic, I commer *The Nation* for publishing Maxw Stewart's article on conscription. Apa from the excellence of his essay ar the editorial rejoinder, I am all in fav of more contributions which disse from the editorial line on whatever ha pens to be the crucial issue of the tim Perhaps Mr. Villard, in his role of loy opposition, used up the weekly quo of space for dissenting contributo Now that his page has departed, le continue to have a flow of anti-editori articles, and by all means the editori replies.

EDWARD S. NEWMAN

Cleveland, Ohio, October 4

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THE *Nation*

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The Shape of Things

LTHOUGH THE WAR IN THE AIR GOES ON ith unabated savagery, it is on the diplomatic front at the major strategic moves are being made. Unofficial ut probably inspired reports from Berlin suggest an rly effort to complete the *Gleichschaltung* of Vichy d to bring France into the war as a junior Axis partner. on Ribbentrop, it is rumored, may shortly go to Vichy, d Laval is said to be in Paris now consulting with the erman authorities there. Berlin sources also hint at imortant developments concerning Spain in the next few ys. Certainly Franco could become an open belligerent ith greater safety if France were induced to turn on its d ally, for Vichy still commands sufficient naval forces add to the British problem of defending Gibraltar and ockading Spain. But however willing Marshal Pétain d his reactionary friends may be to prostitute themlves to Berlin, it seems incredible that they could actuly join the war against Britain without a revolt occurng in unoccupied France and the colonies. The timing Winston Churchill's stirring radio appeal to the rench people suggests that London had news of the xis plans and hoped to rally France against its unrepsentative government. Meanwhile the diplomatic struge continues in the Balkans. Yugoslavia has all but surndered to the Axis, following a large-scale Italian ilitary demonstration on its borders, and Bulgaria apars ready to be "protected" in return for a strip of reece.

*

AFFIC IS MOVING AGAIN ON THE BURMA ad after a disastrous experiment with appeasement. fortunately the work China has put in on the road in e interval may be largely offset by Japan's ability to mb it from recently acquired Indo-China bases. It is rdly likely that the Japanese aviators will be able to p traffic altogether over the road, but the Chinese st be prepared to suffer heavy losses of material. To ke matters worse, Great Britain retreated at the last ment from its intention to open Hongkong as well as Burma road. Despite the Japanese blockade of the South China coast, it is probable that a larger volume of supplies would have reached China via Hongkong than by the Burma road. Since more of them would have been smuggled, they would have been safer from aerial bombardment. Meanwhile, Japan is also encountering difficulty in maintaining a flow of essential war supplies. Although it has been reported that the Japanese mission in the Dutch East Indies was about to conclude an agreement providing Japan with 40 per cent of its oil requirements over the next six months, London dispatches insist that the British government has contracted for the East Indies' entire output of high-octane aviation gasoline. If this contract can be maintained against Japanese pressure, Japan may yet be obliged to cut down its terroristic bombing of defenseless Chinese cities.

*

THERE IS TALK OF AN AMERICAN WHEAT loan to Franco. The idea is supposed to have originated in the mind of the unreconstructible Lord Halifax, who apparently has learned nothing from the catastrophic failure of his other attempts at appeasement. The effort to win Spain from the Axis was doomed from the day Barcelona fell to Franco and his fascist backers. To make the attempt today would be worse than idiotic; it would be a criminal betrayal of our own commitments to the democratic cause. It may be argued that just a little American wheat, carefully rationed, might prolong Spain's non-belligerency by a few useful weeks. But this is a dangerous and mistaken argument. The appointment of a solid pro-Axis Cabinet in Spain, with Suñer as Foreign Minister, is an open announcement that Franco's last independent card has been played. Himmler is now in Madrid to gather up the chips. No loan to Spain could produce results important enough to offset the wave of suspicion and anger such an act would set in motion in democratic circles of every country. President Roosevelt has said: "The people of the United States . . . reject the doctrine of appeasement. They recognize it for what it is, a major weapon of the aggressor nations." We believe the President meant what he said; and we cannot believe that he will sanction a loan to General Franco.

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BUT HEINRICH HIMMLER DID NOT HAVE TO go to Spain to collaborate with Franco. The execution of Luis Companys is another proof of the intimate relations existing between the Gestapo and its Spanish colleagues. The president of the former Catalan Republic was seized either in France or Belgium by Hitler's police and shipped to his executioners. According to reports from the Spanish border, he was tortured to death by the "*garrote vil.*" His death dramatizes the terror that parades as government in Franco's Spain. Companys was a liberal republican, known and loved throughout the country as a lawyer and writer who risked his high position to defend the Anarchists and other political opponents of the repressive regime in Barcelona prior to the rebellion of 1934. The execution of so moderate and so popular a leader confirms the charge that the terror in Spain has not been lessened during the nineteen months since the fall of the republic but on the contrary has grown more brutal and indiscriminate. It is known that many other famous anti-fascist Spaniards have been shipped to Franco by the Gestapo. The horrible death of Companys will not have been wholly in vain if it stirs the conscience of those who have the power to admit to the United States the victims of Hitler and his fellow-tyrants. Thousands of men and women will meet the fate of Luis Companys if the United States is unwilling to offer them asylum. The visit of Himmler to Madrid is notice that the time for saving them is short.

*

MARTIN DIES IS HAVING A QUARREL WITH the State and Justice departments. His committee has turned up information about the activities of German consular agents in this country so incriminating that to spread it on the record in public official hearings would, it is said, make a final break with Germany inevitable. Some of the hush-hush officials in the State Department have apparently been arguing that such a break would be inadvisable because it would mean the withdrawal from Germany of our few remaining representatives, thereby cutting off our only sources of information there. On the basis of that part of the Dies data which appeared unofficially in the New York *Post* last week, we are paying a fantastic price for the service of a few representatives in Germany. The head devil of the Nazis in America is Friedhelm Draeger, German vice-consul in New York, who operates through all the German consulates and a network of organizations disguised as non-political business organizations which spend a great deal more than they ostensibly take in. Surely it should be obvious by this time that the only way to handle Nazi agents is to kick them out, and on this score Dies is right. But there is more than a hint that, as usual, Dies's larger objective is a rousing red-hunt. He now says that there are 5,000 potential saboteurs in Detroit alone, and among the subversive organizations he wants outlawed are the I. W. W., the Maritime Union, and the Transport Workers' Union. Stalin's paid agents deserve no better fate than Hitler's, but if Dies is following his characteristic technique of using the Nazi menace as a stick with which to attack the labor movement, we hope the Department of Justice will scan his evidence against workers with the utmost care and skepticism.

*

WE ARE CERTAIN THAT IT CAN ALL BE explained, but just the same we feel a bit dazed by the whirling reports of the Gallup poll. "Shift to Willkie of Five States Seen" was a head in the New York *Times* of October 18. On the nineteenth came a story under the head "Few Voters Seen Shifting Choices." Subheads on the two successive days announced: "Gallup Survey Shows Swing of Illinois, Wisconsin, Iowa, Indiana, and Michigan" and "Gallup Survey Indicates That the Majority Have Not Been Swayed by Campaign." It seems that 10 per cent of the voters interviewed in one poll were Roosevelt supporters who had once been for Willkie, while 8 per cent were Willkie supporters who had once been for Roosevelt. This should leave Roosevelt 2 per cent up on the challenger, but another subhead on the eighteenth reported: "One Per Cent Increase in Popular Vote for Republican Nominee Also Is Indicated." Which appears to mean either that a good many hitherto uncommitted voters have just made up their minds in favor of Willkie or that the Gallup poll is chasing its tail. Campaign developments of the week hardly clarify matters. The President's decision to take to the hustings is interpreted by the Republicans as a sign of alarm, and the press is filled with reports of Willkie inroads into the vast Germanic vote of the Middle West. No incumbent nominee, however, has yet been known to sit silent through the last two weeks of a campaign; and if the Middle West shows a trend toward Willkie, that trend has been sadly misread by one of its leading organs of public opinion. The St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*, which opposed Roosevelt in 1936 and for three months plumped for Wendell Willkie, now finds the latter's candidacy "singularly unconvincing singularly empty of content."

*

DESPITE URGING FROM NEGRO LEADERS the Administration has as yet done nothing to assure Negroes who enter the army of the equality of treatment specified in the Selective Service Act. On the contrary, the President has announced that the army will continue its policy of separating white and Negro troops which means discrimination of the most flagrant kind It virtually precludes Negro officers, except as chaplains and doctors, in regular army units other than two National Guard regiments. It apparently bars Negroes from

ation, since the Adjutant General of the War Depart-
nt recently declared that "applications from colored
sons for flying-cadet appointment or enlistment in
Air Corps are not being accepted." The problem is
tainly a ticklish one. A policy of full race equality
uld bring cries of anguish from many Southern Con-
ssmen. Yet the fact remains that racial equality is
of the foundation stones of American democracy.
d if the very army we summon to defend that democ-
y denies it in practice, we shall be getting off to a
y bad start.

* * *

IE SECRECY SURROUNDING THE RIOM
ils has been broken to the extent of revealing that
ve criminal as well as political charges have been
ought against Léon Blum, Paul Reynaud, and George
ndel. Blum has been accused of "betrayal of the duties
his charge, Mandel of "corruption and speculation,"
l Reynaud of "embezzlement of public funds."
nong Blum's other shortcomings, it is said that he
ist have known that his Finance Minister, Vincent
riol, was diverting funds earmarked for the national
fense. While it is not unusual for the citizens of a
feated country to seek revenge on convenient scape-
its who can be loaded with full responsibility for the
feat, it is doubtful whether any trial has so offended
rmal human sensibilities as the farce at Riom. Even
Reichstag-fire trial, although patently a frame-up,
l not attempt to vilify the names of the country's great
riotic leaders. A further indication of the depths to
ich the France of Laval and Pétain has fallen may be
ind in the new decrees barring Jews from high public
ice and from working with the press, radio, or movies.
it it is obvious that the men who rule today at Vichy
not Frenchmen in any real sense of the word.

* * *

IE FIRST ARREST IN GANDHI'S NEW
ssive-resistance campaign occurred early this week
ien Vinoba Bhane was imprisoned for making pacifist
eeches in defiance of the British government. Pandit
waharlal Nehru, second only to Gandhi in popular
llowing, has announced his intention of following
r. Bhane's example. It is believed that Gandhi's failure
offer himself for arrest results from his desire to pre-
nt the movement from developing into a mass civil-
sobedience campaign. Despite the provocation offered
the British government's rejection of the Congress
mands for independence, Gandhi appears determined
at nothing shall be done to weaken Britain in its hour
danger. Italy must have completely misinterpreted
dia's attitude if it supposed that its attack on Bahrein
and in the Persian Gulf would terrorize the Indian
ople into an uprising against Britain. The effect is
ely to be exactly the reverse.

HUMAN LIVES ARE CHEAPER THAN SAFETY devices in the eyes of some American mine owners. No doubt they will continue to fight federal inspection and safety regulations despite the shocking report brought in by the United States Bureau of Mines on the Bates, Arkansas, disaster. An explosion in a Bates Coal Corporation mine last August, the third in eight years, took ten lives. The Bureau of Mines, investigating, found that all three explosions were due to the lack of the most elementary safety precautions and the use of a kind of cutting machine long listed as unsafe by the bureau. The Department of the Interior, in releasing the report, declares that it demonstrates the need for federal administration of mine-safety regulations. But even enactment of the mild Neely-Keller bill seems improbable. The bill provides only for federal inspection of mines and gives the Bureau of Mines no power other than that of publishing its findings. It passed the Senate unanimously but is still buried in the House Mines and Mining Committee. The head of this committee, long known as a friend of the mine owner, is Congressman Joe Smith of West Virginia. Smith's excuse has been that the Bituminous Coal Act already grants authority to make mine inspections. Secretary Ickes wrote a letter emphatically denying this. The subcommittee in charge of the hearings on the bill suppressed the letter. Fortunately it cannot suppress the report on the Bates disaster.

* * *

THREE CONTINENTS ARE AFLAME, AND WE are told every day by our isolationists how dangerous F. D. R.'s policy is. This country should mind its own business and get jobs for the unemployed by electing Willkie. The fascist deluge may devastate the earth, but the United States, under the direction of prosperous business men, will keep afloat like Noah's Ark until the rainbow heralding peace appears on the horizon. Such miracles happened in days of yore, though it is uncertain whether the majority of the Ark's passengers were New Dealers or Republicans. As for the conjurers of "splendid isolation," they remind us of a miracle worked by a rabbi who started on a journey on foot with his disciples one Friday evening. His pupils warned him that Saturday was near and that a pious Jew was not supposed to travel on the Sabbath. "Don't worry," they were told by the rabbi, "I trust that a wonder will help us." So they walked on, for they believed in the wisdom of their leader. "It is midnight," one of the disciples finally exclaimed. "Be composed," the rabbi answered. And then the miracle occurred. Ahead of the rabbi was Sabbath; behind him and to the right and the left of him was Sabbath; but where the rabbi and his pupils walked it was still Friday! Willkie's disciples seem to be counting on a similar miracle of isolation, complete with jobs for the unemployed and profits for needy millionaires.

If This Be Ruin—

ONE of the weapons most frequently employed in Wendell Willkie's somewhat inadequate rhetorical arsenal is his assertion that, under the New Deal, the economic system of this country has been brought to a state of collapse. In recent speeches he has declared:

> The New Deal tactics have made it impossible for business to expand.—Minneapolis, October 19.
>
> The key to war as well as the key to peace is American production. . . . Our agencies of production were abused, attacked, smothered under a wave of political propaganda.—St. Louis, October 17.
>
> No Administration in the history of America has ever understood less about the problems and necessity of production than this one.—St. Louis, October 17.

The Republican candidate's devotion to this theme is not very flattering to his audiences. It suggests that they never bother to read the newspapers or to inform themselves about the business situation. Yet after learning from the headlines on page one that Willkie says the New Deal has ruined industry, we have only to turn to the back pages to read about rapidly expanding production and steeply rising profits. The Federal Reserve Board Index of Production, we find, stood at 125 in September, or 13½ per cent above the 1929 average. The automobile industry has scheduled a record output for October and now expects actual achievement to exceed the estimate. The profits of 400 leading corporations, according to a compilation made by the National City Bank, were 58.6 per cent greater in the first six months of this year than in the first half of 1939, representing an annual rate of return of 10.9 per cent as compared with one of 7 per cent. Are these the marks of economic decadence? As C. F. Hughes, the well-known financial writer, says in the New York *Times*, "Dreams of business 'flat on its back' must come from smoking campaign cigars, or else the speakers are talking about some other country."

When Mr. Willkie paints his highly imaginative pictures of the state of the nation under the New Deal, we sometimes wonder if he isn't copying from the photographic history of 1932. He never refers to that last dreadful year of Republican government, and we don't blame him if he wants to forget it. But we may be sure that most of the voters have longer memories. They may, with reason, feel that the WPA is an inadequate solution for unemployment, but they won't forget that in 1931 and 1932 the one expanding industry was apple-selling.

During those last two years of Republican rule industry really was down and out. Let us look at the record. In 1932 the physical volume of industrial production, as measured by the Federal Reserve Board index, was 58. After the election of Mr. Roosevelt it rose eve year except in 1938, when it dropped to 88. Last ye it was 108, and the average for the first six months 1940 is 115. In 1932 national income dropped to $40 089 million; in 1939 it was $69,400 million. For th current year the *Nation's Business* estimates that it w exceed $74,000 million, and, allowing for lower price its purchasing power will be greater than that of th record national income of 1929.

It is also worth recalling that since Mr. Roosevelt fir took office, farm income has almost doubled. In 193 hogs brought from $2.75 to $4 per hundred pounds; 1940 prices have ranged between $4.90 and $6.40. Cor at one time in 1932 was as low as 29 cents a bushe today it is around 60 cents. Wheat averaged 42 cents 1932; now, despite the loss of foreign markets due the war and other causes beyond the government's co trol, it is around 85 cents.

Of course, Mr. Willkie may claim that it is unfair compare conditions in the worst Republican year wi those in the best Roosevelt year, when industry is r ceiving an artificial stimulus from the defense program Let us then contrast the seven complete years of th New Deal—1933 to 1939 inclusive—with the last seve years of Republicanism, the years 1926 to 1932, whi saw the Coolidge boom as well as the Hoover depre sion. For the earlier period the physical volume of indu trial production averaged 89; for the seven Roosеve years it averaged 92 (Federal Reserve Index. Averag of 1935-39 equals 100). This refutes completely th assiduously circulated suggestion that after seven f Republican years the country has suffered seven lea years under the New Deal.

We note also that while Mr. Roosevelt has be grinding business into the dust, commercial failures, recorded by the Department of Commerce, have ave aged 1,042 monthly. In the glorious Coolidge-Hoov days the monthly average was 1,784. Since the vast m jority of business units in this country are small in siz these figures are obviously a reflection of the state health of small business. As such they make a very ill minating comment on Mr. Willkie's contention that it the little man who has been particularly injured by th New Deal.

It should be clear enough by now, however, that bo Mr. Willkie and his fellow-representatives of big bu ness have attempted to sell the country a fraudulent b of goods on the economic consequences of the Ne Deal. Even the electric-utility industry, about which th Republican candidate ought to have some statistical i formation, has shown a consistent record of expansi during the years when Mr. Roosevelt has supposedl been killing it. In 1932 its average monthly output w 6,865 million kilowatt hours; in 1939 this had ris to 10,857 millions. Monthly output for the seven yea nding 1932 averaged 7,182 millions; for the seven years nding 1939, 8,987 millions. If this be the kind of ruin he New Deal has brought on the country, we shall not e surprised if on November 5 the electorate chooses nother helping of the same in preference to Mr. Will- ie's warmed-over version of the famous Hoover chicken.

An Unappreciated Orator

COLONEL PHILIP B. FLEMING, in his adminis- tration of the Fair Labor Standards Act, has tried win the good-will of both capital and labor. He has ught to please labor by his speeches and capital by his lings. The speeches have eloquently resisted, the rul- gs have effectively furthered, the campaign to weaken e wage-hour law.

"Don't you think," Colonel Fleming asked in a broad- st interview last July, "it will be time enough to talk out longer hours after industry has absorbed the un- mployed?" "It used to be fashionable in cynical cir- es," he asserted in an address last September, "to say at, of course, when we get bang up against the prob- m of girding the nation for defense, social legislation ould all go up the chimney. . . . That talk is just non- nse. It is based on the false premise that our social and oor laws are mere candy sticks to keep the nation's orkers from whimpering." "The necessity of preserving cial gains," he explained to a business men's conven- on on October 10, is "not merely for humanitarian asons but actually in the interest of maximum produc- n." Were Colonel Fleming's duties confined to ora- y, he would be one of labor's heroes.

When Colonel Fleming took over enforcement of e wage-hour law, it was rumored that it would be his k to do by interpretation what Congressional oppo- nts of the act were then preparing to do by amend- ent. Earlier this year, to an American Newspaper Guild legation protesting against proposed regulations af- ting white-collar workers, Colonel Fleming denied he d any such intentions. The proposed regulations, to hich the Newspaper Guild objected, have now been omulgated. They are but the latest of the steps Colonel eming has taken to weaken the act. He has redefined ecutive, administrative, and professional employees d outside salesmen in such a way as to bar several ndred thousand more workers from overtime pay. A n making as little as $30 a week may now be an xecutive." Almost any white-collar worker may be garded as an "administrative" employee. Newspaper- n become "professional," an honor for which they st pay, for executives and persons in the second and rd categories making more than $200 a month are empt from the overtime provisions of the act. Colonel eming ingenuously explained that he made these new regulations because he did not think Congress intended the act to cover people like Hollywood stars or big business executives. It is a long jump from Clark Gable or David Sarnoff to the police reporter making $50 a week.

The labor movement, though it may be united on little else, is agreed on Colonel Fleming. The October issue of the *Federationist,* organ of the A. F. of L., criticizes his administration of the wage-hour law. *Labor,* organ of the Railroad Brotherhoods, regards him with suspicion. The *C. I. O. News* charges that his division has been hasty and inefficient in investigating wage-hour complaints made by the United Shoe Workers and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. Labor's Non-Partisan League has launched a campaign against him. Attacks have been made upon his record by two of labor's best friends in the House, Coffee on October 7 and Connery on October 14. Two facts cited by the former make it easy to understand labor's alarm. More than a year ago the joint pressure of the A. F. of L., the C. I. O., and the Brotherhoods obtained a $2,000,000 deficiency appropriation for the Wage-Hour Division at a time when anti-labor forces had hoped to render it powerless by a sharp reduction in its funds. On July 1, although the division is appallingly undermanned, Colonel Fleming returned an unexpended balance of $387,000 to the Treasury, enough to pay for 180 additional inspectors a year. Representative Coffee also called attention to the novel procedure followed by the Wage-Hour Division in handling complaints. The employer is asked to fill out a form on which he states whether or not he is violating the law. In at least one case the acting regional director for New England declined to act upon a complaint because "the employers state they have not violated the law." Labor regards this introduction of the honor system into employer-employee relations as premature.

Morale Is Not Enough

JUST because Britain continues to ward off invasion and because its morale is standing up magnificently under continuous air attacks, we should not give way to easy optimism. Winston Churchill said in the House of Commons recently that Britain is fighting primarily to survive, and that is the stark truth. What he did not say is that the chances of survival are at best no greater than fifty-fifty. Few Britons, of course, would admit for an instant that there is a danger of ultimate defeat, and their unshakable belief in final victory is one of their greatest sources of strength. Yet however important the moral factor may be, we must not forget that material factors remain decisive. Hence we must not be easily content with the economic aid we are now making accessible to Britain but must exert ourselves to multiply it.

Whether or not Germany launches a winter campaign against British positions in the Near East, we can be sure that the Nazi General Staff is making careful preparations for an offensive next spring which will be backed not only by the reserves of the Reich itself but by those of all the conquered countries of Europe. Economically these reserves are far more important than is generally recognized. Under the armistice terms France alone must pay a daily levy of 20 million marks and pay at an artificial exchange rate of 20 francs to one mark, which makes the mark almost equal to 50 cents. This adds up to 144 billion francs a year, or, translated into dollars, to $300 million a month. For many months the Nazis have been draining France to that tune, draining it of food, raw materials, finished goods, and even of machinery. It is interesting to compare this sum with American exports of war materials to Britain, which during the first eight months of this year have averaged under $50 million a month. And in the first year of the war our exports of all kinds to all British countries were at a rate of little over $200 million a month.

It has been estimated by *Standard Statistics* that in the present fiscal year the total outlay of the United States for defense purposes will aggregate $4½ billion, or $375 million a month. In other words, our efforts to achieve military preparedness, considerable as they are, will only add up to $75 million more per month than Hitler is extracting from conquered France. And if the economic proceeds of pressure on Poland, Denmark, Norway, Holland, and Belgium are taken into account, it will be seen that Germany is able to muster resources which, when added to its internal production, make available a war potential far outweighing anything we are yet ready even to contemplate.

The extent to which Germany is, in fact, mobilizing the economies of the countries it has overrun may be judged from a recent article in the *Deutsche Volkswirt* sternly warning the defeated peoples to cooperate actively with their conquerors or face the consequences.

> When the propertied classes in these countries [it says] draw up an honest balance sheet, they will realize that if they wish to salvage anything they must employ their remaining assets instead of guarding them carefully. . . . That means, above all, that they must endeavor day and night to incorporate their regional economy into the given conditions of the new Europe. . . . Above and beyond this the German authorities must expect that they will receive all and any support required to end this war as rapidly as possible.

There is, of course, a limit to the amount that the Nazis can squeeze out of their victims. When they have seized all accumulated stocks which are serviceable they can only take current production, and owing to disorganization of transport, shortage of raw materials, and lack of fuel, that is bound to remain at a low level. Indeed, it seems impossible that France, for instance, will be physically capable of paying the required levy in th form of goods for many months longer. But even so, th loot which Germany has been able to collect has enable it to recoup its economic strength and will probably leav it with a wide margin over Britain when the spring come

In view of these facts, we must ask ourselves whethe the scale both of our own defense preparations and c our assistance to Britain is at all adequate. When Hitle gets ready to undertake a final offensive against the Bri ish Isles he will have available, despite the blockade, a accumulation of the materials of destruction such as n army in history has ever before commanded. Hence, i his attack is to be hurled back and a counter-offensiv undertaken, an even greater weight of material must b at the disposal of his enemies. The deciding factor i the war will almost certainly be economic. Potentiall the democracies are superior in this field to the dictator but they have still to learn how to mobilize fully thei productive capacities.

CONTENTS

THE SHAPE OF THINGS 37
EDITORIALS:
- IF THIS BE RUIN— 38
- AN UNAPPRECIATED ORATOR 38
- MORALE IS NOT ENOUGH 38

MR. MADDEN AND MORALE by I. F. Stone 38
WILLKIE SETS IN THE WEST by Richard L. Neuberger 38
WHY I AM FOR ROOSEVELT by John Chamberlain, John G. Winant, Van Wyck Brooks, Gifford Pinchot, James N. Rosenberg 38
WE NEED NOT FIGHT IN ASIA by Maxwell S. Stewart 39
EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS by Keith Hutchison 39
IN THE WIND 39
A NATIVE AT LARGE by Jonathan Daniels 39
BOOKS AND THE ARTS:
- NOTES BY THE WAY by Margaret Marshall 39
- AMERICAN ECONOMIC HISTORY by Lewis Corey 39
- FRANZ KAFKA'S POOR RICHARD by Philip Rahv 39
- MUSICIAN AS POET by John Peale Bishop 39
- THE SINS OF THE POOR by Milton S. Mayer 39
- PLANNING—AND FREEDOM by Sidney Hook 39
- SCALPEL, PLEASE by Louis B. Salomon 39
- IN BRIEF 40
- FILMS by Franz Hoellering 40
- MUSIC by B. H. Haggin 40
- ART: HIGH BRAZIL by Paul Rosenfeld 40

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Mr. Madden and Morale

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, October 21

WHEN J. Warren Madden was appointed chairman of the National Labor Relations Board in 1935 he had been a professor of law at he University of Pittsburgh for eight years. Business men felt that this alone was sufficient guaranty that he would not turn out to be a liberal. A confidential report to du Pont de Nemours and Company, later uncovered by investigators for the La Follette committee, placed great reliance on this fact. It said that while Madden was disliked by employers during one month of service on the Pittsburgh regional labor board, his "background would imply that he would not be too much pro-labor. . . . He has been a professor at Pittsburgh U for a great many years, and this is an institution which surely is not renowned for its liberalism—and in fact several liberals have been unceremoniously kicked off the faculty." Another confidential memorandum on Madden, circulated by the secret Special Conference Committee representing twelve of our largest corporations, was less reassuring. This document, likewise a discovery of the La Follette committee, said Madden's reputation in Pittsburgh was that of "a sane, sound, conservative individual with both feet on the ground." But it had one ominous incident to report. There had been a labor dispute between the Pittsburgh Railways Company and the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees. Madden had been selected as chairman of the board of arbitration. "At that time," the memorandum declared, "investigation by the Pittsburgh Railways indicated that he was the type of man stated above, and was therefore acceptable to them as chairman." Pittsburgh Railways was cruelly deceived. "The decision handed down by him," the memorandum went on to explain, "was of such nature that it was plainly evident he was not as sound and conservative as was believed." The impostor had ruled in favor of the union.

The obscure, seemingly rather conservative law professor turned out to be consistently progressive, resilient under pressure, and amazingly competent. Business had a right to hope for better things from Mellon's own university. Enactment of the Wagner Act need not have been more than a nominal defeat for its opponents. The history of Section 7-a under the NRA showed what the interpretations of a Johnson or a Richberg could have done to render the act innocuous. Leo Wolman's career was encouraging, for it demonstrated the persuasive power of big business when applied to an academic personality. Francis Biddle's bitter experience as head of the old Labor Board in the Jennings case stood as a warning to successors who might try to take the law too seriously.

Madden failed to see the point. He proceeded to make a record that cannot be matched by any other administrative agency. Without Mr. Roosevelt's courage in frightening the Supreme Court out of its cobwebs, the Wagner Act might have been held unconstitutional. The President himself thus has first claim to credit for the board's record in the courts. But no small share is still left for Madden and his coworkers of the board, for though the Wagner Act had been held constitutional, there was still left a wide area in which the courts might have thrown out specific board orders on other grounds. The board has lost only two cases of twenty-six in the Supreme Court. If the Supreme Court is under suspicion of rejuvenation by Mr. Roosevelt, the board's record in the Circuit Courts may testify to its care and fairness. Of 623 Labor Board orders taken to the Circuit Courts for enforcement, only 45 have been modified and only 24 overruled. This record, made by the board under Madden's chairmanship, has been the boast of the New Deal. It would be strange if Madden were now to be rewarded by being denied reappointment.

One of the surprises in Madden's record is William Green's opposition to him, for Madden has been the champion of the craft unit. It was he who formulated the so-called Globe doctrine, by which each craft in a plant votes separately on whether it wishes to join the other employees in an industrial union or to bargain through its own craft. The Finch case illustrates the extreme to which Madden was prepared to go in the application of that doctrine. A majority of the workers in a distillery voted for an industrial union. The one lone carpenter in the plant voted to bargain by himself. The majority of the board—at that time the two Smiths—ruled that the carpenter must bow to the majority and join the industrial union. Madden dissented. He thought the one carpenter should have the right to do his own individual bargaining for his own "craft unit." One would expect the C. I. O., not the A. F. of L., to be opposing Madden. One wonders whether Green understands Madden's position; there is sometimes confusion in the top leadership of the A. F. of L. Two years ago it apparently mistook the innocuous Donald Smith for the militant Edwin Smith, and successfully fought against the reappointment of the former in the belief that he was the latter. The A. F. of L. denies it made any such error, but the consensus of opinion in the press corps here is that the story is true. Even if the A. F. of L. cannot tell two Smiths apart, it should be able to distinguish between a Smith and a Madden, the former more friendly to the industrial unit, the latter to the craft. Or is Green's opposition really based on Madden's unwillingness to shut his eyes to the attempt of certain A. F. of L. locals to substitute collusive for collective bargaining?

In the fight against Madden big business is glad to have the help of Green, whatever his motives. The composition of the Labor Board would take on added importance if labor should succeed in obtaining an executive order forcing defense contractors to obey its rulings. A weak or divided board, unable or unwilling to enforce the Wagner Act, might nullify that victory. That is why Madden's reappointment is crucial for labor, and that is why John L. Lewis has been asking for both an executive order and the reappointment as the price of his indorsement of Mr. Roosevelt. The decision rests with the President. Senators Thomas and Wagner have assured him that Madden can be confirmed. The Senate, which has seen Madden in action in one investigation after another, has a high regard for his ability. After his appearance before the Senate Judiciary Committee in 1938 on the Burke resolution to investigate the board, Senator Burke joined the rest of the committee in a unanimous vote against his own resolution. Madden's testimony last year before the Senate Labor and Education Committee on proposed amendments to the Wagner Act transformed Senator Ellender's attitude from hostility to friendship and won the respect even of Taft and Holt.

Madden's reappointment would reassure labor, restore the morale of the Labor Board, encourage other administrative agencies. If Madden is dropped despite his record, the lesson for these quasi-judicial bodies is demoralizingly clear. It would be safer for them to be quasi-political.

Willkie Sets in the West

BY RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

Boise, Idaho, October 15

AS THIS is written, the election is just three weeks away. If the people of the Far West voted tomorrow, Wendell Willkie would be beaten in practically every state between the Rocky Mountains and the Pacific. He might have an outside chance in Colorado. Certainly he would lose in Washington, Oregon, California, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, Utah, Wyoming, Arizona, and New Mexico.

What factors are responsible for this? What circumstances might possibly change the situation? Can Willkie, at the eleventh hour, yet breach the fortifications which the New Deal has erected in the great open spaces?

Willkie's tour of the West was a complete washout. It is no exaggeration to say that the Elliott Roosevelt episode probably brought him more votes. Turner Catledge of the New York *Times* summed up the result mildly when in an interview at Portland he said, "Willkie seems to have failed to strike fire." This failure to ignite enthusiasm may be traced directly to the candidate's speeches. He blamed the President for every disaster since the San Francisco earthquake. He promised all things except eternal youth and perpetual motion. With one breath he extolled those two indomitable isolationists, Hiram Johnson and the late Senator Borah, and with the next urged greater aid to Britain and China. In the cattle country he denounced the purchase of Argentine beef, and at Treasure Island, in San Francisco harbor, he spoke glowingly for expanded trade. He generally began his speeches with a condemnation of New Deal spending and extravagance, and ended by promising bigger old-age pensions, continuation of relief, and the completion of Bonneville, Grand Coulee, and Shasta dams. At one wayside stop in California he seemed to feel so keenly the presence of the ghost of his Commonwealth and Southern connection that he got off this masterpiece: "When I was in private business I fought for the interests of those who employed me to the best of my ability, and if you elect me President, I'll fight for the country as I have for business in the past."

The hydroelectric-power speech in Portland, where in 1932 Roosevelt pledged himself to develop the Columbia River, was to have been Willkie's most daring effort in the West. No other issue was so dangerous for him. He had to meet it. A brief analysis may give the measure of his success. He started off with a rebuke to the President for doubling the national debt. Then he promised to complete the $394,000,000 Grand Coulee project, an undertaking which he had specifically criticized in 1937. As if making a great concession, he said local communities could decide whether they preferred public or private distribution of power. (This was a privilege he was a little late in conferring; in 1902, before Willkie was out of grade school, the people of Seattle voted to

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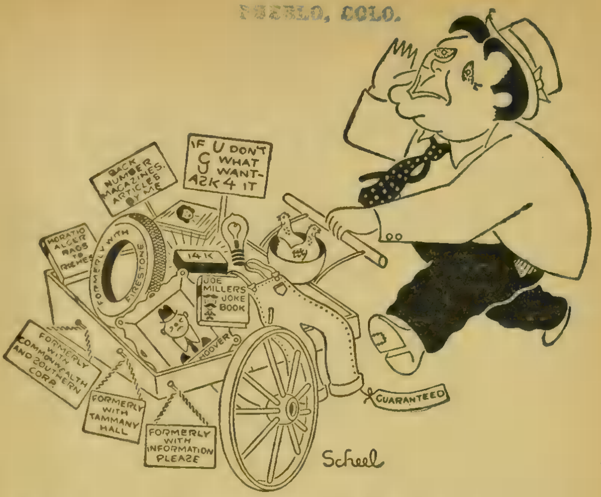
uild a power plant on the Cedar River.) Willkie imlied that the federal government should be neutral as :tween private companies and public agencies, but he roused the greatest applause when he praised his runing-mate, Senator McNary, whose neutrality in this)ntroversy may be judged from Section 4 of the Bonneille Dam Act, which McNary sponsored in Congress. his runs, "In order to insure that the facilities for the eneration of electric energy at the Bonneville project iall be operated for the benefit of the general public, id particularly of domestic and rural consumers, *the lministrator shall at all times, in disposing of electric tergy, give preference to public bodies and cooperatives."*

In the five days immediately following Willkie's talk, 257 new Republicans registered in Portland and 2,009 emocrats. A poll conducted by the *Oregonian* showed at the Republican candidate slipped three points. A milar poll taken in the San Francisco Bay region showed m dropping four points after he made his speech there i foreign affairs. The ineptness of the whole tour was inedible. Mass singing at the rally for Willkie in Portnd was led by a florist whose shops are on the A. F. L. unfair list.

Attempts were constantly made to induce legitimate bor leaders to met the Willkie train, but they invarily failed. Dave Beck of Seattle, Paul Gurske, president the Oregon State Federation of Labor, Ralph Peoples id John Brost of the C. I. O., and practically all other iion officials in this area are wearing Roosevelt buttons. ie only opposition to the President in the ranks of bor is coming from Harry Bridges and others who llow the Communist Party line.

A report now is current that John L. Lewis intends to)pose the reelection of the President. So far as the 'est is concerned, I am certain this would damage :wis a good deal more than it would Roosevelt. It)uld align him with the allegedly Communist elements his own unions, and it also would make it appear at, for the moment at least, he had the same political)jective as the Associated Farmers and other laborting factions along the Pacific seaboard. I cannot fort standing in the headquarters of the Miners' Union in itte in February and hearing men curse Lewis as a iitor to labor because of his attacks on the President. am sure that for every lumberjack, miner, and longoreman he manages to turn against the President, he ll turn a score against himself.


IF U DON'T C WHAT U WANT- ASK 4 IT
BACK NUMBER MAGAZINES. ARTICLES BY ME
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Scheel

In the community of St. Johns, where many of Oren's sawmills and lumber yards are located, Willkie oke of his fealty to the cause of labor. In the five folwing days 104 Republicans and 511 Democrats regised to vote in St. Johns. Yet in spite of all this the lk of the press described his trip as a great triumphal urney and a conqueror's progress. Only two large daily pers hereabouts—the *Oregonian* of Portland and the Seattle *Post-Intelligencer*, published by John Boettiger—appear to be trying to give an objective account of the campaign. The small Coos Bay *Times* is the only daily giving Roosevelt unreserved editorial adherence.

To date the Republican campaign in the Far West has been a colossal failure. With much slimmer finances Oscar Chapman, former Assistant Secretary of the Interior, has staged a notably more aggressive drive for the Democrats. Zeal for the Willkie cause has oozed away. Not even the popular Senator McNary seems to be able to counteract the poor showing Willkie himself has made. People now say they are voting Republican not because they like Willkie but because they dislike Roosevelt. The emphasis has shifted. "No Third Term" buttons have replaced Willkie insignia.

After traveling 4,000 miles in eight Far Western states in recent weeks I am convinced that this region today is a Roosevelt fortress. Willkie might win narrowly in Colorado, where he spent his vacation on the plateau below Pike's Peak, yet I doubt it. In the rodeo parade at Colorado Springs Willkie rode amid silence up Las Animas Street, where many of the railroad workers live. He got no cheers until the procession reached Pike's Peak Avenue and the business district. Willkie himself has seemed to sense this situation. When his train stopped in the Washington lumber town of Kelso, he recognized that his listeners were not for him. "Study both sides before casting your ballot," he said. "Don't make up your mind until you hear every argument."

A Union Pacific stewardess said to me, "Most of the folks on the Challenger are for Roosevelt. Those on the Overland wear Willkie buttons." The Challenger carries coaches and tourist sleepers; the Overland Limited is made up exclusively of standard Pullman cars. And on the Shasta route of the Southern Pacific a gray-haired conductor observed, "There aren't half a dozen men working on this division who don't intend to vote for Roosevelt." The evidence now is that the President has a fee-simple claim on the sixty-five electoral votes this side of the Continental Divide.

There is but one issue which might reverse all these calculations, and that is the President's foreign policy. Though the alliance between Tokyo and the Axis has jarred isolationist sentiment, it has not dispelled it. The fact cannot be overlooked that a majority of the Senators from the Far West voted to restrict the service of the National Guard to the United States and its possessions. Five of the eight Senators from the Pacific Northwest opposed conscription. Senator McNary, Willkie's running-mate, supported the amendment delaying the draft. Most of the prominent Western Senators in Mr. Roosevelt's own party—Wheeler of Montana, Worth Clark of Idaho, Bone of Washington, Edwin Johnson and Adams of Colorado, Downey of California—are unyielding isolationists. Both Democratic and Republican politicians have told me that if Willkie had come out against the Burke-Wadsworth bill, the President would not be sure of a single Far Western state.

The people of the West want cheap electric power, old-age pensions, good housing, soil and forest conservation, decent working conditions. But above all they want their country to keep out of war. If Willkie, by one of his sudden turnabouts, can present himself successfully as an outright peace candidate there is no predicting what might happen. He would be helped in such an effort should Hiram Johnson, as now seems likely, declare for him. Johnson was hot about Willkie's strongly pro-British speech at San Francisco, but he was considerably more annoyed by the President's jab at him just before the California primaries. Moreover, he is a close friend of McNary's.

There are indications that the Republicans in the West are getting ready to make a last-minute appeal to this isolationist sentiment. Some G. O. P. leaders say "Willkie went down the line on an interventionist policy and still Dorothy Thompson and Lippmann have given him the needles. Now let's go after the Johnson-Borah-Wheeler faction. They'll appreciate us more." Already General Johnson is talking about Willkie as the peace candidate and Roosevelt as the war candidate. If this becomes the official Republican strategy, the New Deal's apparently safe margin in the West may be imperiled.

Only by crowding Roosevelt away from the rail on the peace question, will Willkie have any chance in a region which has been solidly New Deal in the last two national elections. Westerners have always been acutely conscious of the Japanese navy, and the political prospect could change overnight if the President appeared to be either too submissive or too bellicose. Many men and women in this part of the country believe the election should have been in the main a referendum on foreign policy. One of the shrewdest Republicans in the Northwest said to me not long ago, "For all Willkie's glamour, Bob Taft would have worn better over the long pull. A ticket of Taft and McNary, running on a peace plank and promising strong defense but positively no foreign entanglements, would have been far stronger in the West than Willkie."

Why I Am for Roosevelt

[To support our contention that the issues of the impending election transcend normal party lines and traditional American groupings, we have asked five prominent individuals who might be expected to oppose the reelection of Franklin D. Roosevelt to state why they are in fact supporting him.—EDITORS THE NATION.]

JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

Member of the Board of Editors of Fortune

SO FAR as I can see I am a unique American: I face the political campaign with relative equanimity so far as domestic issues are concerned. If Wendell Willkie is victorious, I do not expect to see the social gains of the New Deal canceled; at most they will be modified. Social security, soil conservation, the protection of minimum labor standards, and so on, all seem to me here to stay for a while. If Roosevelt wins, why so much the better on the domestic front for a majority of the population. But if Willkie wins, I don't think the common man needs to head for the storm cellar.

On foreign policy, however, I am afraid of Mr. Willkie. This may seem odd for a so-called "isolationist," for Willkie has been going about making a tacit appeal to keep-out-of-war sentiment. Maybe my fear calls for some explanation.

For a year now I have been a member of the board that sponsors the mimeographed weekly *Uncensored.* Knowing that *Uncensored* is suspicious of our State Department, people are forever asking me how I can be both for Roosevelt and for an "isolationist" attitude toward Europe and Asia. This "either-or" demand gives me an acute pain. My "isolationism," if any, is neither pacifist nor Communist nor Socialist anti-war policy, nor is it Middle Western inability to realize that the world is round and finite. I base my view on the realistic observation that "collective security" in international affairs has never worked, for reasons which Alexander Hamilton made plain long ago in the *Federalist.* If anyone cares to look into several book columns which I wrote for the New York *Times* in 1934 and 1935 he will see that h w the League of Nations would fail, that "sanctions" uld fail, that Europe was in for it, and that we would forced to fall back on the luck of our geographical ition and the strength of our own right arm. An old-hioned alliance with England and France to hold the rmans down might have worked, but by 1935 it was late to reverse the trend of a decade. As for the mson doctrine in Asia, it was Quixotic moralism; we thrown away the ships necessary to restrain Japan at Washington conference in 1921-22.

With the expectation that the Versailles system would mble, my feeling was then, as it is now, that the best could do was to batten down our hatches and make best of it. Strategically, with the oceans on our flanks, had a chance of surviving as a democracy even with entire outer world committed to a different system. e confusions and divided counsels that reigned in gland, in France, in the China of Chiang Kai-shek's i-Communist campaign, in Czechoslovakia, in Spain, in other democratic countries right up to 1938 made mpossible for us to take the lead in forcing the world conform to our pattern—assuming that we had a tern for export—and we had no navy or military force able of telling the "have-not" powers where to get in their own particular spheres. To pretend that we l, as Roosevelt sometimes seemed to be doing prior last May, seemed to me dangerous illusion. To help vent any revival of that illusion I remain a sponsor *Uncensored,* which, for all its mistakes, is a valuable tchdog.

It is my guess, however, that the watchdog is merely it of extra insurance. The logic of events has forced Roosevelt government back to my original position: end the Western Hemisphere! If Germany is having h difficulty crossing Dover Strait, which is hardly der than Long Island Sound, I don't see how Hitler Mussolini and/or Japan are going to bother us in r hemisphere provided we take the precaution of arm- and of manning a few advanced bases between now next spring. Conversely, I don't see how we are to d an expeditionary force in Europe or in Asia. The t of the matter is that the so-called "interventionists" ong us have no freedom of maneuver; they, like the olationists," are limited by the facts of geography to asures calculated to bolster the ability of the United tes to preserve freedom for itself.

The point I am working up to is this: that to define rselves in our own hemisphere almost anything goes this stage of the game. Since the Germans are in nce and the Japanese are in Indo-China, we are de-ved of the opportunity to thrust an unready army into ngerously exposed salients. It was in the cards from beginning that we should be deprived of that oppor-ity. But we need not fear "angering" Hitler or Musso-i or Japan, for even if they win in Europe and in Asia I don't think they can touch us, once our factories and shipyards begin to produce. If "aid to Britain" promises to give us more time to arm, as it patently does, then I am all for that aid—although I think it wise to get a quid pro quo whenever possible, as in the destroyer deal. If it is possible to bluff Japan out of descending on the Dutch East Indies *pronto,* then I am for that bluff. The more we can confuse the Axis powers the better for the impregnability of our own isolationist position in 1941. If we choose to threaten and bully Hitler, it can only help us to get the better of him if we have eventually to trade with a Fascist Europe later on. Hitler understands bullying; he doesn't understand "neutrality."

Implicit in my argument is the need for arming without delay to take advantage of our fine strategic position. And this brings me back to Wendell Willkie. Regardless of Willkie's personal ability, which may be considerable, the Republican candidate is, after all, the leader of a party that is doing its level best to spread confusion in the body politic. I have before me the copy of an advertisement of the First National Bank of Englewood, Chicago, which appeared in the Chicago *Tribune* for October 10. The advertisement reads: "In a last stand for democracy, every director and officer of the bank will cast his vote for Wendell Willkie." The attitude that lies behind those words seems to me ominous, divisive, and dangerous; it is the attitude of men of little faith. If we are to read between the lines, it seems to me that the officers of the First National Bank of Englewood are trying to tell us that democracy can only be trusted when the "best people" are in office. That was the theory of Stanley Baldwin and of the French rightist governments —and as a theory it has proved 100 per cent wrong. Democracy, in fact, is safe only when it is in the hands of people who are absolutely certain that it is the way of the future for their country come hell or high water; one cannot build it on a distrust of the masses.

I am sure that Willkie is a genuine democrat, with a small *d*. But I think his party would antagonize the very people who must be counted on to arm us and, if necessary, to fight for us. It is as simple as that. Accordingly, I intend to vote for Roosevelt.

JOHN G. WINANT

Former Republican Governor of New Hampshire

IN 1935 I FELT that peace was the prime issue before the peoples of the world. For this reason I went to work with the International Labor Office in Geneva. I returned for a brief period to help organize social security in this country because I believed that if democracy in the United States was to continue to function it must rest on a fairer social base. These five years have convinced me that neither peace nor political democracy has been sufficiently identified with the welfare of the common man.

The great contribution of the Roosevelt Administration, in my opinion, has been its conception of democracy not as something static but as a living, unifying agency of social change extending the social and economic benefits of society to a larger section of the entire people under a wider measure of popular control. Two factors which have marked the change have been the annihilation of time as it relates to distance, whether in communication or transportation, and the extension of common-school education to the masses. The first has greatly complicated international relationships; and the second has not kept pace in all countries with the mechanization which has tended to centralize authority without always protecting individual rights.

The long years of depression and unemployment, in connection with an intensified nationalism which blocked goods and men from crossing frontiers, forced governments into experimentation in order to maintain political control. This has been a universal experience. The result has been constructive in some countries, in others detrimental, depending upon the objectives and methods and procedures employed. In the dictatorships the rights of the people have been subverted. In the remaining democracies the fundamental rights of free speech, free press, assembly, freedom of worship, and habeas corpus and trial by jury have been retained, and measures for the common welfare have been extended. It is well to remember that in Germany and in Italy the dictators came to power through an attack on communism which was financed by reactionary groups, while in Great Britain and the United States the central drive has been to protect the individual through progressive reforms and to give to him an increasing participation in the enactment of those reforms.

To defend democracy is not warmongering. The condemnation of brutality, treachery, and aggression and the support of humanitarian action, fair play, and a good-neighbor policy are welcomed by free men of courage everywhere. I agreed with President Roosevelt when he told the world after Munich:

> There can be no peace if the reign of law is to be replaced by a recurrent sanctification of sheer force. There can be no peace if national policy adopts as a deliberate instrument the threat of war. There can be no peace if national policy adopts as a deliberate instrument the dispersion all over the world of millions of helpless and persecuted wanderers with no place to lay their heads. There can be no peace if humble men and women are not free to think their own thoughts, to express their own feelings, to worship God.

I have talked with representatives of the organized workers in all the democratic countries of the world as well as with representatives of social and civic groups. I know of no other man who has the trust of the common people of those countries as President Roosevelt has. I know of no one else who can so inspire their faith and confidence. This is in part the result of circumstance
in large measure, however, it is the result of the dynam
force and vital sympathy of a courageous character. I
meeting the problems of these troubled times, in sustai
ing the hope and courage of the peoples of the democrat
countries, and eventually in bringing support for a ju
and lasting peace, this influence is essential. It is an ass
that cannot be transferred.

Over a period of years, with infinite tact and patien
and good-will, our "good neighbor" relations with th
Latin American republics have been developed. The
relations have recently, through the Act of Havana, bee
strengthened in a pact for hemisphere defense. We nee
to continue in office the men who are responsible for
friendly South American policy.

The frontiers of democracy are receding. The friend
European countries that faced us on the Atlantic, shari
our common ideals of free government, have for th
most part been overrun by totalitarian despotism. Gre
Britain, by its gallant struggle, still keeps its fleet b
tween our shores and those powers that today offer sta
threat against the principles by which free men liv
Even if there were no ties of blood or common herita
of democratic faith and ways of life, enlightened sel
interest, in my opinion, dictates the policy of "all aid
England short of war." In the life-and-death strugg
taking place across the sea, time is of the essence. Ev
a temporary interruption through change of governme
might have fateful results, not only to Great Britain b
to ourselves.

Skill and experience in business are very real; but sk
and experience in government are even more vital. I
not believe that Franklin Roosevelt wanted to succe
himself. I believe he is again a candidate through for
of circumstance. I believe his leadership is needed tod
in this period of tragic struggle in support of democra
and in defense of our homeland.

VAN WYCK BROOKS

Literary Historian and Socialist

ALTHOUGH I AM a Socialist I am voting f
President Roosevelt this year because I do not feel th
Norman Thomas is realistic regarding the present wor
crisis. I do not see how we can hope to keep our demo
racy alive unless we are prepared to defend it strongl
and it seems to me that never before have we needed
much Jefferson's idea of a universal citizen army. Wi
a powerful system of defense we may ward off w
without it we shall invite war, and we should certain
lose that war. So I am also in favor of every possible a
to England. I admire the President's foreign policy a
wish to see it continued, and it seems to me that the m
convincing proof of our internal strength would be t
maintenance of our present Administration.

GIFFORD PINCHOT

Former Republican Governor of Pennsylvania

WO LIFELONG DEMOCRATS—one recently turned epublican—are running for the Presidency. That is one eason why politics ought to play so small a part in de- ding which of them to vote for. Vastly more important easons are to be found in the situation of the country nd the world, and in the training and experience of e two men.

I disregard the third-term tradition: first, because it as never made for an emergency like this; secondly, ecause the emergency is greater than the tradition; and, irdly, because when normal times come back, the merican people can return to the tradition, as I have o doubt they will. I am and have long been for a single rm of six years.

In this crisis traditions and party politics alike are t of place. Local matters should give way to the fety of the nation. Just one question remains: One of vo men will be our next President; which of them is e best man to see our country through this danger- s time?

Look at them, and take your choice. One of them, r. Roosevelt, is beyond dispute the most widely experi- nced man in America in conducting the national gov- nment and in handling our foreign relations. The perience and training of the other, Mr. Willkie, in ese two fields is exactly zero.

He has had no experience whatever in government. e has, so far as I have been able to learn, never han- ed the affairs of a state, a city, a county, a township, or en a village. He simply has never learned how. But r. Willkie's unfamiliarity with government at home, ghly important as that is in a time like this, is as noth- g compared to his complete lack of training and ex- rience in handling our relations with other countries. hat, to my mind, is the key to the whole matter. In this emendous storm I cannot vote to set at the head of this tion a man who is utterly untrained and inexperienced. ould you put a green hand in charge of the ship in e worst hurricane that ever blew?

To my mind, the peace and security of our country me first. Compared with that, nothing else counts, d nothing else has a right to count. I am supporting osevelt because he offers the best chance we have for curity and peace. I am for Roosevelt because he knows e ropes and because his foreign policy is sound and e. I am against Willkie because he does not know the pes, because he has no training for the job, because is incompetent to handle it, and because the country ould not be safe in his hands.

I make no reference here to Mr. Willkie's history as utility lobbyist and magnate—matters which would lk large with me in ordinary times. I do not discuss fight on TVA or the methods his companies employed. I say nothing here about Mr. Willkie's backers —Wall Street, public utilities, concentrated wealth—or about his vague generalities and incredible promises. Even these things, vital in ordinary times, sink into the background now. One question stands out. What is best for the United States?

Suppose you owned a farm. Would you hire a man to run it who had never plowed an acre or milked a cow? I think not. I think you would look for a man who knew how.

JAMES N. ROSENBERG

Corporation Lawyer and Philanthropist

WITH CARL SCHURZ and other refugees from the Germany of 1848 my grandfather came to find freedom in this country. He and my father were rock-ribbed Republicans. So was I for forty years. In 1928 and in 1932 I voted for Mr. Hoover, with whom I had long worked in the American Relief Administration.

But in 1936 I gave up the Republicanism of all those years. It was not—it is not—easy for me. It meant breaking with a long past. It continues to be difficult. But the times call on us to lay aside every consideration but the crucial one—that of best safeguarding our liberties, now threatened by world assault. There is much I like and admire about Wendell Willkie. In many respects he has shown himself forthright and clear—much clearer than many of his political bedfellows. He has done some fine things in this campaign. When he issued his stirring statement on civil liberties, when he spoke out vigorously in condemnation of bigots, I was happy to express publicly my admiration of his uncompromising and courageous stand. I rejoice in his frank recognition of the need for aid to Great Britain.

But the gravity of the Presidential choice now before us transcends all these considerations. In every aspect of foreign policy President Roosevelt's position seems to me to be sound and wise, and it is plain that the majority of his party agree with that policy. I cannot say the same for the Republicans; the events of the past two months show that if Mr. Willkie is elected it does not at all follow that he will carry his party with him. I think we have, therefore, reason to fear that a Republican victory may mean the ascendancy of the Hiram Johnson philosophy in our international relations. Are we to forget that most of the Republicans in Congress opposed revision of the neutrality law and tried to prevent conscription; that it was Republican Senators and Representatives who fought President Roosevelt's proposal for a 20 per cent navy increase in 1938? How can we dare place such a party in the saddle? Can we turn over the reins of government to a driver who has supported conscription of men and opposed conscription of industry?

The ultimate issue is not of our choosing. It is the threat which Hitler, Stalin, Mussolini, and the war lords of Nippon have thrust at us. Against that threat Roosevelt's superb leadership is clearly, in my opinion, our best assurance for the preservation of our democracy.

When it comes to the domestic situation, I find that the Republican Party, which has for eight years—in season and out—assailed the Roosevelt program and purposes, now gives them lip service in its platform. Though the details of administration of the Roosevelt program have left a good deal to be desired, I am bound to say that I prefer to leave the improvement of administration of these enlightened laws to their friends, the Democrats, rather than to their foes, the Republicans.

We Need Not Fight in Asia

BY MAXWELL S. STEWART

FOR the first time since the beginning of Japan's unwarranted and undeclared war on China, there is serious danger that the United States may be drawn into the conflict. We should not underestimate the gravity of the situation. The proposed evacuation of some 16,000 Americans from China, Korea, and Japan is an extraordinarily drastic move. It would seem to indicate that the State Department rates the chances of war as extremely high. Already exceptional military precautions are being taken. The Pacific fleet has been strengthened; additional troops have been moved to Hawaii; discussions are under way for use of the British naval base at Singapore.

Some observers insist that we are already at war with Japan. They see the abrogation of the trade treaty, the recent embargoes on aviation gasoline and scrap iron, and our insistence on the reopening of the Burma road as progressive steps in what can end only in a full-dress military conflict. This, of course, is nonsense. Wars do not grow inevitably out of diplomatic controversies, nor yet out of trade disputes. They develop only when some country feels capable of gaining by military might ends which cannot be achieved by peaceful means. Japan will not fight merely because it is balked; it has been balked repeatedly in the last few years. It will fight only if it sees the prospect of victory.

The real danger of our position at the moment lies not in the fact that we have dared to oppose Japan's dream of empire but in the fact that we have not adopted strong enough measures to make our opposition effective. As has been repeatedly pointed out in *The Nation,* the United States has the power to cripple Japan by an all-inclusive trade embargo. But the piddling restrictions thus far adopted have served only to irritate the Japanese military clique without effectively curbing its activities. Ordinary gasoline, oil, machinery, lead, copper, cotton, and semi-finished steel are still supplied to Japan. Huge amounts of foreign exchange are being provided by our purchases of Japanese silk. Our loans to China, though helpful, have been negligible compared with what it needs to expel the invader. They have been for the purpose of stimulating American exports rather than providing China with the planes, tanks, guns, and other military equipment necessary for successful defense. The fact that neither our aid to China nor our penalties against Japan could be weighed on the same scales, in realistic terms, with our continuing economic assistance to Japan has rendered our policy futile.

Having adopted a series of dangerous half-measures, the State Department seems content to allow most essential war materials to flow to Japan, even though the Japanese are thereby strengthened for an eventful showdown with the United States. Some persons charge Washington with insincerity. They say that if it had really wished to help China, it could have done so on many occasions, and that it has been merely playing China off against Japan without desiring a victory for either. This, I believe, is unfair. Many persons in the United States have been against this or that element in the only kind of program that could have restrained Japanese aggression. Taken together, the opponents of action have constituted a formidable minority which could not easily be disregarded in a democracy.

There are still those among us who would appease Japan, either as a means of staying out of war or in order to permit us to concentrate our energies against Hitler, but most of the advocates of this policy changed their views after the signing of the Tripartite Alliance. Few of those who were urging a deal with Japan three or four months ago have repeated the suggestion in recent weeks. A more serious obstacle to effective action today is the belief that this country has already done all that is necessary. The overwhelming support for the scrap-iron embargo shown in last week's Gallup poll seems based on the assumption that it means a strong stand has at last been taken against Japan. Few persons are aware that American exports of semi-manufactured iron and steel, metal-working machinery, crude petroleum and fuel oil, copper, and raw cotton to Japan have been substantially higher this year than last, and that imports from Japan have also risen.

As a further complication, there seems to be an increasing number of persons who, though sympathetic to

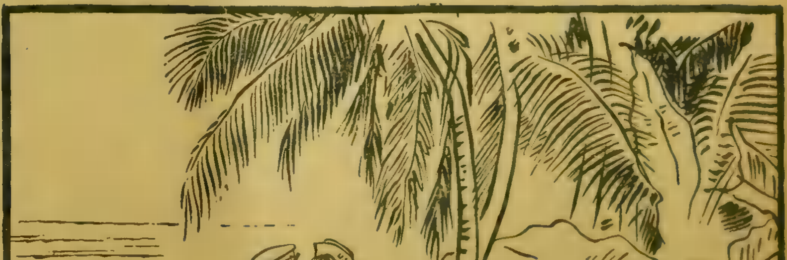
China, are fearful that even the mildest military precautions in the Pacific will bring on a war that will be fought, not for China, but for an extension of our interests in the Pacific. Some basis for their fears does, in truth, exist. If war develops from the ineptness of our policy, it will not be a war to save China—China could have been saved without war—but a straight conflict of interests between the United States and Japan. To draw back now, however, sacrificing China, would not lessen the danger of such a conflict any more than the sacrifice of Czechoslovakia guaranteed "peace in our time."

Much of the opposition to a vigorous policy could be cleared away if it were generally recognized that Japan can be stopped without war and without great cost. To achieve this end, however, we must rid ourselves of the deadly virus of inaction and utilize means that Japan's leaders understand and respect. The day of note writing and appeals to broad humanitarian ideals has passed. The Tripartite Alliance is an accomplished fact. We are facing a ruthless and implacable enemy, but, fortunately, one that is far weaker than is ordinarily suspected. No one who has studied Japanese foreign policy during the past year can escape being impressed by the relative timidity of Japanese action. This has been especially noticeable in recent months under the super-nationalistic Konoye government. There has been much talk about Japanese destiny in the South Seas—but no action to seize the Dutch East Indies, which, a few weeks ago at least, could have been had for the taking. Similarly in Indo-China Japan wasted valuable weeks seeking a diplomatic settlement with Vichy instead of pushing ahead in buccaneer fashion as was its custom in the past. Talk of retaliation against the United States for its trade embargoes has not materialized.

Japan's relative weakness allows us to act without any real danger of becoming involved in war. But the action must be decisive and broad enough to prevent effective retaliation. The first step obviously must be to make the most of Chinese resistance by supplying Chiang Kai-shek with sufficient war materials to enable him to take the offensive against the invader. That means more than cotton, trucks, and medical supplies. It means, above all, planes and artillery. If we had been sending to China a mere fraction of the aid we have been giving Britain, we would not now face a threat from the Far East.

Simultaneously, the President should utilize the powers at his disposal to stop all trade with Japan, imports as well as exports. The power to stop exports is provided by the May Defense Act, under which the shipment of arms, implements of war, aviation gasoline, and scrap iron has been barred. Section 338 of the Tariff Act of 1930 gives the Executive power to proclaim an increase in customs duties on the product of any country which discriminates against the United States and, if the discrimination continues, to ban all imports from that country. Many instances of flagrant discrimination against American trade could be cited, both in the Japanese-occupied sections of China and in Japan itself. With Japan lacking gold and foreign assets, a ban on imports would probably be even more effective than an embargo on exports. For one thing, it has fewer loopholes: Japan has no other market for its silk remotely comparable to the United States, whereas—given adequate foreign exchange—it could probably turn elsewhere for some of the sinews of war now obtained in this country.

A year or two ago there was every reason to believe that economic measures would suffice to stop Japan. Today we cannot be so sure. Although Japan has declined in economic strength in the interval, its new bases in the south and military alliance with the Axis powers might encourage it to attempt to seize Hongkong, the Dutch East Indies, or possibly even the Philippines. The new Konoye government is more directly dominated by the extremists than any of its predecessors have been. Under such circumstances, some military precautions are essential. Major George Fielding Eliot has drawn up a rather elaborate plan for joint military defense of their Pacific possessions by Great Britain and the United States. The keystone of such a plan obviously must be a provision for American use of the Singapore base. A similar arrangement might be made with the Australian government for the use of the base at Port Darwin. With adequate American forces at either or both of these bases, Japan would risk a naval catastrophe if its fleet were to



"BOY, YOU DON'T MEAN TO, BUT YOU MAKE A SWELL CUPID" venture an attack in the South Seas, thousands of miles from its nearest base.

The final plank in any positive program for checking the expansionist activities of the Japanese military clique must be an understanding between the United States and the Soviet Union which will, if possible, forestall the threatened Soviet-Japanese non-aggression pact. An understanding with the Soviets is important not only as a means of immobilizing a large part of the Japanese army on the Siberian border but as a means of assuring a continued flow of war materials to China. Experts differ as to whether the Japanese can carry out their threat to block the Burma road completely by constant aerial bombardment. It is conceded that they will be able to inflict heavy damage, and they may even succeed in making the highway impassable. In that case, the only route for supplying China will be through the Soviet Union. Should this be closed as well, China must ultimately succumb to Japan, freeing more than a million Japanese troops and immense resources for action elsewhere.

If such an energetic, broad program as has been outlined here were followed, I am convinced that the United States could foil the threatened pincer tactics of the Axis powers once and for all. To embark on such a program would take the initiative, with its immense psychological advantages, away from the fascist powers. By striking the Axis at its most vulnerable point, the United States could, relatively quickly and without serious risk, offset the Axis victories in Europe and destroy the myth that the future belongs to the totalitarian powers.

But we should be less than realistic if we believed that because the logic of this program is irrefutable it is likely to be put into effect in its entirety. Hard-headed observers in Washington predict that the State Department will continue the half-hearted measures which irritate but do not hamper Japan. The embargo may be extended to include machinery, and possibly copper, but no effort will be made to stop the export of essential supplies such as oil and cotton, or to prohibit the entry of silk into this country, lest Japan retaliate. Continuation of this piecemeal policy may well lead to war. Since the State Department seems incapable of the vigorous action which would prevent war, should we draw back before it is too late? The answer to this can be found in the experience of Great Britain, which has learned that each retreat before Japan's threats is followed by new demands more severe than those previously considered a menace. Appeasement can provide no safeguard against war.

And we must not forget China. Some of us may feel that our Far Eastern policy in recent months has been determined more by our imperialistic interests than by a desire to help China. Nevertheless it *has* helped China. And whatever our misgivings, it is clearly in the interest of stability and progress, as well as of national defense, to enable China to repel the invader.

Everybody's Business

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

The Excess-Profits Tax

CONSTRUCTING tax bills is a thankless job, and nobody has handed any bouquets to the members of Congress who sat in Washington through three hot summer months working on the excess-profits tax. During their labors they were under very heavy fire, particularly from business interests which wanted the capital-amortization provisions of the bill but naturally hated like sin the countervailing tax proposals. Every effort was made to get Congress to pass a short bill embodying the former, while leaving over for further "study" the question of corralling excess profits. However, the perspiring legislators resisted the temptation and indorsed the Administration's view that the amortization concession, which goes far toward removing all risk for armament contractors, should not be made unless accompanied by steps to garner for the Treasury some part of the profits which the defense program will inevitably create.

When the House and Senate versions of the bill were finally reconciled and it received the Presidential signature, it evoked surprisingly little further criticism in business circles. This was partly because the measure was not regarded as definitive and the opinion was widely expressed that it would undergo revision next year. Meanwhile, according to the *Wall Street Journal*, some financial quarters regard the tax as a "more or less lenient one, all things considered." This view is shared by some independent liberals who believe that business has been let off far too lightly and expect the yield of the tax to prove ludicrously small in relation both to profits in the coming year and to the revenue needs of the government.

My personal opinion is that Congress did a better job than might have been expected considering all the pressures to which it was subjected. The worst feature of the act is its combination of over-complication and under-definition. As a result it will necessarily be subject to a great deal of "interpretation," first by the Treasury and eventually by the courts. Whether or not the act succeeds in its objective of preventing "a new crop of war millionaires," it certainly seems likely to hoist a number of lawyers and tax experts into higher income brackets.

It must be admitted, however, that there are enormous difficulties in drawing a simple, watertight tax bill owing to the very complexity of modern corporate finance. Such terms as "capital" and "net profit" may seem not to require very elaborate definition, but when the accountants have finished with them they become as elusive as the concepts of the higher theology. One of the great problems in drafting was to arrive at a standard of normal profits which would serve as a base-line. The Treasury favored the "assessed capital" method, with anything in excess of a fixed percentage of capital regarded as subject to the excess tax. It was argued, however, that this method was exceedingly unfair to new pioneering companies, which, when successful at all, expect to earn a better than average rate of profits in their early years. The aircraft-manufacturing companies are an example. Most of them have experienced deficits rather than profits until recent years. Now they are in for a period of perhaps shortlived prosperity during which their turnover and profits will be high in relation to capital. The steel companies, which may also expect an era of bonanza earnings, are in a different position. Even at near-capacity operation their turnover will be low in comparison with their huge invested capital, which incidentally includes a larger proportion of well-absorbed "water" than most new companies have been able to soak in.

Attempting to provide for rough justice between differently situated industries, the new act enables corporations to be assessed, if they choose, on the basis of 95 per cent of their average earnings during the years 1936-39 instead of on the basis of 8 per cent of their invested capital. Naturally this option will be adopted by all corporations whose average earnings during the past four years have exceeded 8 per cent. Among these are some of the leading aircraft, automobile, and electrical manufacturers and, in the merchandising field, some of the chain stores. Steel, mining, oil, railroad, and utility companies are likely to find the invested-capital option more attractive, and, in fact, these groups as a whole will not contribute heavily to excess-profits payments unless their earnings expand well above the present level. Nevertheless, they will have to pay out considerably greater sums than at present to the Treasury, since the new act increases normal corporation-income tax for all except very small companies to a flat 24 per cent. This is the feature of the act that has caused the loudest complaints in Wall Street, but in view of the steeply upward trend of profits in general at the present time, it is hard to believe that the burden is more than the traffic can bear.

On any profits in excess of the standard rate, whichever way this is calculated, the new tax is payable on a steeply graduated scale. Moreover, the scale rises, not in accordance with a percentage excess of profits, but with an actual dollar increase. Thus on the first $20,000 excess the rate is 25 per cent; on the next $30,000, 30 per cent; and so on until everything over $500,000 pays at the rate of 50 per cent. Obviously this means that large corporations will be hit harder than small. For instance, a corporation with a capital of $500,000 might have standard earnings of $50,000. If it trebled its profits it would have to pay tax on $100,000, at the rate of 25 per cent for the first $20,000, 30 per cent on the next $30,000, and 35 per cent on the remainder. On the other hand, General Motors, to take the largest industrial corporation, is likely to have a standard rate of profit exceeding $100,000,000. Thus it has only to raise its earnings by ½ per cent to start paying an excess-profit tax at the maximum 50 per cent rate.

This provision has been condemned as a tax on bigness, but it is perhaps justifiable on the grounds that the larger corporations get most of the breaks anyhow and that they will on the average receive more benefit from the defense program than the little fellows. We may, however, hear more about this injustice to the rich after the election. At the moment, with Mr. Willkie asserting that the New Deal has favored big business rather than little business and promising that he will reverse this trend, no one in Wall Street wants to start an argument on this aspect of the excess-profits tax.

In the Wind

POLITICOS REPORT that Tammany Hall's coolness to the New Deal campaign amounts virtually to open insurrection. In some Tammany clubs, it is reported, New Dealers have even been prevented from putting up Roosevelt posters. This helps to explain the New Deal concern over New York State.

IN WOOING the labor vote Willkie's mistakes have been innumerable—his boasting of Ford's indorsement was one. On his recent Philadelphia trip he continued his blunders: he spoke in a hall at Shibe Park which is on a union unfair list and was picketed all summer, and he chose the front door of one of the city's biggest unorganized shops as the place to deliver some campaign generalities.

LATEST WASHINGTON rumors have it that if Roosevelt is reelected, Sumner Welles is to succeed Cordell Hull, and Mayor LaGuardia is to succeed Stimson.

OSCAR AMERINGER, editor of the *American Guardian* of Oklahoma City, most radical of Midwestern papers, is nourishing a strange brand of Socialist in his bosom. Recently the *Guardian* carried a bitter anti-interventionist article by one George H. Cless, Jr. Mr. Cless is associated with Merwin K. Hart and has been active in the fight against Professor Rugg's textbooks.

DEMOCRATIC PARTY workers have pitched in to put the Prohibition Party on the ballot in a number of places. The dries couldn't get enough signatures; and the Democrats, somehow calculating that a dry vote is a Willkie vote, think their help may have cost Willkie 200,000 ballots.

IN BRADNER, OHIO, self-appointed patriots have been burning all library books that contain the word "communism." Included among the charred texts, a newspaper lamented, were some books whose denunciations of communism obliged them to use the naughty word.

AN EYEWITNESS vows this happened when Wendell Willkie stopped off at Ann Arbor recently. He was introduced by the aged Governor Dickinson as "Wendell Lewis Willkie, the next Governor of Michigan."

JOSEPH LEWIS, president of the "Freethinkers of America," has started a crusade to have Monday, instead of Sunday, the first day on each calendar line.

NEWSPAPER CITY DESKS recently got a note from Bruce Barton emphasizing that he didn't like Italian fascism and warning that the New Dealers would say he did. So far the charge hasn't been made.

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind —either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. A prize of $5 will be awarded each month for the best item.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

A Native at Large

BY JONATHAN DANIELS

BIG laughing George Carmack, editor of Roy Howard's Knoxville *News-Sentinel,* laughed again a few weeks ago when he told a visiting friend that he was on his way to speak to the Rotarians or the Kiwanians on the freedom of the press. George has had the pleasure, as planned by Roy Howard, of turning the *News-Sentinel* all the way around from the paper in the Scripps-Howard chain which fought on the ground for the TVA to a paper which supports the man who fought TVA all the way. It is not an easy job even for a man with such a continuous muscular merriment as George Carmack. But I think George may be engaged unconsciously in important work. Tennessee may turn out to be not only a laboratory in which important demonstrations have been made in connection with power. In a little field it may also show something about the new process under which most of the newspapers go one way in a national election and most of the people go the other.

George's competition in Knoxville, where TVA has its offices, is the only one, among the eight principal dailies in Tennessee, whose politics has a relatively simple basis. The Knoxville *Journal* is simply and normally Republican in Republican East Tennessee.

In Nashville President Roosevelt has his only newspaper support in the whole state in the *Tennessean,* published by Silliman Evans. But the *Tennessean,* as a business, is operated jointly with the *Banner,* which James G. Stahlman, former president of the American Newspaper Publishers' Association, has made so strong for Willkie that they are saying in all seriousness in Nashville that Stahlman is going to be Secretary of the Navy in Willkie's Cabinet.

It was in Chattanooga, according to the charges, that Mr. Willkie helped Roy McDonald, the chain-store groceryman, to murder and devour George Fort Milton's pro-TVA *News* and incorporate it in his own anti-TVA *Press.* The Chattanooga *Times,* which is under the same ownership as the New York *Times,* is following that paper's lead in support of Willkie, though its able editor, Julian L. Harris—Pulitzer Prize winner himself and son of Uncle Remus—has been given leave of absence because he could not conscientiously go along the Willkie way. Mr. Harris, they say, is devoting himself busily in political silence to the *Times's* plan to issue an afternoon paper designed to eat up the *Free Press,* which is still in the process of digesting the *News.*

But Roy Howard, of 230 Park Avenue, New York, is the biggest man in the Tennessee picture. His three papers have more circulation than all the other large dailies in the state put together. When all his papers jumped in unison to Willkie after Mr. Willkie slept on Mr. Howard's yacht, it looked in Tennessee as if Mr. Howard hollered and they jumped—and too suddenly to be graceful about it. And that left good men, who may have made up their own minds entirely inside their own heads, appearing, at least, a little disheveled in Scripps-Howard editorial chairs.

Nobody I saw in Tennessee thinks they can win the state for Willkie. Nobody anywhere thinks newspapers should always try to be on the winning side. But the concentration of Republican newspaper power in the Democratic state makes a useful display nevertheless. Tennessee, which was a demonstration project for power, may now be the first demonstration project for the press. Mr. Howard, who seems to have carried his papers a long way from old policies, may in fact be carrying on the old Scripps-Howard policies in a way he did not even contemplate in helping such a demonstration along.

And he is not alone in helping it along. The New York *Times*–Chattanooga *Times* combination seems ready to take over, if it can, both the morning and evening fields in Chattanooga. Even if the Ochses and Adlers came originally from Chattanooga, the weight of their wealth is now in New York. Success for the *Times* in the afternoon field would mean that five of the eight papers in the state would be owned by organizations with their chief interests in New York. Among the home papers the two in Nashville have found a method of operation which would make it possible for one to support God and the other the devil without great danger to the profits of either. That leaves one paper in Knoxville in old-fashioned competitive independence, in the hands of a manufacturer who bought it when it was bankrupt.

I am not sure that George Carmack laughed because he saw the joke when he went to speak about the freedom of the press in Knoxville. And I am not at all sure that there is anything funny in the whole business. A lot of badly aimed mud has been thrown at the American press in recent years. But maybe even newspapermen should begin to wonder whether the control of what we get from the press for our pennies is not just as important as control of the holding companies which, also for our pennies, gave us our power.

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

Notes by the Way

IF YOU remember Ernest Hemingway's last novel, "To Have and Have Not"—it was not very memorable—you will recall that in mid-course the first exponent of the hard-boiled school of fiction, later an *aficionado* of bullfighting, "got religion" and forced his hero, arbitrarily and quite unconvincingly, to die a proletarian. Meanwhile Hemingway had gone to Spain, where the first act of Europe's civil war was being played out. The first yield of his experience there as interested observer was a group of excellent short stories and a brief play, "The Fifth Column," which was not only a bad play but flaunted, in its handling of human character and values, the sentimental-brutal immaturity of the enthusiastic amateur of war and revolution.

His present book, "For Whom the Bell Tolls" (Charles Scribner's Sons, $2.75), also has for its background the Spanish civil war. It is a long book; it has obviously been written with care and love; it is in a straight line from "A Farewell to Arms" and superior to it; and happily it not only removes the bad taste left in the mouth by "The Fifth Column" but sets a new standard for Hemingway in characterization, dialogue, suspense, and compassion for the human being faced with death—and with the necessity for imposing death on other human beings. Its main characters are a group of Republican guerrillas operating behind the fascist lines in the mountains near Segovia and Robert Jordan, an American volunteer, who has been detailed to seek them out and with their help perform the dangerous and difficult assignment of blowing up a strategic bridge at the strategic moment—after he has heard the sound of the first bombs of the planned Republican attack. In the course of the four days in which the action of the book takes place, Jordan obtains information which convinces him that the attack will fail, but the messenger he sends through the lines arrives too late; the attack begins, and he blows up the bridge on schedule. Some of his companions are killed in the attendant skirmishes; the rest, including his sweetheart of four days, escape; he himself is fatally hurt and remains behind to die alone on the Spanish mountainside.

Within the frame of tension set up by this relatively simple plot, Hemingway has projected in great detail the world of the *partizans;* we enter it with Robert Jordan, whose compulsion to gain their confidence and command their help in carrying out his assignment generates part of the action and suspense. We come to know intimately the characters and lives of Pilar and her husband, Pablo, and see the conflict between them played out; there are less detailed but vivid portraits of half a dozen minor characters; the landscape is made palpable—Hemingway communicates not only the physical but the emotional impact of a spring snowstorm in the mountains. Yet through 471 pages one seldom feels that the primary plot is being held in abeyance. The exposition is accomplished almost entirely by means of dialogue and action. The suspense is continuously heightened, and the impact of the final action at the bridge is of course greatly intensified by our involvement in the human beings who take part in it.

The most striking as well as the most interesting character in the book is the woman Pilar; one of the finest single passages is her account of the terrible events which occurred in her native village when the civil war began. This account, in the Hemingway economy, also helps to characterize Pablo. Robert Jordan is adequate but he does not touch the imagination as Pilar does, even though, or perhaps because, he is presented more subjectively. The only unreal character, for me, is Maria. The romantic great-love-at first-sight between Jordan and the girl whom the *partizans* have rescued from her fascist captors is not convincing, never seems integral. If it was intended to have the quality and force of fantasy—which seems possible—the intention has failed.

The book's title is taken from John Donne: ". . . any man's death diminishes me, because I am involved in mankind; and therefore never send to know for whom the bell tolls; it tolls for thee." It indicates the spirit which informs the book, but Hemingway cannot compete with Donne, and the reader will not find any fresh or overpowering expression of this theme. Nor will he find a "revolutionary" novel as the term applies, for instance, to Franz Hoellering's "The Defenders." The understanding of social forces which underlies Hoellering's story of Vienna in 1934 remains only a vague perception in Hemingway's story of Spain in 1937—unprojected save in the personal and far from profound musings of Robert Jordan. (Since I have mentioned "The Defenders" and like every other mentioner stressed its social aspect, I should like to redress the balance by saying that it is also an absorbing story.)

Hemingway touches only superficially and inconclusively on the moral and political issues which racked the Republican forces. In one flashback Robert Jordan remembers the gathering place of the Russians in Madrid and introduces us to Karkov, cynical but ingratiating. The tone of this chapter is indicated by a conversation about the P. O. U. M.

> Nin was their only man. We had him but he escaped.
>
> Where is he now?
>
> In Paris. We say he is in Paris. . . .
>
> But they were in communication with the fascists, weren't they?
>
> Who is not?

In another chapter Andre Marty is represented as insane. The Anarchists are referred to as the "crazies." Jordan lets us know that he is under Communist discipline but that his mind is his own.

Such comments as Hemingway does make along these lines, particularly the chapter on Madrid, are not organic to the story of Pilar and Pablo, of the engaging, foul-mouthed Agustín, the pedantic Fernando, and the lovable old man Anselmo. The novel which embodies the deeper social meanings of the Spanish war has yet to be written, and I doubt that Hemingway will write it, but he has given us as moving and vivid a story of a group of human beings involved in that war as we are likely to have.

MARGARET MARSHALL

American Economic History

THE TRIUMPH OF AMERICAN CAPITALISM. By Louis M. Hacker. Simon and Schuster. $3.

THIS is an economic history of the United States that makes sense. It is synthesis, interpretation, and forecast that are meaningful for today's problems—Louis Hacker is aware of history as a stream that flows into the present. His emphasis is not only on changing institutions but on the "why" and on the class-political relations that shape, and are shaped, by those institutions; hence he focuses on the American Revolution and the Civil War, when changing economic forces exploded in the struggle for state power, which is itself an economic force. The general approach and outline are Marxist but have not the schematic distortions of "official" Marxism; Hacker's approach is flexible and many-sided, the outline richly filled in with material drawn from monographic literature and original research. There is, too, a fruitful emphasis on those features of American capitalism —and American life—which distinguish our culture from that of Europe.

After sketching the European origins of American capitalism Hacker makes penetrating analyses of the colonial economy in relation to the mercantilist policy of the mother country, the struggle of emerging colonial capitalism against the tightening mercantilist restrictions that led to the Revolution of 1776, and the class-political divisions and struggles within the Revolution. There follows an equally penetrating study of the nature and development of American mercantile capitalism, in the course of which Hacker corrects Frederick J. Turner on the significance of the frontier by rightly placing it within the larger complex of capitalist institutions. (Hacker tends to overdo the correction; the frontier retains its unique significance after all necessary corrections.) The origins and growth of industrial capitalism and of the planter capitalism of the South with which it clashed are discussed in a manner that shows the Civil War emerging out of that clash as a struggle for political power. Suggestive for our generation, which must wage a social war against fascism, is Hacker's convincing portrayal of the part played by Congress, under the drive of the Old Radical Republicans, in forcing Lincoln to wage more aggressive war by means of social-revolutionary measures—emancipation and the organization of Negro revolts in the South and Negro regiments in the Union army—that would carry the war behind the Confederate lines. The radical ideals were abandoned as Reconstruction moved toward a mere implementing of the political power of industrial capitalism. Throughout the book emphasis is placed on the democratic and equalitarian ideas that shaped and will continue to shape decisive struggles in American history.

Unfortunately, "The Triumph of American Capitalism" practically ends with Reconstruction; not many more than the twenty-four pages of one chapter are devoted to economic developments in the twenty-five years up to 1900. Yet in his final chapter Hacker abruptly projects the decline of American capitalism. Why? Nothing he has written, no analysis he has made of the dynamics of capitalism which drive it toward decline, prepares one to understand the why. For that, economic history must be combined with economic theory. Hacker identifies capitalist decline, the beginnings of which he places around 1900, with finance capitalism and its "impersonalization" of capitalist enterprise through the corporate setup and the financial control which are no longer "goaded by the instinct of workmanship" that drove the older industrial capitalism. But in the thirty years from 1900 to 1929 there was great expansion in American industry, despite a declining rate of expansion in the 1920's; giant new industries arose, such as electric power, of which only the bare beginnings were evident before, the automobile, radio, synthetics, while American industry was virtually recreated through the newer technology made possible by electrical machinery and electro-chemistry. Nor has there been a decline in the instinct of workmanship, but rather a rebirth in the form of an infinitely more rational technology and a new art of industrial design; there is more workmanship today in American industry than seventy-five years ago. The "impersonalization" of industry is not an element of decline but a constructive force within finance capitalism; it means institutional management, the end of the *personal* profit motive in management, and new economic morals, pointing to social industry directed for social service. Finally, finance capital is symptom, not cause, of capitalist decline; the decline goes on even when the power of finance capital is ended, as in Germany, where the state controls an impersonalized industry, or in other countries, where that power is on the way out. The causes of capitalist decline must be sought in the movement of capital accumulation and profit in relation to production, the exhaustion—on a capitalist basis—of the long-time factors of economic expansion, and the resistance to change in changing economic institutions.

LEWIS COREY

Franz Kafka's Poor Richard

AMERIKA. By Franz Kafka. Translated by Edwin Muir. Preface by Klaus Mann. New Directions. $2.50.

IN FRANZ KAFKA'S "Amerika," the earliest of his three novels, the extra-natural plays no part; there is no evocation of mysterious powers or any derangement of the known and recognizable world for the sake of injecting into it the menace of the irrational and unfathomable. It is the only one of his longer narratives in which he fully indulged his flair for comedy. The intention behind it, however, is not the exposure of specific foibles but the portrayal of the typical human condition. "If sufficiently systematized, comedy turns into reality," he wrote in one of his notebooks. And this statement can stand as the motto of this picaresque tale of the adventures of the sixteen-year-old boy Karl Rossmann, a native of Prague, in the mechanized cities of the United States, a country which Kafka had never seen but of which he had a definite image in his mind.

Kafka was so steeped in moods of loss and failure, so haunted by the idea of the insolubility of human problems, that he tended to regard with astonishment and inordinate admiration all examples of constructive will, of the ability of men to discover their true calling and achieve that integration in the community to which he attached the highest value but which he believed to be beyond his own reach. His constant plaint was the same as that of the character in Hawthorne's story "The Intelligence Office," who never ceased to cry out: "I want my place, my own place, my proper sphere, my thing to do, which nature intended me to perform when she fashioned me thus awry, and which I have vainly sought all my lifetime!" For this reason Benjamin Franklin, who was singularly successful in all his undertakings, was among Kafka's favorite historical figures; and Franklin's "Autobiography" is one of the sources of this novel. Let no one think, however, that Kafka was charmed by Poor Richard's opinion of himself or by his general philosophy; what interested him in this American career was its inexplicable element of fate, which in this case had manifested itself in a positive guise. He probably read Poor Richard's recommendations of virtue, his list of proverbs on frugality, temperance, moderation, tranquillity, and the like, as one reads a work on strategy, interpreting those dismally sagacious sayings as so many moves in the complicated game of ingratiating oneself with the nameless authorities whose law, though its intent and meaning are unknown and unknowable, nevertheless prevails. It was the Ulysses-like aspect of Franklin that attracted Kafka, and he conceived of America as his Mediterranean. Americans, he thought, wore perpetual smiles on their faces. For somehow they had managed, perhaps through the protection afforded them by the extraordinary dimensions of the New World, to beat fate to the draw.

In that he is truly innocent, Karl Rossmann differs radically from K., the protagonist of "The Trial" and "The Castle." Whereas K., who is thoroughly impregnated with rationality, approaches the problem of guilt largely in a legalistic fashion, reacting vindictively to the misfortunes that befall him and seeking to prove by logical processes that he has committed no crime and should therefore be let alone, Karl suffers persecution without dreaming of vengeance or unduly dwelling on the wrongs that have been done him. When his rich uncle wilfully turns him out of his house for virtually no reason at all, he utters no word of protest but calmly goes about the business of adjusting himself to his new situation. He is not a subjective character; his energy is of that benign kind which flows congenially even into the narrowest channels of reality.

The Kafkan irony expends itself on Karl by entangling him in a series of accidents, errors, and misunderstandings that are as circumstantially precise as they are magical in arrangement. His first steps in America—whose bewildering and immense bureaucratic mechanisms he dare not examine too closely—are attended by good fortune; but after a few months he is suddenly overtaken by disaster and compelled to take to the road in search of work in the company of the unemployed and thievish mechanics Delamarche and Robinson. After many trials he is befriended by a woman, a kind of Athene in the shape of a hotel manager. She employs him as an elevator operator, but the head waiter and the head porter, whose hostility he has aroused through no fault of his own, contrive to have him discharged. Delamarche and Robinson then abduct him with the design of forcing him into the service of Brunelda, a great slob of a Circe who had fascinated and transformed them both into swinish lechers. (The seventh chapter, called The Refuge, which describes the Chaplinesque chase of Karl by a policeman, his encounter with the incomparable Brunelda, the election parade, and his conversation with the coffee-nourished student, is to my mind one of the finest single pieces of writing in modern fiction.) In the end he escapes from Brunelda's household to find a position in the Nature Theater of Oklahoma, a beneficent and fantastic enterprise miraculously welcoming the unemployed into its "almost limitless" spaces, where they are provided with jobs and reconciled, one supposes, to the inscrutable purposes of the powers that rule the life of man.

Kafka makes no attempt to give a realistic account of America. He is quite inaccurate, as Klaus Mann observes in his preface, "in every detail, yet the picture as a whole has poetical truth." If on its existential side this story is a sort of good-humored parody of the career of Poor Richard, on its literary side it derives from Dickens. David Copperfield, who is also a good boy with the wit to make the most of his virtue in his trials and tribulations, is Karl's prototype. But this "imitation" of Dickens's novel is in its way a burlesque treatment of it and is analogous to Joyce's use of the "Odyssey" in his "Ulysses."

One misses in "Amerika" the profound implications of Kafka's other work. Plainly his imagination did not wholly support this one effort to guide the life of a human being to a happy outcome. He was more at home in the dread castles and courts where K. wandered in search of justice, only to discover at the very last that justice is as meaningless as it is inescapable.

PHILIP RAHV

Musician as Poet

THE GAP OF BRIGHTNESS. By F. R. Higgins. The Macmillan Company. $1.25.

FREDERICK ROBERT HIGGINS was much with Yeats in the last years and appears from the latter's correspondence to have been his favorite among the Irish poets younger by a generation than he. Yeats trusted his instinct for poetry and learned from his knowledge of folk-music; and Higgins in turn learned something of his own craft from Yeats. They were not, however, much alike. The younger man shared nothing of Yeats's concern with philosophy and has not, as is so often true with musicians, a comparable feeling for the music that can be made only with words. He is closer, perhaps, to Synge.

Higgins has a folk quality that is genuine but not consistent. He can catch in his lines the rhythms, not merely of Irish speech, but of poetry written in Irish; he cannot hold them uninterruptedly. What he aims at is the boldness he attributes to Ferguson who

> saw the heavenly horse,
> Pegasus, harnessed to that hearse—
> Damn it, he cut the traces!

His phrases are knotty, vigorous, humorous, and not without a high imagination that suddenly, for a moment, allows some familiar commonplace object to be seen in a rare intense light. That moment is the gap of brightness. It soon dims. For if Higgins has force, he has not a driving force; he lacks the compelling passion to carry through what was well begun to an accomplished end. There are some finished poems; but more often than not the poet seems to suffer that peculiar affliction of the Irish when not sustained by a fanatic heart—the unaccountable failure of emotion in mid-course. While it stays, he stands, like his own blackthorn in flower, "flaunting out the fierceness." When it is gone, nothing is left him but loneliness and rage. The blackthorn, its flowers and green days gone, can be turned into a cudgel.

JOHN PEALE BISHOP

The Sins of the Poor

GEM OF THE PRAIRIE: AN INFORMAL HISTORY OF THE CHICAGO UNDERWORLD. By Herbert Asbury. Alfred A. Knopf. $3.50.

FOR ten years Herbert Asbury has been writing lively and not very important books about the sins of the poor. Here is another one, a chronological account of the sins of the poor in Chicago from 1833 to 1933, but since it happens to be published at the moment when a social system that made the poor sinful is about to fall over on its face, it seems not only unimportant but positively irrelevant. It is not very lively, either.

In the year 1940 a writer of Asbury's standing ought to be doing one of two things. He ought to be clarifying our confusion or diverting us from it. This book does neither. It is a collection of the names, addresses, and personal habits of Chicago's long and historic list of horse thieves, footpads, sharpers, bunko steerers, poke-lifters, jack-rollers, con men, badger artists, cokies, bawds, whores, pimps, panders, perverts, and alky cookers. Even if you care for this sort of thing, even if you enjoyed the story of the Everleigh sisters or Al Capone the first time you heard it, you will find that four hundred unrelieved pages of it gets you down.

History has been defined contemptuously as "what happened next." In that sense, and in that sense only, this book is a history. It asks no questions, and, perhaps for the best, it doesn't try to answer any. It repeats a few classic legends, but they were only mildly amusing when they were new. There is only one funny line in the whole book, the one about a famous one-armed gambler of whom a policeman said, "If he had two hands he'd have all the money in the world."

Sure, Chicago is and always was a wicked place. But why? What makes it wicked? And what is wickedness, anyway? Asbury lightly records the ancient fact that Mayor Carter Harrison, Sr.—among other patricians—owned a whole block of whore houses. He lightly records the ancient fact that girls faced the choice of prostitution or wages of four to six dollars a week in a factory or downtown store. Now Asbury can't say he isn't a moralist; he passes moral judgment when he refers to streetwalkers as "harpies" and pimps as "human lice." Well, what about the patricians who lived off the rents paid by these "human lice"? What about the employers whose young lady employees had to turn "harpy" to avoid starvation?

The impact of a book like this, if it has one, is bad. It bolsters the thesis that the sins of the poor are independent of the sins of the rich. It supports the unexamined postulates of all the Committees of Ten, Twenty-five, and a Hundred that ever were, those glamorous vigilante fronts for leading citizens who demand the perfuming of the dung heap on which their security rests.

On the achievements of one of these extra-governmental groups—always extra-governmental because government is the last thing they want—Asbury is lyric. But in telling how the Chicago Crime Commission turned the pitiless power of public wrath on Al Capone, he neglects to tell how it diverted the pitiless power of public wrath from the interests represented by the Chicago Crime Commission. The venerable corporation lawyer who leads the Crime Commission is exactly as enthusiastic about reform as is the Chicago *Tribune*.

The author of "Gem of the Prairie" doesn't, of course, pretend to be doing any heavy thinking. What does he pretend to be doing? He does not add anything to Smith and Lewis's history of Chicago. He doesn't contribute anything to the rich library of simple, unsophisticated sin. He doesn't enlighten a worried world or any area thereof. But he may contribute something to his own stature as a citizen if he reads his own book in the light of Anatole France's reflection on the impartial majesty of the law, which forbids rich and poor alike to sleep under bridges, beg in the streets, or steal bread.

MILTON S. MAYER

Planning—and Freedom

MAN AND SOCIETY IN AN AGE OF RECONSTRUCTION. By Karl Mannheim. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $3.50.

THIS book is a greatly expanded and radically revised version of an earlier one published in the German language—but not in Germany—some years ago. It is a thoughtful but oversystematized discussion of the problem of the "disproportionate development of human faculties" as expressed in the failure of moral power and insight to keep pace with the tremendous strides of scientific knowledge and technological control. Mannheim calls attention to the many psychological and methodological problems that must be faced if we are to achieve a planned society in which freedom and democratic control are present. He believes that some sort of planned society is inescapable, and that it is difficult but not impossible to secure many of our ancient liberties by making provision, as part of our plan, for free zones within the structure of society. This requires a revaluation of the conception of freedom to distinguish it from the mere freedom to escape on the one hand and the mechanical notion of institutional checks and balances on the other. Previously skeptical of the capacity of existing parliamentary democracies to effect the transition to democratic planning, Mannheim has been convinced of its feasibility as a result of his English experience. His analysis culminates in the realization that the problems of democratic control are specific, arising at certain strategic points in the social processes in given historical situations. He therefore does not attempt to lay down any political programs or to mark out in detail the roads to democratic power.

This is a book of profound commonplaces, a characterization not intended as derogatory. Its chief value lies not in its conclusions, which are part of the liberal socialist outlook, but in the way in which it worries the problems. The bibliography of almost a hundred pages is useful.

SIDNEY HOOK

Scalpel, Please

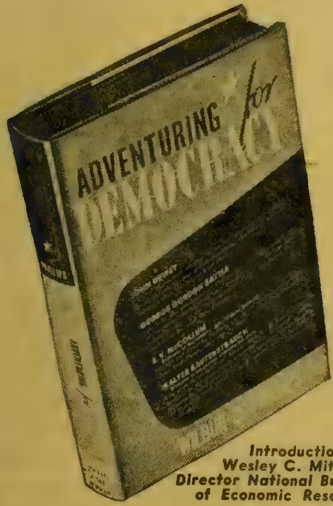
THE MAN WHO LOVED CHILDREN. By Christina Stead. Simon and Schuster. $2.75.

NOT since "The Egoist" has any novel excoriated so thoroughly the self-worshiping, self-deceiving male as does this book with an iron fist in its velvet title. But while Meredith maintained an affectionately good-humored, almost patronizing attitude toward his egocentric hero, who merely made himself ludicrous and did no real harm to anyone, Miss Stead's portrayal of Sam Pollitt is as razor-edged and pitiless as a dissecting knife: she exposes him, front view, side view, top, bottom, and cross-section, rips him apart to display the squashy, fungoid soul that underlies his bumptious exuberance, and then, when you all but cry out, "For God's sake, give the poor wretch something to cover himself with and let him go," she trots him out again, and again, letting him mouth his excruciating baby talk and bombastic platitudes long after he has dragged his family to financial and emotional bankruptcy and most of them have found him out.

Sam Pollitt lives "in a golden cloud floating over a lot of back alleys he never sees"—this in the words of his whiny, scatter-brained wife, Henrietta, in one of her less shrewish moments. As long as he can frolic with his six (later, seven) children only on "Sunday-Funday," sucking from them, parasite-like, the admiration which is his breath of life, he remains only mildly irritating; but after he loses his job and is free to dramatize himself around the house at all hours, the temperamental conflict between Henrietta and him flares into open war. The children, whom Sam now needs far more than they need him, look on in tragic wonderment as the gilt peels off their little tin god under the strain of sordid poverty and frenzied bickering. Most terrible of all is the growing realization of Louisa, his oldest daughter and child of a previous marriage, that her father, with a perverted possessiveness, is winding himself about her and strangling her like a slimy snake, and that only by murdering both her parents can she hope to win a normal life for herself and the other children.

The book is really a tense, admirably written study of blighted personalities, far less somber in its general tone than the above summary indicates. Miss Stead has an almost superhuman skill in recording the vagaries of family small talk. And while I have every reason to hope that Sam Pollitt is an exaggerated figure, he is drawn convincingly enough to make a lot of men want to crawl away into a corner and die. But of course the Sam Pollitts never know when a barb is aimed at them.

LOUIS B. SALOMON


Introduction by
Wesley C. Mitchell
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IN BRIEF

UNTIL THE SHEARING. By Anne Miller Downes. Frederick A. Stokes. $2.50.

A genial, leisurely novel tracing the growth from childhood to manhood of a sensitive lad, son of a charming actress; his character is molded partly by the world events of the early decades of this century, partly by absorption of the sturdy American virtues inherent in his father's York State family.

PAL JOEY. By John O'Hara. Duell, Sloan, and Pearce. $2.

Recalling Ring Lardner at his racy, devastating best, this series of letters describes the amorous and professional ups-and-downs of a second-rate crooner with a stunted soul, a slangy vocabulary, and a handful of quips that limp almost as badly as his spelling. Like many of Lardner's Americans, Joey is amusing and slightly loathsome; you'd probably rather see than be one.

PORLOCK: A PORTRAIT. By Reginald Hunter. With a Foreword by John Cowper Powys. Illustrated by William O'Brien. The Caxton Printers. $2.

This portrait of Porlock, the timid pedant, against a background of Greenwich Village in the prohibition era, is a real creation in character. One need not go along with the publishers in thinking it a classic to be warmed by its mellow humor and unobtrusive literary and philosophical flavor. The statement of the blurb writer that "in the spirit of providing a limited edition for a fastidious audience the publisher has produced a volume of exquisite typography and design," may be whole-heartedly indorsed.

DIPLOMATICALLY SPEAKING. By Lloyd C. Griscom. Little, Brown and Company. $3.50.

Born into a Philadelphia Quaker family with a silver spoon in his mouth, the author of these entertaining memoirs went to England at twenty, as secretary to the American ambassador, to begin a diplomatic career which led him to Turkey, Persia, Japan, Brazil, and finally to Italy as ambassador at the age of thirty-four. During the last war he was in interesting liaison positions in Paris and London. The usual diplomatic anecdotes are told with unusual humor and charm, which go far to disarm sardonic reflections on the ease of Mr. Griscom's progress and the slight historical significance of his experiences.

AMERICA, I PRESUME. By Wyndham Lewis. Howell, Soskin and Company. $2.

A book on America by the hard-hitting author of "Time and Western Man" promised to be provocative reading. Whether or not his delicate position as a visiting English writer—and hence a propagandist suspect—is to blame, Mr. Lewis seems to be pulling his punches. His first-rate wit makes the book extremely amusing in spots, but as an analysis of the American scene it is sketchy, often based on superficial observation and a reworking of clichés. It is to be hoped that Mr. Lewis will stay here longer and give us another book on ourselves. He is a writer whose considered opinion ought to be helpful.

MINORITY REPORT. By Bernard DeVoto. Little, Brown and Company. $2.75.

A selection of critical and editorial articles that appeared when Mr. DeVoto held his easy chairs on *Harper's* and the *Saturday Review.* Mr. DeVoto is "temperamentally unable to refer to himself as an artist." He is almost equally modest in the role of critic, since he says, "I am more comfortable if sure that the one who applies the term means primarily that I write pieces more than fifteen hundred words long." We are willing to accept that as a definition of Mr. DeVoto's critical labors. He is a sort of literary Huck Finn, using his journalistic slingshot—don't mistake, he is mighty proud of the weapon!—against every top hat that he sees or thinks he sees. He gets tremendous fun out of it all and is pretty injured when, after wiping the tears of laughter from his eyes, he discovers that some people weren't as amused as he was. Personally we would rather leave this vacant-lot warfare and devote our time to the critics who take their business seriously. Quite simply, in order not to appear to be putting on a top hat ourselves, we think they are more fun.

SLAVERY TIMES IN KENTUCKY. By J. Winston Coleman, Jr. University of North Carolina Press. $3.

The special character of slavery in Kentucky, where the absence of large plantations made it a domestic rather than a commercial institution ("My Old Kentucky Home"), is treated here together with its connection, through the sl trade, with the wider problem of slav in America. Although primarily for s cialists the volume is a particularly re able example of the valuable regio historical studies emanating from Chap Hil. Photographs, old prints, and f similes of old handbills and other doc ments add both to its charm and to value.

SUEZ AND PANAMA. By And Siegfried. Translated from the Frenc by Harold and Doris Hemming. Ha court, Brace and Company. $3.

Though this book contains nothing n vaguely known by almost everybody, th facts are always interesting and it useful to have them in one surve André Siegfried is a stimulating write and his personal acquaintance with Le seps and Theodore Roosevelt adds flavo to his presentation of the picturesqu origin of the two canals. As a politica journalist he also does justice to th topical importance of these two grea modifications of strategic and economi geography.

GERMAN ECONOMY 1870 TO 1940. By Gustav Stolper. Reynal and Hitchcock. $3.

Dr. Stolper stresses the point that the Nazis inherited the fundamentals of their economy, which might be described as a merger between collectivism and mercantilism. When Hitler came to power he found, on the one hand, a system of state socialism whose lineage can be traced back to Frederick the Great and, on the other, a network of private industries almost completely organized on a monopoly basis. All the basic machinery was there for the introduction of a planned economy, but this does not explain why that economy was directed, not toward a betterment in the standard of living, but toward the creation of an instrument of world conquest. As Dr. Stolper agrees, more than an economic interpretation is needed to understand the Nazi movement. Nor has its apparent efficiency for the purposes of war yet been put to the final test. Hitler's economics may yet prove his Achilles heel.

SO PERISH THE ROSES. By Neil Bell. The Macmillan Company. $2.50.

A fictionalized biography of Charles Lamb, slow moving and caked with conventional sentiment.

FILMS

CHARLIE CHAPLIN plays three parts in "The Great Dictator." First his old one, the funny little man whom the entire world loves; second, Hitler; and third, Charlie Chaplin himself, a social-minded American full of all the good slogans.

The funny little man, this time a little less funny and a little more tragic, appears as a Jewish barber who lost his memory in World War I. Getting it back after many years he finds the ghetto terrorized by the double-cross storm troopers of the great dictator, whom he himself resembles as one egg does another. (Conveniently no one seems to notice the resemblance until the author of the picture—Charlie Chaplin—wants to make use of it.)

The story which develops swiftly from this basic situation takes place in the palace and in the ghetto. In the palace the dictator, assisted by Garbitsch-Goebbels (Henry Daniell) and Herring-Göring (Billy Gilbert), is planning the rape of Austria. He needs money and he is afraid of Napaloni-Mussolini (played excellently by Jack Oakie), whose army stands at the Brenner. When a Jewish banker refuses a loan the great dictator orders a pogrom. All Jews are robbed and Napaloni is duly double-crossed. In the meantime the little barber, now in love with a beautiful laundress (Paulette Goddard), after fighting the storm troopers in his knock-about fashion, has been caught and put into a concentration camp. He escapes, and it is when he is on his way to the Austrian frontier that he is at last taken for the dictator. (The real one is taken for him and thrown into the camp.) Soon enough he finds himself forced to speak as conqueror to the conquered. In this great moment the little man, alas, loses his identity once more and Charlie Chaplin speaks instead—for democracy and everything fair and good. A propaganda speech cuts short the unfinished story.

The actor Chaplin is superb in the double role, often surpassing, and on a higher level, even the greatest of his earlier performances. As barber he plays many delightful scenes of the kind one expects from him. He absent-mindedly shaves his girl. Or he barbers a perplexed customer to the rhythm of a Hungarian dance by Brahms. The best scene of all is the one in which he and his comrades decide who shall be chosen to kill the dictator. They eat sweet puddings in one of which a coin is concealed. The man who finds the coin must sacrifice himself. The way they cheat each other over the dangerous dessert without becoming malicious is a delight to watch. The whole scene is perfectly composed, most delicately balanced, and rich in human understanding. The only trouble is that such perfect scenes as this are followed by more conventional passages which would be funny enough in an average picture but let one down in a film that deals so ambitiously with so great a theme.

The same criticism applies to the palace sequences. Outstanding here are the dictator's dance with the globe, the arrival of Napaloni, and the satire on the psychological approach, with both dictators trying to outsmart each other. Chapin is really great, sharp and revealing, in all his speeches as dictator, which he renders in an invented language. Incidentally Chaplin speaks so naturally and well that one remembers only afterward that he has been until now a silent actor. He skilfully differentiates the two characters he plays, and at the end, in his own voice, he is forceful and carries conviction.

The picture, which runs for more than two hours, leaves one with a queer mixture of enthusiasm and disappointment. The shortcomings of the film have nothing to do with Chaplin the actor. He has mastered the great and difficult feat of playing the part of Hitler. His portrayal is convincing in every gesture and mood. It is never forced. No, for the shortcomings it is, I suspect, Chaplin the author who is responsible.

Chaplin's script, I hasten to say, is one of the most ambitious and most original scripts ever written. Yet it does not reach the heights: it is uneven, lacks coherence and sweep, and is in spots already slightly dated. The writer Chaplin is still primarily concerned with scenes for the actor Chaplin. He knows how to make his scenes serve the higher purpose which he has set in choosing universal and controversial themes, but he sometimes asks too much of himself and as a result gives his art and his admirers less than he could. What he needs now is a congenial author. In order not to get into trouble with any person living, I recommend to him two writers long dead. One is the Czech Jaroslav Hasek, author of "The Good Soldier Schweik"; the other is the Viennese Johann Nestroy—the greatest comedian of his time as Chaplin is of ours, but a greater writer still. He solved, in his parody on "Herod and Mariamne," the final problem which Chaplin has failed to solve in "The Great Dictator" (therefore the short-cut end), namely, the end of the dictator. Nestroy's dictator, after killing everybody around him, confronts himself, and finds the final formulation: *"Ich oder ich!"*—"I or I."

FRANZ HOELLERING

MUSIC

FRIDAY, October 11, which was to end so extraordinarily, began ordinarily enough: breakfast, the *Times*, headlines about bombings, the Balkans, Willkie, and finally the Philharmonic's opening concert, which I had forgotten about after a glance at the list of works Mr. Barbirolli had chosen for the first weeks of the season. I went on to read Mr. Downes's swollen and muddy flood of words—about Sibelius's Second Symphony, for example, "a paean to the unconquerable spirit that is man," and the performance in which this work "was read, for the greater part, in bardic vein" and "there was breadth and sweep of line"; but in which "a thoughtful reading was distinguished prevailingly by fine proportions and a real sense of form"; in which, however, "this feeling was lost . . . in places where tempo was too suddenly whipped up or slowed down"; and yet of which "the impression was of a too calculated performance, with many fine attributes, one which, had all previous calculations been forgotten, and the music given its head, would have been a complete instead of a conditioned success." Reading this, I felt the mists of New York newspaper reviewing rising about me; by evening, with the reviews in the *Post*, the *World-Telegram*, and *PM*, these mists were suffocating; and then the air was cleared by a piece of writing which a couple of excited telephone calls caused me to look up in the *Herald Tribune*. This was the review by Virgil Thomson, in which authoritative competence and fastidious taste expressed themselves with plain-speaking honesty, observing, for example, that the symphony, which was "vulgar, self-indulgent, and provincial . . . has a kind of popular power unusual in symphonic literature," and concluding that the music of the concert "was soggy; the playing dull and brutal."

Let me make clear that I didn't enjoy Mr. Thomson's review because I agreed with his judgments. As a matter of fact I think the excesses of the Sibelius adherents provoked him to counter-excess; and I suspect that the fact that "there are other conductors more highly paid than Mr. Ormandy" and "some that are more highly advertised" contributed to his statement—in his review of the Philadelphia Orchestra's first New York concert—that the performance of this coarse-grained musician is "civilized, sane, and effective beyond all comparison with that of his more showily temperamental colleagues." I expect to be irritated by what I suspect is Mr. Thomson's perversity as often as I am delighted by what I consider to be his penetration—the penetration of his observations on the Sibelius First Symphony that Ormandy conducted: "The formal structure, such as there was, was a sort of smooth piecing together of oddments, not unlike what is known to the film world as 'cutting.' As in a well cut film, occasions for compensating the essential jerkiness of the flow were exploited whenever they could be found; at those moments something took place not unlike the 'plugging' of a theme song." What I respect is the equipment of musical understanding that I am aware of as much in the judgments I dissent from as in those I agree with.

That these reviews got into the newspaper which published Lawrence Gilman is beyond comprehension; that they will continue to get in is beyond belief; but while they do New York will have a music critic worth reading.

Franck's Prelude, Chorale, and Fugue for piano I find—up to the overweighted climax of the Fugue—one of his best works; and much of it Egon Petri plays effectively. But the arpeggiated sections of the Chorale come out rhythmically distorted; and his playing, as recorded by Columbia (Set X-176, $2.50), is not invariably clear. I prefer Cortot's performance, of which the old recording (Victor 7331/2) still sounds good.

One of Strauss's better songs, "Heimkehr," on a Columbia single disc (17213-D, $.75), is sung by Suzanne Sten, who turns out to have a sumptuously beautiful alto voice which she uses with first-rate musical taste. Occasionally in this song, however, her use of it produces a strong tremolo which is particularly bad in "Cäcilie," one of Strauss's poorer songs, on the reverse side. On another single (17214-D, $.75) is the little Sonata a quattro of Alessandro Scarlatti resurrected by Music Press Inc., which has a first and a second movement that are moderately interesting, and is well played by the Stuyvesant Quartet. On still another single (70348-D, $1) Bartok's "A Bit Drunk" for piano succeeds in conveying the impression of someone with the staggers, and his "Quarrel" the impression of a quarrel; and if that is what you want you can have it, with Dohnányi's no more consequential "Ruralia Hungarica" on the reverse side, well played, as far as I can tell, by Kilenyi.

Volume 2 of "The Voice of Poetry" (Set 419, $5) offers poems ranging from Shakespeare to T. S. Eliot, well spoken by John Gielgud. As for Sir Henry Wood's Fantasia on British Sea Songs (Set X-175, $2.50), it is, I think, something for the English rather than the American taste, with its bugle calls of the British Navy at the beginning and "God Save the King" at the end, and its few good tunes in between in a heavy sea of Wood's orchestral arrangement and performance—to say nothing of the heavy wavering in pitch that may be a peculiarity of my review set.

To what I have written about Columbia's recent orchestral recording I will add my impression that the trouble includes a deficiency in low vibration-frequencies, which is what I think makes the highs so thin and shrill and the over-all sound so hollow and wooden.

B. H. HAGGIN

ART

High Brazil

STRICTURES of the sort the Museum of Modern Art heretofore has drawn upon itself are likely to be called forth by its new exhibition, the show of paintings, fresco studies, prints, and sketches by Candido Portinari of Brazil. The censures in past seasons had reference to the museum's propensity, evident in the quality of some of its exhibits, to confuse its function, which is that of an institution for the propagation of artistic values, with that of an educational plant—the dissemination of knowledge. The newer complaints are certain to be excited by what cannot but be felt to be an unhappy identification of his happy double powers on the part of the museum's principal and well-intending patron, Mr. Nelson Rockefeller, in the act of housing the current bulky show in Fifty-third Street.

These double powers, those of guardian of the muses and coordinator of commercial and cultural relations between the American republics, coincide to an extent, can be exercised in combination. American no less than European plastic work exhibiting a relation to "the best that has been known and said in the world," it very properly is the ward of a museum director. To constitute such a subject, the work, however, must bear a full relationship to "culture." Otherwise it belongs in other hands, in others' precincts. And this relationship, the young Brazilian's not uninteresting, in some respects striking art manifests in a measure as yet insufficient to justify its present prominent situation.

It attempts, this earnest work, the projection of Brazilian folkways and folklore through adaptations of European classic and modern idioms and styles. Among them are Piero della Francesca's serene architectural designs, Magnasco's febrile, spookish impressionism, Picasso's monolithic females or female monoliths—one never knows precisely which they are—and the phantasmagorias of Lurçat and other surrealists. But while Portinari is a draftsman, most potently in certain black-and-whites, as a colorist he still is inexpert. His color tends to spottiness; only rarely has he succeeded in drawing and giving motion to his figures with it. In one or two instances the blood-red has a swell and dynamism—cognoscenti claim the hue is that of his natal coffee-bearing earth; and he knows effective ways of throwing shadowy masses about the light, white centers of his compositions. Generally, however, he is constrained to indicate rhythmic motion through outlines and the wild gestures of the figures, and static, even empty areas protrude in his best canvases.

This is not in the least to say that some of his paintings are not at home in the museum. Such a still-life as Duck and Jar distinctly possesses paint quality, and a feeling of space and blowing atmosphere pervades more than one fresco. The patterns in some of the lithographs are most imaginative. Neither is it to say that Mr. Rockefeller was unwise in bringing a Portinari exhibition to these shores. The personality of the artist is worth attention. Evidently he is a man in whom genuine experience is struggling to find its form: feelings about the inertia of the tropics and the brutality and evanescence of human life, tragic and comic feelings about the earthy and jazzy ways of the Brazilian Negroes, feelings of social concern and social sympathy. That numerous of his fellow-countrymen resent his art seems proof of its realism. Still, the fact remains that it is doubtful whether the business of filling the museum's main rooms with a Portinari exhibition—an exhibition at that the season's initial one—does much to brighten the values in whose interests museums presumably exist.

PAUL ROSENFELD

Letters to the Editors

Postal Referendum

Dear Sirs: The great task before this country is to discover and put into operation some means of making this democracy work with speed and precision. Here is a suggestion for streamlining our democracy:

1. Establish a local office in each Congressional district and file there the names and addresses of all registered voters.
2. Make fifty-two divisions of the names, by chance, and each week mail ballot cards to all the voters of one division asking their opinion on the outstanding issue of the week. Rotate the divisions and thus touch every voter at least once a year. On vital issues poll several divisions or all of them.
3. Send each voter two cards, a yes-card and a no-card. The voter will destroy one card and return the other postage free. The cards will be prepunched to fit standard automatic sorting and counting machines. The sorting machines should be located in public places where the people could see their opinions being "weighed."

The idea is to provide the information that will keep the government from getting too far ahead or too far behind public opinion; and to give every one of us a sense of active participation in the policies of our country. The cost would not be great; ten cents per year per voter would cover it. The initial cost of one battleship would operate the system for ten years. Both are needed to save democracy in this mad world. Public demand would assure adequate radio and newspaper discussion of the issues before the sample votes were taken.

Such a proposal would receive support from many quarters:

The President: It would provide him with vital information that would help him to make the quick decisions needed in these critical times.

The Secretary of State: A foreign policy securely based on established public opinion, known here and abroad, is the only kind that can have any effective meaning in a democracy.

The Congress: What Congressman would object to having exact information about the desires of the voters in his own district?

Business men: Exact knowledge of the basic trends in public opinion would encourage long-term planning.

The average person: Nothing pleases a man so much as to be asked for an opinion on an important matter, especially one involving his own destiny. Politics would become a matter of routine business rather than a disruptive force. People could get on with their own jobs in the secure expectation of steady social progress without any fear of dictatorship. W. P. CORTELYOU

Norris, Tenn., October 16

Not Licked Yet!

Dear Sirs: I have read with interest the prognosis of Mr. Charles Malcolmson, dated August 26. So Britain is licked, is she! Let me tell him that she is far from licked and instead is handing out a licking to the might and spite of Adolf Hitler.

If Mr. Malcolmson had been in London last Sunday he would have seen the Hurricanes and Spitfires, manned by mere lads, tear the guts out of the Nazi hordes in the air. He would have seen the men, women, and children of the mean streets of London Southeast dancing in the streets for joy—not shivering in dugouts or air-raid shelters—and cheering themselves hoarse as each bomber and fighter was blasted to bits.

I wish he could meet some of the merchant jacks who have been mined, bombed, and machine-gunned four and five times in a month. Has he forgotten that millions of tons of shipping clear our ports weekly? Has he forgotten that Canadians, Maoris, and Aussies are arriving constantly and are being re-equipped and reshipped to the Near East to meet Benito and Company.

The technicalities of his thesis I will not bother to comment on, but I would ask him what he thinks the Coastal Command will be doing while the Germans are clearing the sea lanes for their mosquito craft and barges. Maybe it will sit back and say, "What's the use, we had better quit." Not on your life. Every man, woman, and child is going to do his humble bit—no matter how small—and they will survive for happier, better, and greater things, despite Adolf Hitler and the armchair strategists.

J. B. WILSON, General Treasurer,
National Union of Seamen

North Cranleigh, Surrey, England
September 25

Two-Party Government

Dear Sirs: Max Lerner is always interesting. I found him not less so than usual in his review of my book, "The Politics of Democracy," in *The Nation* for September 2, in the course of which he disagreed with me on such a fundamental point that I am tempted to take up the cudgels in behalf of my interpretation of our American party system. Mr. Lerner regards my volume as a defense of two-party government in America, as indeed it is. "Therein lies its merit," he states, "and in the face of an Iron Age to come perhaps also its weakness." One cannot but be aware of the grave dangers threatening two-party government in the world today, but Mr. Lerner concludes his analysis by urging that our parties should stand for strongly divergent points of view and demand the strongest loyalty of their followers. I question whether this is likely to be the pattern of the future or is even a tenable objective in theory. For inevitably, if political life is to take this direction, the cleavages within society will be deepened and that area of common agreement wherein men may safely agree to disagree will be narrowed.

Throughout his review Mr. Lerner argues that unless our parties represent clearly divergent social philosophies they may obstruct "the relatively swift changes in economic organization necessary for national survival today." But it still remains to be proved that our present party procedure cannot make the changes requisite for the survival of American democracy. Under any circumstances it would be suicidal to throw overboard the very basis of agreement upon which that survival rests in the fear that our procedures might eventually fail.

With respect to my thesis that both innovation and conservatism are essential elements of the democratic process, Mr. Lerner is reminded of "Lincoln's story about the woman who stood watching the struggle between her husband and a bear and shouted encouragingly to both, 'Go it, husband! Go it, bear!' " That is an amusing story; but unfortunately it is relevant here only in so far as the conflict between innovation and conservatism is similar to a conflict between a husband and a bear. Mr. Lerner has not told us whether the husband represents innovation and the bear conservatism, but presumably that is the analogy. In that event cheers from the sidelines are not likely to determine the outcome. If Mr. Lerner wishes to simplify processes of social change to the plane of a husband-bear struggle, their death grapple means that the processes of democratic adjustment have already failed. I must insist that this conclusion is premature.

Mr. Lerner argued that "the moderation of our party system was achieved to start with only by the extremism of our revolution." In my judgment this is a serious misreading of history. Party government as we know it today was not accepted as a workable concept until men had left far behind the extremism that bred mutual suspicion concerning the fundamental loyalties of the opposing party toward the governmental system itself. The Federalists were feared as potential monarchists, and the Republicans under Jefferson were regarded as Jacobins and revolutionaries. But this is ancient history.

Of immediate importance is the question whether or not our parties can continue to perform a useful role despite their negative characteristics. "If the parties become too colorless for real loyalties," Mr. Lerner asks, "what substitute will men come to believe in?" The answer to this is not simple or singular, but the answers lie about us none the less. Some voters give their loyalty to the individual leader, some vote for their party symbol, regardless of content, others seek their interests through a more direct means. For labor there is the union movement, with its traditions, symbols, and tangible satisfactions. For farmers there is a farm movement that has taken its course through the years, unhampered by loyalty to any one political party. Surely business men are not dependent upon the G. O. P. for making their influence felt in public affairs. In other words, so long as a two-party system keeps power contingent upon winning the next election, no one group of politicians is likely to become so intrenched in power that the multifarious groups making up the community will find their avenues of communication to the government or to a broader public choked by the domination of a single national political machine. All logical men would agree with Mr. Lerner that "the party that wins should come into power with a clear notion of why it was elected and what it wants to do," but our political parties are not a single mind nor do voters support a party for a single clear reason. The politics of democracy is as varied, emotional, and intellectual as the people of this great continent. No amount of exhortation can make us consistent and orderly, but we can still use our parties as workable devices for the alternation of those holding political power. This is no small preparation for the "Iron Age to come."

PENDLETON HERRING

Cambridge, Mass., October 15

Internationalism in Reverse

Dear Sirs: I. F. Stone's series of articles on Aviation's Sitdown Strike carried certain implications which I trust you did not miss. From the facts set forth it is clear that in supplying Nazi Germany with air weapons our business men were only following the well-established practice of increasing our exports as expressed in money terms, not in barter. They were not interested in developing our home market. That would have been rank nationalism, whereas selling airplanes and airplane parts abroad belongs to the sacred category of "international trade," which is supposed to unite nations in universal good-will after the good old British pattern. Following out the formula, we now have to conscript our men and material, establish a war economy, and load ourselves with debt to prevent Hitler's conquest of the world—a kind of internationalism in reverse. An isolated "hermit nation," following a policy of economic nationalism, could not possibly have brought about such a tragic world muddle as we are in today. It took the fanatics of "world commerce" to achieve that. HERMAN DEKKER

Portland, Ore., October 8

Engels and Hicks

Dear Sirs: The Nation's readers now know what Granville Hicks thinks about Marxism (see your issue of September 28). It may interest them to know what Engels thought about Hicksism. For example, Granville Hicks writes: "When, in the face of a growing body of evidence, it [Marxism] insists that economic change is the only change that is necessary, we are obliged to challenge it." Engels wrote to Block (September 21, 1890): "According to the materialist conception of history the determining element in history is ultimately the production and reproduction in real life. More than this neither Marx nor I have ever asserted. If therefore somebody twists this into the statement that the economic element is the *only* determining one, he transforms it into a meaningless, abstract, and absurd phrase."

Engels points out here as elsewhere that "various elements . . . political, legal, philosophical theories, religious ideas . . . exercise their influence upon the course of historical struggles and in many cases preponderate in determining their form . . . even the traditions which haunt human minds also play a part." And so on, winding up with this: "Unfortunately, however, it happens only too often that people think they have fully understood a theory and can apply it without more ado from the moment they have mastered its main principles, and these even not always correctly. And I cannot exempt many of the more recent 'Marxists' from this reproach, for the most wonderful rubbish has been produced from this quarter too."

WALTER LOWENFELS

Philadelphia, October 10

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THE *Nation*

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The Shape of Things

"IT TAKES EVERY MAN SOME TIME TO FIND himself in this world," John L. Lewis once told a reporter, and added, "It took me longer than most people." That was when Mr. Lewis, leader of militant labor and organizer of political change, was reminded of the days when he supported Harding and Coolidge and Hoover. Alas, he spoke too soon. When and if he ever does find himself, we believe he will discover a vindictive man with more than a touch of megalomania. For we do not go along with those who credit with the sincerity of true conviction Lewis's fantastically staged bolt to Wendell Willkie. No man who sees dangers for this country in the foreign policy of President Roosevelt can genuinely think that we shall escape those dangers under the similar policy of the less experienced Mr. Willkie; no man who looks upon the New Deal as "the economic and political experiments of an amateur, ill-equipped practitioner in the realm of political science" can conceivably accept Wendell Willkie as a professional statesman; no man motivated by a passion for improving the conditions of American labor can turn from the sponsors of the National Labor Relations Act to the party of Girdler and Weir; and no labor leader who really finds Roosevelt's "personal craving for power . . . a thing to alarm and dismay" would arrogantly keep the 4,000,000 working men and women he represents completely in the dark about his stand on the gravest of issues, and then invite them to accept a *fait accompli* on pain of his withdrawal. Add to these aspects of Lewis's speech the inane portrayal of Willkie as the man who "has worked with his hands and has known the pangs of hunger," and you have before you the most dizzying *volte-face* since Josef Stalin discovered that fascism, after all, was only a "matter of taste."

* * *

COMPARING THE IMPLICATIONS OF LEWIS'S speech with those of the Soviet-German pact is not far-fetched, for the lines that are already being drawn in the C. I. O. as a result of his swing to Willkie follow a course similar to those which flowed from the pact. Leaders who have been in consistent agreement with Communist Party policy, such as Quill, Flaxer, Curran, and Pritchett, warmly congratulated Lewis, though they forbore to indorse Mr. Willkie. And the New York Newspaper Guild, in one of its most blatant and stupid party-line excursions, documented Westbrook Peglar's charge that it is under Communist domination by adopting a resolution taking no stand on the Presidential race but expressing full confidence in Lewis. The *Daily Worker*, which could hardly come out for Willkie, rebuked Lewis, but ever so sadly, ever so lightly: "an expression of weakness," it termed his act, "which if not remedied can become fatal." The chief target of the editors' attack was not Lewis but his detractors: "There can be nothing but contempt for the howls and caviling against Lewis which come from the camp of Roosevelt's 'labor' lieutenants. . . . Lewis has at least tried to bargain for some definite gain as the price of labor's vote, even though such bargaining is dubious and unsound." In case even this should sound too severe, the "attack" is followed by four columns under the head: "C. I. O. Officials Express Approval of Lewis Leadership of the C. I. O." These are the tributes of the fellow-travelers, offers of "full cooperation," pleas for a continuation of Lewis's "farsighted and fearless leadership." The pattern is important because it represents a determination to retain Lewis despite his grandiloquent offer to step down if Willkie is repudiated at the polls. In the absence of such a movement Mr. Lewis would be free to go his way in the event of a Roosevelt victory; its existence may provoke the long-delayed showdown between the "left wing" of the C. I. O. and those who find dubious leadership in the man who would intrust the rights of labor to the protection of Wendell Willkie.

* * *

MORE DISHEARTENING AND HARDLY LESS significant than Lewis's support of the party of Girdler and Ford is that of Oswald Garrison Villard. Here is a man who has directed his whole public life according to rigid personal principles; no party line could suddenly turn a corner and land him in the lap of the reactionaries. But Mr. Villard has turned that corner just the same—under his own power. Like Lewis he has

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apparently convinced himself that Willkie's desire for peace is more genuine than Roosevelt's and his pledges to Britain less genuine. He is also convinced that to break the third-term tradition is "treason . . . nothing less." And so he is willing to accept the risk that Mr. Willkie if elected will usher in an era of reaction. On this point, to be thoroughly fair, we quote directly from his letter to the New York *Times,* which also appears as an advertisement of the Republican National Committee on the back cover of this issue:

> But, I am asked, assuming that Mr. Willkie keeps us out of war, are you, a veteran in the fight for liberal progress, ready to accept the social, economic, and political reaction his election will bring with it? I am not sure whether today there can be that reaction, but if it came it would be a small price to pay for peace and efficient, clean-cut administration.

These words give us pain, not only because they are spoken by a former editor of this journal but because they seem to mark a turning-point in liberal thought and action—the point at which lukewarm democrats prefer if necessary to embrace reaction rather than face the need of action, and are thus forever lost to a cause that today has use only for fighters. The Villards of Britain share with the Chamberlains the responsibility for Europe's present enslavement and England's desperate plight.

*

A ROUSING ROOSEVELT VICTORY IS ASSURED if America's two leading public-opinion polls mean anything at all. For if we dig beneath the editorialized comments on the polls to bedrock figures we find that the Gallup and *Fortune* polls are in remarkably close agreement, not only on a Roosevelt victory, but on the extent of that triumph. It is true that the Gallup poll shows minor Willkie gains in the last month, but for all that the President is credited with 37 states with 414 electoral votes as against Mr. Willkie's more dubious 11 states with a grand total of 117 electoral votes. The *Fortune* poll gives the President an even greater lead in the popular vote but discreetly refrains from specifying the vote in particular states. Its regional votes, however, closely follow those of the Gallup poll, except that the Roosevelt vote is shown to be lower in the vital Middle Atlantic states. When account is taken of the fact that the polls consistently understated the extent of the Roosevelt victory in 1936, we would perhaps be justified in putting the four states in which Willkie's margin is less than 2 per cent in the Roosevelt column. This would leave Willkie only seven states with a total of forty-six electoral votes. On the Senatorial front, progressive candidates are having a more difficult struggle. In New York Mead is in a close fight with the pious but reactionary Bruce Barton, while in Wisconsin the action of the old-line Democrats in running a candidate against Bob La Follette has threatened the seat of one of America's ablest and most consistently progressive Senators.

*

ALARMED BY THE GROWING HOSTILITY OF the United States to Japan's expansionist program in East Asia, the Japanese government is prepared to bid high for a non-aggression pact with the Soviet Union. A prominent Japanese expert has suggested that Japan abrogate the Portsmouth treaty, which provides the legal basis for Japan's immensely valuable Siberian fishery rights. Whether Lieutenant General Tatekawa, the new Japanese ambassador at Moscow, will be willing to offer any such concessions cannot be known, but it is significant that the strongest support for a Soviet-Japanese pact comes from the extreme militarists, who two years ago were demanding war against the Soviets. We also have reliable reports telling of Japanese efforts to conciliate Britain, in the hope of driving a wedge between that country and the United States. Despite this move, the British government has followed the example of the United States in advising all its subjects in Japan and the Japanese-occupied areas of China to leave unless they have urgent reasons to remain. And with customary lack of coordination the local Japanese militarists in South China have been demanding the return of the British concession at Amoy. Whatever happens, Japan can be counted on to remain perpetually in hot water as long as its present leaders hold power.

*

JAPANESE AIR ATTACKS ON THE BURMA road do not seem to have greatly affected its usefulness to China. Recent dispatches from Chungking tell of new anti-aircraft guns which apparently had just arrived via the Burma road. It is admitted that some bridges have been damaged by Japanese bombs, but the most strategic of these, the span across the Mekong gorge, is reported to have withstood numerous raids. Meanwhile, the Japanese drive through Indo-China has bogged down, and it is now intimated that the main Japanese attack will be delivered through Kwangsi. The Chinese may forestall this by their recapture of Nanning, former capital of Kwangsi taken by the Japanese a year ago. On other fronts the Chinese have scored some important successes. In Kiangsi, Central China, the city of Fengshin, twenty miles west of Nanchang, has been recaptured after a three-day battle in which the Japanese suffered heavy losses. South of Shanghai a major Japanese offensive into Chekiang has been thrown back after an initial success. Heavy fighting is also under way in Shansi. The vigor of the Chinese offensive would seem to be ample assurance against an immediate Japanese drive toward the south.

THE EXECUTION BY FRANCO'S MILITARY assassins of Luis Companys was followed a few days later by the announcement that five more Republican prisoners had been sentenced to death. Protests against this further crime are pouring into Madrid from all over Latin America; they should be augmented by representations from the Administration in Washington, where a huge credit for Franco is still apparently—and unbelievably—under consideration. The careers of the condemned men are known to everyone in Spanish-speaking America. Rivas Cheriff had committed no more serious political crime than to have served as secretary to his brother-in-law, ex-President Azaña. Miguel Salvador, former Republican chargé d'affaires in Copenhagen, is essentially a non-political person who for several years was president of the Philharmonic in Madrid. Carlos Montilla, an engineer and general director of railroads under the republic, had also been Spanish ambassador at Havana. All three belonged to the Left Republican Party of President Azaña. Cruz Salido is a more militant person, a biting, vigorous political writer who had long attacked the intrusion of the military in Spanish politics. The most distinguished of the condemned men is Julian Zugazagoitia, a writer known for his profoundly human qualities. He is a Socialist and had served the republic in several posts. When the final German-Italian drive on Catalonia began, he stayed in Spain to the end and escaped with Negrín and Del Vayo as the Loyalist army withdrew into France. Zugazagoitia was captured in Paris by the Gestapo because he had waited too long, unable to believe that the French resistance would collapse.

*

WHILE WIDESPREAD PUBLICITY SUCCEEDED in blocking the nomination of Portland's anti-labor Mayor, Joseph K. Carson, Jr., to the United States Maritime Commission, the second choice is as bad. In sending the name of Congressman John J. Dempsey to the Senate, Mr. Roosevelt has made a choice that will affront maritime workers. As vice-president in charge of operations for the Brooklyn Rapid Transit Company, Dempsey hired the strike-breakers who smashed the 1918 strike in New York. Ninety-nine persons were killed and more than 100 injured in the Malbone Street crash which resulted from the use of strike-breakers as motormen. Dempsey was indicted for his part in the accident and was tried twice. The first jury disagreed; the second acquitted him. Later he moved to New Mexico. His record in Congress has been on a par with his past. He is a member of the Dies committee and voted for establishment of the Smith committee. The Maritime Commission consists of five members, and it would not be unreasonable to ask that the men who operate our ships be represented by at least one of them. Confirmation of Dempsey would add another anti-labor figure to those already on it.

THE NEW YORK BOARD OF EDUCATION HAS wisely deferred final approval of the provision of school time for religious education as authorized by the McLaughlin-Coudert bill passed last spring by the legislature. On the surface the dismissal of students for one hour a week for religious instruction at the church chosen by their parents seems innocuous enough. But at a time when prejudices inspired by religious differences have aroused bitter animosities, particularly in New York, it would be most unfortunate to accentuate these differences by compulsory religious training. Most churches now provide religious education for their children. There can be no objection to their extending the time devoted to this training as long as they keep it on a voluntary basis. But the setting aside of school time for what amounts to compulsory religious instruction is a plain violation of American tradition.

NOTICE TO READERS: *THE NATION* WILL reach subscribers a day later than usual next week in order that the results of the Presidential election may be covered. The magazine will appear on the newsstands in New York City on Friday instead of Thursday.

The Mediterranean Front

THE Axis is mobilizing its military and diplomatic resources for a major effort to oust the British from the Mediterranean. That is the prime purpose of the negotiations with Franco and Pétain, although there may also be secondary motives, such as a hope of influencing the American elections and the reintroduction of "peace talk" as a weapon in the war of nerves. But forcing the issue in the Mediterranean is the main objective, for the Axis cannot afford a winter of stalemate on both of its major fronts. Its hope of reducing or even effectively blockading the citadel of Britain is deferred at least until spring. It must therefore try to cripple the empire's lines of communication and at the same time obtain for its war machine the vital oil supplies of the Near East.

Moreover, it is necessary to do something to restore Il Duce's prestige, which has been dimmed by the spectacle of the Italian navy cowering in safe harbors while the British fleet and merchant marine roam the Mediterranean almost at will. Even the Italian air force, which has been boasting for years of its ability to sink the British navy, has singularly few victories to record. No doubt this situation is a cause for private mirth among the Germans, who have always despised their ally, but Hitler cannot allow these sniggers to spread, for loss of face by one dictator necessarily reflects on his colleague.

It is no coincidence, therefore, that as the German diplomatic offensive in the western Mediterranean nears its climax, the Italian army begins the invasion of Greece.

Here is a small power which, on paper at any rate, looks like a fairly easy victim. Its army is inferior in numbers and material to that of Italy, and it has only a diminutive fleet and air force. It will, of course, receive help from Britain, but Britain cannot afford to detach troops from the defense of Egypt. Its chief assistance will be naval, and it should be able to help Greece hold Crete and the more important of the Aegean islands. The prospect must be faced of a fairly rapid occupation of the Greek mainland by the forces which Mussolini has long been preparing for this attack in Albania.

Such an Italian success would be healing balm to Italian prestige, but unless it resulted in the intimidation of Turkey, it would not bring the Axis much nearer to its goal—the Suez Canal. There is, however, another angle to this assault on Greece. By adding to Britain's preoccupations in the eastern Mediterranean and pinning down there an important section of the British fleet, it makes easier offensive action at the other end of the inland sea. Thus Franco may be encouraged to take the plunge from which he has hitherto been dissuaded by fear of the British blockade.

Both the course and the outcome of the negotiations which have taken place in the past week between Hitler and the Vichy government, Hitler and Franco, and Hitler and Mussolini are concealed by the censorship, reinforced with a thick smoke screen of rumor. But the general objective of the Axis cannot be hidden. It is to bribe Spain into taking an active part in the war and to bully and bribe the Pétain regime into becoming at least a non-belligerent partner of the dictators. The bullying takes the form of a tightening of the economic stranglehold which the Nazis have on France; the bribe is an offer of a minority interest in the "new Europe," or, as Laval's own newspaper phrases it, "a spacious place" in a prosperous and reconciled Continent.

We can only guess at the exact nature of the demands made on Vichy. There is some reason to suspect that a preliminary version included the full participation of France in the war against England. But even Marshal Pétain could hardly swallow this, and hints from Axis quarters suggest that the program was modified in a way which would permit the use of French bases by the Axis, leaving the French forces only defensive duties. Yet what the Axis needs even more is the use of what remains of the French fleet, for without it the task of chasing the British out of the Mediterranean and keeping it at a distance from Spain is going to be very difficult. The French naval chief, Admiral Darlan, is said to be extremely bitter against Britain, but it is not certain how many of the men under his command would be willing to turn against a former ally. One possibility which has not been mentioned, but which cannot be ignored, is that the German plan includes a nominal sale of some of the French ships to Franco. A similar disposition might be made of the French planes, thus keeping within the letter of the armistice terms.

In addition to giving moral and material aid to the Axis powers in return for peace and a promise of place in post-war Europe, there is reason to believe that France is being called upon to pay heavy territorial penalties. To Germany, it is said, it must surrender Alsace-Lorraine and, perhaps, parts of northern France; to Italy Savoy, Tunis, Corsica, and Nice; to Spain, parts of Spanish Morocco and the French Basque country. It is doubtful whether these demands will be revealed to the French people as a whole, for, dispirited as they are by defeat and hunger, their anger might well cause them to rise in revolt. But as they have never been fully informed of the armistice terms, so they are likely to be kept in ignorance about the price of peace until each item on the bill has been presented and paid separately. Nor, if Vichy can help it, are they to be given a chance to protest. "The choice has now been made," they are told, "and every Frenchman must accept it." Such is the state of degradation to which the Republic of France has been brought by men who seek to maintain their hold on its government by aiding and abetting its enemies.

National Defense: The Republican Record

THE Republicans pretend righteous indignation whenever it is suggested that their candidate has the support of isolationists, appeasers, pro-Nazis, and assorted opponents of the present Administration's foreign policy. They point to the Republican candidate's stand in favor of aid to Britain; they shout for armaments and, to put conviction into their voices, they attack the President for having "neglected" the whole question of national defense. After you have listened receptively to a half-dozen campaign speeches by Mr. Willkie and his backers you begin to wonder whether the whole defense program wasn't a Republican invention. The facts quickly answer that doubt.

Of course nobody has a clear record on this issue. Every group in the American community managed to find reasons—even in the period of catastrophic disintegration between 1936 and 1940—for neglecting defense. Those of us who argued for a vigorous policy of collective security were convinced that huge armaments would be unnecessary if the nations threatened with aggression would get together in a solid defensive front. We were right. But collective security proved a Geneva pipe-dream. The reactionaries and appeasers of every nation—men no different from and no worse than the bulk of Willkie's business backers—preferred to risk the very existence of their countries rather than pool their interests in the face of the common danger which has now overwhelmed them. Isolationists, who flatly refused to accept the indivisible character of the fascist threat, preferred to rely on the oceans that surround us rather than on ships to patrol them. Pacifists, of whatever breed or political color, were against armaments on principle. The spirit of America was anti-foreign, anti-war, anti-defense. The spirit of America was innocent, unrealistic, unprepared.

Perhaps the most clearsighted person in the United States was the man in the White House. But he too was not without blame. He knew far more than the legislators or the people, but at crucial moments he failed to lead them. He waited to be pushed, and too often, as in the case of Spain, he was pushed off in the wrong direction—away from the collective resistance to aggression he knew was necessary. He believed the people could not take a stronger dose of international reality than he offered them. Perhaps he was right; and the dangerous nonsense being talked in this campaign would seem to bear him out, though I still do not believe it. But at least he was a giant of courage and foresight in comparison with many of his supporters and almost all of his opponents; and he proceeded on the theory that the only alternative to a non-existent anti-fascist front was a powerful defense.

Today those same opponents are asking for votes for their untried candidate on the ground that the President ignored the country's danger and fumbled defense, and that only Mr. Willkie and the Republican Party are capable of building an effective rearmament. The Republican platform adopted at Philadelphia puts the party's position very simply. "The Republican Party stands for Americanism, preparedness, and peace. *We accordingly fasten upon the New Deal full responsibility for our unpreparedness and for the consequent danger of involvement in war.*" (Our italics.)

The refutation of that charge is contained in the pages of the *Congressional Record*. Speeches of Republican Senators and Congressmen ring with denunciations of the President's rearmament program. An entire issue of *The Nation* could be devoted to a reproduction of their anti-defense pronouncements. But it wouldn't be worth the space. More compact and more devastating is the record of votes on major defense measures.

On March 21, 1938, eight days after the Nazi conquest of Austria, a bill was presented to the House providing for an appropriation of $1,121,000,000 for a five-year naval building program. This bill was the framework of the present national-defense program. It passed the House with Republican members voting against it two to one, and the Democrats supporting it seven to one.

On March 6, 1939, six months after Munich and nine days before the Nazi troops rolled into Prague, the Senate passed a measure to increase the number of army airplanes from 5,500 to 6,000. Of the fifteen Republican Senators who voted, nine, including Mr. McNary, the Republican candidate for Vice-President, voted against the increase; six favored it.

On May 8, 1939, almost two months after Czechoslovakia had been occupied and four months before war was declared, the Naval Appropriations bill passed the House by a vote of 297 to 58. Of the 58 votes against the bill, 55 were Republican, 2 Progressive, and 1 Democratic. On May 18 the same measure passed the Senate by a vote of 61 to 14. Of the 23 Republican Senators, 10 voted for the bill.

On June 22, 1939, four amendments were offered to the Supplemental Military Appropriations bill by Republican Congressman Powers of New Jersey. These amendments would have slashed millions of dollars from the appropriations. Of the 150 who voted to reduce these funds for national defense, 145 were Republicans, 2 Progressives, 3 Democrats. Only 8 Republicans voted against the amendments.

The Selective Service bill provided the most recent test of the defense position of the legislators. Of the 134 Republicans voting in the House, two-thirds opposed the bill, while only 32 of the 218 Democrats voted against it.

It is no disgrace to have opposed defense measures; they are still a proper matter for debate and division. What the record proves is not that the Republican members of Congress were wrong; it proves only that the attempt of the Republican platform and the Republican candidate to shunt the blame for our lagging preparations on President Roosevelt is a scandalous deception. If the Republicans had controlled the Senate and House we should have had no defense preparations. It is only the strong leadership of the President and the support provided by the Democrats in Congress that have forced through the defense measures so far adopted.

In the light of this record it seems a little risky for the Republican candidate to promise more speed and more efficiency in building up our defense than the President has achieved. After all, we have Mr. Willkie's word that, if he is elected, he will be no dictator. Presumably, like Mr. Roosevelt, he'll have to go to Congress for his military authorizations and appropriations. Who is going to support him there? The Republican isolationists, who have consistently voted against defense in these last perilous years? I'm afraid Mr. Willkie will have to look to the Democrats for support; otherwise the appeasers and pro-fascists will be able to cash in on their pre-election hopes. A Willkie-Democratic liaison does not look to us like a very substantial basis on which to build a massive resistance to the fascist threat. Perhaps we'd better reelect President Roosevelt.

Willkie and the Investor

MR. WILLKIE has posed as a champion of the investor against the New Deal. He has claimed to be in accord with the principles the New Deal has written into law to protect investors and to regulate utilities. A test of his sincerity is afforded by a passage in his speech before the *Herald Tribune* forum in New York on October 23.

"In Nazi Germany," he said, "the ownership of most business is left in private hands, but management is rigidly controlled. Here in America we have a deadly parallel. Under the SEC a private company was recently told it could not issue bonds, but must sell stock. The men who run the SEC knew better than the men who were retained by the owners to manage that company's affairs. They insisted that the company must issue stock—or nothing. As a result, the directors of that company, finding their business judgment overruled by a government agency, decided to do nothing. The efforts of that business to create more jobs were blocked by bureaucracy."

This, if true, would be a serious indictment. But it is not true, and Mr. Willkie knows it is not true. The company to which he refers is one of his own companies, Consumers' Power, a subsidiary of Commonwealth and Southern. It asked SEC permission last year to refund $18,500,000 in bonds, to sell $3,500,000 in stock to Commonwealth and Southern, and to place a new $10,000,000 bond issue on the market. The refunding and the stock sale were approved. Permission to issue the $10,000,000 in bonds was denied. Mr. Willkie failed to explain, however, that the commission offered to grant him a rehearing. Mr. Willkie applied for the rehearing but at the last moment withdrew his application. He could have had a rehearing, and had his application been denied again he could have appealed to the courts. Where is the "deadly parallel" here with Nazi Germany?

Mr. Willkie was unwilling to submit the facts in the case to a rehearing before the commission or in the courts. There seems to have been good reason for his unwillingness to risk judicial review. The application for the bond issue was rejected by the commission because it felt that this would render the capital structure of Consumers' Power unsafe for investors. The new bond issue would have increased the ratio of bonds and preferred to 86 per cent of the company's capital. One need not go to such "bureaucratic" sources as the SEC to confirm this opinion. The testimony of John W. Stedman, vice-president of the Prudential Insurance Company, and of Dwight S. Beebe, vice-president of Mutual of New York, before the TNEC last February supports the SEC. The *United States Investor,* a conservative financial organ, commenting on SEC Chairman Jerome Frank's opinion, spoke of its "inherent soundness." On March 2 last the "Bond Outlook" of Standard Statistics, outstanding financial authority on bonds, said that "the SEC decision on the Consumers' Power case, in reality, was favorable to the company's bondholders, since it necessitated equity financing of future capacity expansion which would widen earnings and asset protection of the bonds."

Nor did Mr. Willkie explain the purpose and origin of this regulatory power, which applies only to the utility holding companies regulated by the SEC. The purpose is to prevent top-heavy capital structures with so heavy a burden of fixed debt that they go down in the first adverse financial circumstances. The Utility Holding Company Act in this respect was modeled on the power given the ICC over railroad securities. Bitter experience led to the grant of this power to the SEC. Mr. Willkie could not be expected to mention the name of the man—shall we call him Nazi or Bolshevik?—who first sponsored legislation of this kind in Congress. It was none other than that crimson-hued old radical, William Howard Taft.

CONTENTS

THE SHAPE OF THINGS 405
EDITORIALS:
- THE MEDITERRANEAN FRONT 407
- NATIONAL DEFENSE: THE REPUBLICAN RECORD 408
- WILLKIE AND THE INVESTOR 410

MR. WILLKIE RENEGES by Freda Kirchwey 411
THE LEWIS-WILLKIE PACT by I. F. Stone 413
WHAT DUNKIRK DID FOR ENGLAND by Patricia Strauss 415
VICHY'S SCAPEGOAT by Pierre Cot 417
WITHIN THE GATES 419
IN THE WIND 420
A NATIVE AT LARGE by Jonathan Daniels 421
BOOKS AND THE ARTS:
- NOVELETTE by Louis MacNeice 422
- PORTRAIT OF A RELIGIOUS ARTIST by Waldo Frank 422
- DESPAIR ON MT. OLYMPUS by Sidney Hook 423
- THE CHOICE by Keith Hutchison 424
- ARAGON VILLAGE by Ralph Bates 424
- HOW TO SAVE LATIN AMERICA by Herbert Rosinski 426
- OUT OF EUROPE by Rebecca Hourwich Reyher 426
- WARNING VOICES by Hans Kohn 428
- THE FAR EASTERN WAR by Maxwell S. Stewart 429
- IN BRIEF 430
- DRAMA: COUNTRY HOUSE by Joseph Wood Krutch 430
- RECORDS by B. H. Haggin 431

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Mr. Willkie Reneges

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

HERE, on this page, in this issue, an article by Wendell L. Willkie was scheduled to appear. Indeed, it was set in type and made up in the issue. As our readers know, it was announced a week ago. One day before press date, by telephone and wire from Willkie's campaign train, the article was withdrawn. The astonishing explanation given for this breach of faith was that Mr. Willkie had not even read the article and had no time to examine and approve the proofs! It was not astonishing to learn that an article submitted under Willkie's name had been written by a member of his staff; despite the candidate's bold assertion that he would never rely on a "brain trust" but would write his own speeches and articles, only a very innocent editor would expect this boast to be lived up to in the heat of a campaign. What was astonishing was the spectacle of inefficiency and bungling which permitted a serious and lengthy article signed by the Republican candidate to be offered to a national magazine and then at the moment of publication to be pulled out because the candidate hadn't seen or approved it. The record of this lamentable little episode seems worth offering to our readers; it may even carry a political moral.

It all began one day last summer when Raymond Leslie Buell telephoned to say that he wanted to talk to me about an important matter. We met a week later, just the day before it was announced in the papers that Mr. Buell had resigned from the editorial board of *Fortune* to become an aide to Wendell Willkie. Mr. Buell told me about his decision to join the Willkie entourage. He adopted, I must say, a rather challenging, even truculent, tone in discussing *The Nation's* position on the campaign. He said—but I took no notes so this is an indirect quotation—that he didn't suppose *The Nation* would deal fairly with Willkie's candidacy, that we were prejudiced in advance and could not discuss the issues of the campaign in an objective way. I made no pretense of confidence in Willkie's liberalism, especially under the pressure of present events and his Republican business backers, but I said *The Nation* would discuss the election issues as fully and fairly as we knew how. Mr. Buell talked a lot about the horrible inefficiency of the New Deal and insisted that its best measures had been ruined by their administration.

After a long discussion Mr. Buell asked whether *The Nation* would be willing to publish an article by Willkie explaining his position on the questions that particularly interested *Nation* readers. He asked this as if he expected me to say no.

Naturally I said yes. In the interests both of fairness and of sales an article by Willkie sounded like a good idea. I told Mr. Buell I would talk the proposal over with the staff but I was sure they would agree. I said we would print the article along with an editorial answer and would do our best to meet Willkie's arguments. I said I'd write a letter giving our final decision.

About a week later I wrote Mr. Buell accepting his suggestion and proposing that I submit to Mr. Willkie a series of points which we hoped he would cover. I said I thought his article should be framed deliberately to meet the questions and objections that would arise in the minds of liberals. I said, perhaps too smugly, "I know better than he or even you could know the attitude of anti-Willkie liberals—the things they are suspicious about, their fears for the future, their preconceived objections to Willkie's candidacy." Mr. Buell replied that Mr. Willkie would be "much pleased to write the article."

I sent the questions during the first week in September. In abbreviated form they were published on the back cover of last week's *Nation,* and they appeared as an advertisement in the same issue of the *New Republic.*

Not long afterward Mr. Buell was taken ill while on tour with Mr. Willkie, and some weeks elapsed before I heard from him. I wrote asking him whether the Willkie article was on the way. Mr. Buell answered even before he had fully recovered, telling me that although the questions had come in later than he had expected—there had, however, been no agreement as to time either for the questions or the article—he had urged Mr. Willkie to write the article and that I "should hear from the train direct."

I did hear two days later. A telegram from the Willkie train en route to Pittsburgh, dated October 3, read—"Would deeply appreciate your wiring duplicate questions submitted connection Mr. Willkie's article for *Nation* as originals not available on train." We sent them the same morning.

Almost two weeks after that we wired again, this time to Russell W. Davenport, giving him the deadline for copy for the last issue before the election. One week later, exactly on the deadline, the article arrived. It came from the office of Raymond L. Buell in the Willkie headquarters in New York, and the letter covering it said: "Dear Miss Kirchwey: Inclosed is Mr. Willkie's article for *The Nation.* Mr. Buell left last night to join the train but will be back in town tomorrow afternoon, and I understand you will send the proofs here. Sincerely yours, Marian Grohman, Secretary to Mr. Buell." The manuscript was headed "Article for *The Nation.* By Wendell L. Willkie."

We put the article into type immediately. We made no changes in the text. We sent the proof to Mr. Buell's office. The next afternoon we received a telegram from Mr. Buell in Akron, Ohio. He wired: "Hope to have Mr. Willkie's proof revisions telegraphed by tomorrow Friday morning."

But on Friday a different and a disconcerting wire arrived from the Willkie train. It was signed by Russell Davenport, and it pointed out that since Mr. Willkie's speaking schedule was a very heavy one, Mr. Davenport had been unable to "reach him" with the *Nation* article. He would "try to bring the matter up tomorrow morning but cannot guarantee it." The telegram went on: "Meanwhile it is understood that this material cannot be released or advertised *since it has not had the benefit of Mr. Willkie's attention or approval and I cannot say whether the answers express his views.*" (The italics are mine; perhaps they are unnecessary.)

But journals have to go to press come hell or Presidential elections. That article had been offered us, even pressed upon us, by one of Willkie's prominent aides and submitted under Willkie's signature; it had been announced in good faith in our pages and those of another journal; it had been put into type and made up in the issue—this issue. And so we wired Davenport that all this had happened and the proof had been mailed and that we would be "glad to make any changes requested if received by Monday."

Perhaps I'd better skip two telegrams from Davenport and get to the climax of our sorry little adventure among the exponents of the New Efficiency. Late Sunday evening Mr. Buell telephoned from somewhere in Indiana. He said the article would have to be taken out. He said nobody had been able to show it to Mr. Willkie. He said it was all his, Raymond Buell's, fault. He said Mr. Willkie was the busiest man in America. He said Mr. Willkie had never seen the article and so didn't know what he had written. He said Mr. Willkie never authorized any article or statement to be released unless he had personally approved it. He said he was sorry; and his voice convinced me he was. I told Mr. Buell I would wire Mr. Davenport urging a death-bed reconsideration, both because Willkie's decision would inconvenience us and because our explanation would hardly reflect credit on him. Mr. Buell rather wearily agreed that I might try and gave me the times of two train stops in Illinois and Indiana. A polite and very regretful telegram just received from Mr. Davenport repeats Mr. Buell's refusal.

So the article has been "yanked." I might have refused to take it out. It has meant remaking this entire issue, since the words signed by Mr. Willkie and *The Nation's* reply together filled five pages. It has meant going back on an explicit promise to our readers.

But by the time Mr. Buell's voice had faded into the darkness of the Indiana night, I didn't want the article any more. It looked like a rather feeble hoax, a palpable phony. Why should *The Nation* waste space on ghost-written liberalism offered to an audience of intelligent and progressive readers as the declaration of faith of a man who wants their votes?

This episode, I believe, carries a significance which will not be missed. It testifies first, and most obviously, to bad organization, to miserable liaison work in the Willkie headquarters. (Can a man who is unable to conduct successfully a simple negotiation about a single article be trusted to run the United States with less inefficiency and bungling?) But it also exposes the hollow void under the protestations of simple hearty honesty that Mr. Willkie so sententiously lays before the people. Way back at the beginning of the campaign a story about the Republican candidate in the New York *Times* contained these lines: "Mr. Willkie has proudly told persons close to him: 'I have never in my life delivered a speech which I haven't written myself and I am not going to change my habits now.' . . . In insisting on avoiding the formation of any 'brain trust,' Mr. Willkie is merely following his usual belief, arrived at during his earliest professional days, that all his oral and written statements or speeches must be written by himself. . . ." Well, the statements signed by Mr. Willkie's name and submitted to *The Nation* were not written by himself. They were not even seen by Mr. Willkie. If he had seen them he might have liked them; Mr. Buell writes a lot better than his chief.

And despite Mr. Buell's effort to shoulder the blame and Mr. Davenport's earnest regrets, the responsibility rests with the man at the top. As the *Times* reports, Mr. Willkie's close associates say "he always has remained 'the boss.'" This being the case, it is not possible to believe that a responsible person and an experienced journalist like Mr. Buell would propose an article by Mr. Willkie, produce it, and submit it for publication entirely on his own irresponsible initiative. Mr. Willkie evidently preferred to let down his staff officers and the journal which in good faith had offered him space for opinions it strongly opposes rather than to take ten minutes to read the proofs or, as an alternative, to authorize one of the men who arranged for the article to okay them in his place.

Mr. Willkie is busy; there's no doubt of that. He is shuttling back and forth across the country, speaking and writing speeches. And reading proof is tiresome, unless it's your own article. But behind all these indisputable facts lurks at least one open question. Is it possible that the article submitted under Mr. Willkie's name for publication in this week's issue of *The Nation* turned out to be a shade too liberal to appear even as an article addressed to liberals? I'm afraid we'll never know the answer to that one.

The Lewis-Willkie Pact

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, October 28

EIGHT years ago John L. Lewis, who had always been a Republican, was for Herbert Hoover. Now he is for Wendell Willkie. His return to the party line is not as simple as this suggests, but neither is it as complicated as some amateur Machiavellis on the left would like to believe. Lewis played a leading role in the New Deal period, but even the greatest of men are to some extent optical illusions. The effect of profound social changes is mistaken for their cause. The man who now discovers that Willkie is a friend of labor boring from within Wall Street hasn't changed much from the man who was sure that breadlines would vanish if Mr. Hoover could have four more years of engineering.

Not that Lewis returned to the G. O. P. because he was homesick for the high tariff. He felt that if Roosevelt were reelected, Lewis's position as head of the C. I. O. would no longer be tenable. One might say that he was forced to choose between Lewis and labor, for no one—least of all Willkie—believes his preposterous predictions of what the utility lawyer's election would do for workers. But it has always been hard for Lewis to distinguish between himself and labor. He has maneuvered to make his break with Roosevelt the C. I. O.'s, and to carry with him for Willkie as much of his following as possible. In this he seems destined to disappointment, for even faithful followers like Quill and Pritchett find it hard to believe that Willkie can build socialism in one country.

I am not suggesting, of course, that an atavistic reversion to Republicanism is by any means the whole story of Lewis's parting from Roosevelt. Completely to unravel the tangle of social forces from the conflicting personalities of the two men would require the joint efforts of a Marx and a Stendhal. And a great many more facts than we yet possess. This is an attempt to piece out a little of the picture from the "off the record" stories of persons close to both men. To understand the roots of the present situation and its possible developments, one must understand Lewis's past and his relations with the President.

At the time of Roosevelt's first election Lewis was the crafty leader of a dwindling union in a declining industry, as ruthless in suppressing his opponents as he was feeble in dealing with employers. What chiefly distinguished him from the other A. F. of L. bosses was an orotund prose style and the histrionics of a circuit rider. That he should have become the leader of a historic upsurge in the ranks of American labor seemed even to so acute an observer as Harold Laski to verge on the occult, and set him to rereading the studies William James made in the mystic field of religious conversion. Lewis's actual intentions on the eve of the New Deal were not heroic, much less supernatural. He allied himself with the corporation lawyers campaigning for repeal of the anti-trust laws, asking in return the organization of labor. His ideal was a kind of Guffey Act for all industry, with business free to raise prices, labor to share in the proceeds through higher wages. The NRA as thus conceived tended toward an American-style corporate state, to be achieved by evangelism rather than terror. General Johnson, who shares Lewis's gift for purple prose, slated Lewis to be his Ley. But the rising prices and industrial indices which raised the fighting spirit of the workers also ended the panic mood of the employers. Lewis and Roosevelt in their respective spheres were pushed forward, fumbling, by forces greater than they. Roosevelt was thrown on the trade unions for support; Lewis was impelled toward political action. The self-educated miners' leader found himself courted by a President. He liked the sensation. He put $550,000 into the 1936 campaign, and thought he was buying a partnership in the Presidency.

It is now being said here that the two men, temperamentally, always clashed, that both are prima donnas. But this is only partially true. The extent to which Lewis was once under the spell of Roosevelt's charm, shrewdness, and ability to inspire is indicated by Lewis's failure to exact any concrete promises for his support in 1936. It was suggested during that campaign that he go on the air with a program to which Roosevelt would be inferentially pledged and to which he might be held after election. Lewis refused. He thought the election too close to run the risk of having it said that the President was under the thumb of that red, John L. Lewis. But the election was not close, and the returns made Mr. Roosevelt feel independent of Lewis and of labor. The post-honeymoon period was a distasteful one for Lewis. Self-willed, petted and adored at home, an absolute dictator in his own union, surrounded by worshipers and sycophants, Lewis found it galling to be a junior partner who could be disregarded. Larger issues provided resentment with respectable fuel. During the Little Steel strike in 1937 came the terrible "a plague on both their houses" and Lewis's Old Testament fury at one who had "supped at labor's table." Back of the exchange, though dwarfed by the tragic events involved, there was a growing personal irritation. Lewis is accustomed to command. The White House is not a U. M. W. A. district office.

The 1938 campaign saw a restoration of the alliance. Its aftermath opened the old wounds. The Administration and the C. I. O. had a common interest in the "purge" of anti-New Deal elements in the Democratic Party. The C. I. O. was particularly hostile to Representative O'Connor of New York. As chairman of the Rules Committee, he had used parliamentary trickery to block enactment of a measure which would have forbidden government contracts to Wagner Act violators. In 1938, as in 1936, the C. I. O. and Labor's Non-Partisan League were among the Administration's mainstays. Lewis felt that he had again been let down when the President, after the election, refused to issue an executive order barring from government work contractors who had violated the Wagner Act. As Lewis grew more insistent, Mr. Roosevelt grew more stubborn. Lewis prepared to block a third term for Roosevelt, and Roosevelt set out to take the C. I. O. away from Lewis. Hillman's appointment to the Defense Commission was one step in this campaign. The wooing of Phil Murray was another.

Virtually all Lewis's followers, whether they said so or not, were dismayed by his indorsement of Willkie. What had been expected was an attack on Roosevelt and a new "plague on both your houses." The pro-Roosevelt faction in the C. I. O., by far the majority, hoped that Lewis would limit himself to vigorous criticism of the President. Up until as recently as two weeks before his speech Lewis assured some of those closest to him that he would not indorse the Republican candidate. He told one of them after an interview with Willkie that he considered the Republican candidate a man of narrow intellectual outlook, with "the mind of a fixer." But a few days before the speech there were indications that Lewis would indorse Willkie, though these were known to but a few people. At a meeting with two of the highest officials in the C. I. O., both pro-Roosevelt, Lewis announced that he was coming out for Willkie. In characteristic fashion he declared that he did not want their advice and that he was prepared to take full responsibility for his decision and to stand or fall by it. Pressure was brought on U. M. W. A. and some C. I. O. and Labor's Non-Partisan League officials to support his stand for Willkie or get out. One of these men, Gardner Jackson, of Labor's Non-Partisan League, has in consequence already submitted his resignation.

Most of the C. I. O. and the league are likely to split off from Lewis's leadership, although it is too early to gauge the full effect of Lewis's move. His speech hinted that he might soon have contracts with Girdler, Grace, and Weir, and these may materialize. All three steel magnates must sign with the union in the near future. Labor Board cases against them are on their way to final decision in the courts. To sign with Lewis now is not much of a concession, a small price to pay for the help it is hoped that he can give the Republicans in states with large mining populations, such as Pennsylvania, Illinois, and West Virginia. Whether Lewis can deliver the vote of the miners to Willkie is doubtful, and some Republican leaders are worried lest Lewis's support lose Willkie as many votes as it gains.

There is speculation here as to the intermediaries through whom Lewis's indorsement of Willkie was arranged. One of the possible go-betweens is Thomas W. Lamont, with whom Lewis has been friendly since the signing of the contract with United States Steel. After his speech in Philadelphia praising Hoover, Lewis told intimates that he said what he did because Lamont had told him there would be a deadlock at the convention between Taft and Dewey, and Hoover would be nominated. Another possible intermediary is Patrick J. Hurley, once Hoover's Secretary of War, now Harry Sinclair's Washington counsel and lobbyist. Lewis was instrumental in bringing Sinclair and the Mexican government together in a peaceful settlement of their dispute over expropriation. Another oil man who may have helped to arrange Lewis's rapprochement with the Republicans is W. R. Davis, who supported Roosevelt in 1936 but is backing Willkie now.

Davis figures in the dispute beween Senator Joseph F. Guffey of Pennsylvania and Marquis W. Childs, Washington correspondent of the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch.* This is now the subject of a $50,000 libel suit brought by Childs against Guffey. On June 15 last year the *Post-Dispatch* published a story by Childs saying that "W. R. Davis, the free-lance oil operator who put over barter deals with Germany for oil from expropriated Mexican wells now held by the Mexican government, had the aid and advice of powerful figures in the Washington scene, including Senator Joseph F. Guffey." Childs reported that "John L. Lewis, head of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, also interested himself in the Davis deals to the extent of assuring organized labor in Mexico that Davis had the resources to move Mexican oil in the face of a seemingly world-wide blockade by British and American companies." In 1933 in Boston Davis formed a German corporation, the Europaische Tanklager und Transport A. G., which took over blocked marks from the First National Bank of Boston and used them to build a refinery in Hamburg known as Eurotank. Before the war began Davis acted as broker in arranging the sale of Mexican oil to Germany. There are reports here that the Democrats-for-Willkie, who paid for the Lewis broadcast, may have obtained their funds from Davis.

What Dunkirk Did for England

BY PATRICIA STRAUSS

THE declaration of war, coming with such theatrical nicety a year after Munich had brought "peace in our time," started doubts about whether the ruling class really did know how to rule. The people who had boasted that they "weren't interested in politics" found that politics had shattered the cosy confines of their private lives. They began to ask questions. They began to talk. In trains and shops people exchanged views. I heard a London bus conductor, member of a politically very well-informed trade union, give a passenger a terse exposition of the evils of fascism.

Too many people had thought of democracy—if they thought of it at all—as a piece of machinery which, once installed, would work by itself. They were willing to accept the benefits but shirked the responsibilities of participation and vigilance. Often when canvassing in elections I have met women who said to me, "Oh, I don't know anything about that. You'll have to ask my husband." And the men would say, "What's the use? Putting a bit of paper in a box won't get me a job." In the last general election in 1935, which gave the Conservatives a two-thirds' majority in the House, only 74 per cent of the electorate voted. After the election everybody relaxed and left the government to get on with it. There was an ingrained feeling of humility too, a mystic conviction that somehow the Conservatives "know."

The declaration of war was followed by the announcement that elections were to be suspended for the duration, and this aroused many persons to protest that in the war to defend democracy, democracy itself had become the first casualty. Yet England is more actively democratic now that it was a year ago. Democracy is working without elections. Ordinary people have a private line to Downing Street.

The House of Commons still represents the people's vote of five years ago: the Conservative Party has 417 seats, Labor 169, the Liberals 19. Traditionally the government is formed of the majority party in the House. But public opinion has moved so far to the left that without elections, without alteration in the numerical strength of the parties in the House, Labor and Liberal leaders are in the government. England has a 1935 House and a 1940 government.

It was because they had already lost the confidence of the country that the Conservatives were forced to ask Churchill in May, 1940, to accept the Premiership. The Conservative Party has never liked Churchill. He had been an outspoken critic of three Conservative governments in turn, during the Premierships of MacDonald, Baldwin, and Chamberlain. This was due less to fundamental disagreements with them than to his wider and clearer vision.

The Labor Party was impotent in the House from 1935 to 1940, not because it held so few seats (it still has the same number), not because its leaders were weak (they are the same leaders), but because, however bitterly it attacked the government, it was speaking for an apathetic minority. But when Labor voiced the indignation of the workers at the proposed lowering of unemployment benefits, the government recognized the authentic expression of public opinion and withdrew the scheme. And in December, 1935, public resentment over the Hoare-Laval solution for Abyssinia forced Baldwin to withdraw the proposals and even, temporarily, to sacrifice Sir Samuel Hoare. Now England has had an invisible election, without ballot boxes or polling booths, and the Conservatives have lost it.

In the past the strength of the ruling class lay not so much in their actual power as in the acceptance of a myth by the majority of their fellow-countrymen:

> The rich man in his castle,
> The poor man at the gate;
> God made them, high or lowly,
> And ordered their estate.

Now the East End mother, who had seen the rich man's castle only from a seat in a charabanc, has her evacuated children living there. And she knows the rich man had no choice in the matter. When she visits her children, she sees that the landowners are being forced to plow their land. The much-vaunted privacy of the Englishman's castle is being violated because of the national necessity. The mother's awe is gone, and the children will never develop it.

Conscription has helped to dispel the myth of upper-class supremacy. The government takes the men it wants, rich or poor. The only men not called are those in occupations considered essential to defense. The civilian attitude to army rank has changed. Families who in the last war would have been ashamed to admit they had a relation who was a private now have no snobbish feeling about it. In the camps the sons of the rich and the sons of the poor feel they are all doing the same job under the same conditions. Now that conscription has given England a people's army civilians feel a proud friendliness toward soldiers. It is almost impossible for a man in uniform to take a country walk, because every car will stop and offer him a lift. In the villages people open their houses to the men from the nearby camp for meals, baths, and companionship. Conscription has not only saved the government the time and money necessary for recruiting campaigns, but has lowered the barrier between soldier and civilian and between class and class.

But it took the victorious defeat of Dunkirk to seal this new attitude. It was a people's army that was cornered and trapped at Dunkirk. Every man and woman in England felt a deep personal interest and responsibility. Someone higher up had blundered, but there would be time to find out about that afterward. Meanwhile the people's army must be rescued by the people. Anyone who could lay hands on a boat that could possibly cross the Channel set out to help the rescue. No time to wait for orders. Men and women who could not actively help cursed or cried as they followed the news. A quarter of a million men were rescued, and each man came back with a story.

Gradually, as the quarter of a million men got leave, people heard their story—not the newspaper version, but the story told by men of their own kind, in their own speech. In village pubs, in London bars, in trains, at dinner parties, everyone listened to the story which always ended with, "And who was responsible for sending us without arms?" Women shopping said to one another, "Mrs. Simpkin's son is back from Dunkirk. You ought to go round and hear what he's got to say." All across England echoed the question, "Who was responsible?" No one in England will ever forget Dunkirk. The myth of the infallibility of authority received a mortal blow.

One concrete effect was the change of attitude in the Home Guard, which was started in May in a cloak of feudalism. In rural districts the local squire took the lead. Only people approved by the gentry were accepted. "Whatever happens," I have heard them say over their cups of Earl Gray tea, "we cannot arm the rabble." Radicals found unaccountable difficulty in joining. Now the Home Guard is a democratic organization in which the gentry count only by their ability. In the House of Commons branch, peers, waiters, and M. P.'s train together. These 1,700,000 men who in their spare time are eagerly learning to defend their own streets and villages against an invading army have turned to former members of the International Brigade and Loyalist officers from Spain for unofficial training.

As the myth of ruling-class superiority weakens, the antagonism to privilege grows. The magic of the myth lay in making working people hardly conscious of the privileges of the wealthy. Rank was just something that happened, like one man being taller than another. People demand equality of sacrifice more determinedly than equality of plenty. Expensive restaurants cause no feeling, but any suggestion that the rich could get a larger tea ration would arouse a storm of protest. To the ordinary Briton a Rolls Royce seems as remote as the Kingdom of Heaven, but after sleeping for a month in a subway he demands the privilege of an air-raid shelter. In the last war it was only soldiers on leave who talked of bad equipment. After a time they gave up trying to make civilians understand. Now the figures show that civilians are in greater danger than the armed forces. Not that the civilians need figures to prove it. They know empirically of inadequate air-raid shelters, of the lack of planned accommodation for the homeless. The invisible barrier between the East End and the West End was broken by the first batch of homeless who crossed it.

Confidence in the Conservatives having been shaken, this new democratic feeling is turning to the left. The Conservative Party is losing ground. But the retention of Sir Kingsley Wood in the government is not a tribute to a man who has not yet shown any aptitude for public office; it is a token that the Conservatives still have power, although not enough to form a government of themselves alone. Left strength is shown by the inclusion of three Labor leaders in the inner War Cabinet—Atlee, Greenwood, and Bevin. Labor commands the British navy, A. V. Alexander having succeeded Churchill as First Lord of the Admiralty. The Minister for Air is Sir Archibald Sinclair, a Liberal who was for years a violent critic of Conservative policy. The outraged protests of bombed Londoners made Herbert Morrison, known and trusted Labor leader, Minister of Home Security and Home Secretary. This is one of the most important positions in the government, with responsibility ranging from internment of aliens to provision of air-raid shelters. As the government is bound to be a step behind the trend affecting it, a truer picture of the force of public opinion is gained from noting the ministries Labor has captured than from listing those the Tories have successfully defended.

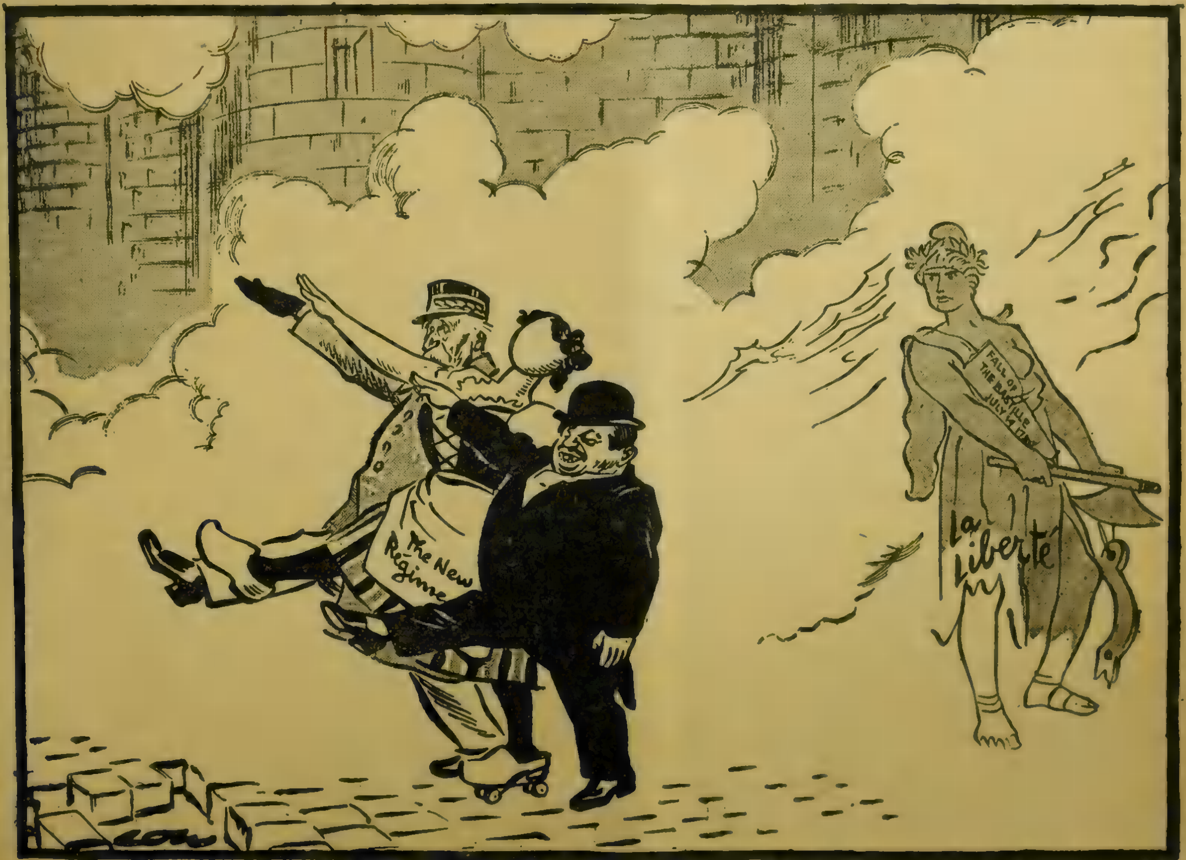
The people's will to resist Nazism is strengthened by each democratic victory at home. Two wars are being fought in one; the outcome of each depends on the other. In fighting fascism abroad the people are wining democracy at home. If England defeats Germany, the people will not only have defeated fascism, they will have won their own country. It will be impossible for any government to say to a people whose whole way of life and outlook have been so altered, "Now let's carry on where we left off as if nothing had happened." In 1918 the demobilized soldiers were only a small proportion of the population. Yet when they returned and found that the "land fit for heroes to live in" was a land without work, their discontent scared the unwilling government into passing social legislation. This time the government will be faced with a whole population in the mood of the men of 1918.

Vichy's Scapegoat

BY PIERRE COT

IN AN attempt to conceal its own guilt, the Vichy government is making every effort to place the blame for the French defeat on the Popular Front. Popular Front governments held power in France for twenty months; obviously, then, they played a part in shaping French policy. Whether they were solely or even principally responsible for the fall of France is another question. Before there can be any discussion of this point, it must be clearly understood that the program of the Popular Front was not imposed on the French people by a handful of men; it was the government that the French people wanted. The Popular Front was the product of no coup d'état engineered in a chaotic moment of defeat. It came to power as the expression of the will of the French people. Therefore when the Popular Front is put on trial, French clearsightedness—which is France—and the French concept of government—which is democracy—must be tried along with it. Thus it is plainly to the advantage of Hitler and Mussolini and the spokesmen for their doctrines to organize such a trial.

The Popular Front lost power at the beginning of 1938. Accusations leveled against it can therefore have to do only with preparation for the war and not with its conduct. Preparation for war is not only a military problem, but a diplomatic, an economic, and a moral problem. The enemies of the Popular Front do not talk much of the military preparations, for Marshal Pétain and General Weygand played a much greater role in evolving the disastrous French military strategy than did Léon Blum or his ministers. They rarely touch on the diplomatic preparations, for it was France's betrayal of the Spanish Republic and democratic Czechoslovakia—a policy sponsored by the right—and the failure to apply sanctions to Italy during the Ethiopian war which contributed most to the moral and geographic isolation of the country. They do not discuss the lack of moral preparation for the war, for the disintegration of French



"THAT'S NOT FRANCE!"

morale was in large part the result of the right's acquiescence in Fascist and Nazi propaganda. To make a case against the Popular Front, the Vichy prosecutors ignore all these facts and direct attention solely to the lack of economic preparation for the war.

Let us examine the Popular Front's responsibility for the inadequate economic preparations. One is frequently told today that the economic policies and the social reforms of the Popular Front resulted in the breakdown of French productive capacity. To what extent do the facts substantiate this charge? In this age of mechanized warfare, victory is dependent on the development of industrial production. A study of the statistics for industrial production in Germany and in France during the years preceding the outbreak of the war reveals, first, a steady increase in Germany's industrial production, the general index rising from 79.8 in 1934 to 126.2 in 1938; and, second, a static condition in French industrial production, with a slight increase of .9 in 1938 over the 1934 general index of 75.2. The table below lists the production rates for France, Germany, and the three other major European powers in the five years from 1934 to 1938. The failure of France to expand its industrial production at a rate commensurate with the steady increase in Hitler's Germany had disastrous consequences on the organization of our national defense.

INDEX NUMBERS OF INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION
(1929 = 100)

	1934	*1935*	*1936*	*1937*	*1938*
France	75.2	72.5	78.0	81.7	76.1
Germany	79.8	94.0	106.3	117.2	126.2
U. S. S. R.	238.3	293.4	382.0	424.0	447.0
Great Britain	77.1	77.9	82.7	95.2	88.8
Italy	80.0	93.8	87.5	99.6	98.5

Considering in greater detail the production figures for steel and aluminum, both essential in the manufacture of materials of war, we find that in the four years preceding the war Germany produced three and a half times as much steel and four times as much aluminum as France. It is not to be wondered at, then, that Germany entered the war with four times as many heavy cannon and machine-guns and five times as many tanks and airplanes as France. The tables that follow not only reveal the weakness of French productive capacity compared with German; they also enable us to compare the results of Popular Front economics with the results obtained by the friends of Marshal Pétain and General Weygand.

STEEL (1,000 TONS)

	1934	*1935*	*1936*	*1937*	*1938*
France	6.155	6.255	6.686	7.802	6.174
Germany	13.350	16.500	19.100	20.000	23.208
Italy	1.832	2.212	2.026	2.099	2.323
Gr't Britain	8.992	10.017	11.914	13.192	10.561

ALUMINUM (1,000 TONS)

	1935	*1936*	*1937*	*1938*
France	22.0	26.5	34.5	45.3
Germany	70.9	97.5	127.5	160.0
Great Britain	15.1	16.3	19.3	23.3

After February, 1934, France had a succession of rightist governments, headed by MM. Doumergue, Flandin, and Laval. During this period, moreover, Marshal Pétain served as Minister of War. From 1933 to 1935 the general index of industrial production dropped from 80 to 72.5—a decline of 8.5 per cent From 1936 to 1937, on the other hand, the economic policies of the Popular Front governments brought about a rise in the index from 72.5 (1935) to 81.7 (1937), an increase of 12 per cent. A breakdown of these figures reveals notable gains in engineering, metallurgy, and the production of iron ore, chemicals, pig iron, and steel, that is to say, in the basic war industries. The 25 per cent increase in these branches of industry from 1935 to 1937 compares very favorably with the increase in German production for the same period of about 30 per cent.

	1933	*1934*	*1935*	*1936*	*1937*	*1938*
Production industries	80.0	75.2	72.5	78.0	81.7	76.1
Engineering	67	65.5	65.3	70.9	80	69.1
Iron ore	62	65	66	68	78	68
Chemicals	90	89	81	95	103	99
Pig iron	64	62	58	63	79	61
Steel	69	65	66	71	84	66
Mechanized industries	76	70	69	75	88	70
Metallurgy	66	63	64	69	84	68

We should guard against concluding from these figures that the economic policies of the Popular Front were good. We can say, however, that they had better results than the policies of its adversaries.

Three weaknesses in the economic policies of the Popular Front should be pointed out: First, application of the forty-hour-week law was too rigid. In principle the law was an excellent one; but in a period of general European political tension, flexibility in the enforcement of the law was needed, especially where national defense and the little business man were concerned. Second, the Popular Front was not sufficiently aggressive, sufficiently daring. Instead of moving directly toward economic and social reforms which would have tapped fresh national resources, inaugurated far-reaching improvements in industrial machinery, and created new wealth, the Popular Front sought rather to satisfy the immediate demands of the working class. And, finally, the Popular Front developed no machinery for enforcing its decisions. It should have moved with vigor and decisiveness to discipline both workers and employers. While the Popular Front is frequently criticized for tolerating strikes and permitting workers to occupy the factories, it is generally forgotten that it did nothing to check the flight of French capital, or to make big business put its profits back into improved plant equipment, or to prevent Germany from manufacturing armaments out of ore from the mines of Lorraine.

These were serious errors, but they seem of slight importance when compared with those made by the rightist governments of France. These regimes refused to devaluate French currency at a time when devaluation was an economic necessity; they preferred to cut salaries. They sacrificed the producers of wealth without touching the holders of wealth. Their high protective tariffs hamstrung France's industrial development. Exorbitant duties on agricultural products rendered impossible the transformation from an agricultural to an industrial economy. Excessive duties on industrial products nurtured the indolence of French industrialists, who saw no reason to modernize their plants in the interest of efficiency when their profits in the domestic market were already assured.

Any equitable evaluation of the economic policies of the Popular Front must take into account the burdens which it inherited from its predecessors. Salary cuts and price deflation had not only increased the number of unemployed but had provoked dangerous social discontent. The wave of sitdown strikes which marked the growing antagonism of the French workers toward big business actually began before the Popular Front. On the other hand, the Popular Front faced a ruling class which was far more indifferent than the workers to the urgent problems of national defense. If labor failed to speed up the production of defense supplies, the employers, for their part, refused the government of their country the cooperation and support which the situation demanded. From 1934 to 1939 Germany, according to Göring, placed cannon before butter. If one reproaches the Blum government for having preferred social progress to cannon, one must blame the Laval-Flandin crowd for having placed the interests of the propertied class and employers above those of the nation.

My conclusion is that the Vichy government had best not look for any sacrificial lambs. The economic policies of the Popular Front were at least as good as those of M. Pierre Laval or M. Pierre Etienne Flandin. But prudence, of course, dictates circumspection in judging Laval, the friend of Mussolini, and Flandin, the friend of Hitler.

All France harbored illusions about the dictators. No doubt the left placed too much faith in collective security and the solidarity of the democracies. But the right, blinded by its fear of communism, committed a greater error when it trusted in the promises of Hitler and Mussolini. Today there is only one hope for France: in Europe and in the entire world that challenge to humanity and civilization which bears the name of fascism must be smashed.

Within the Gates

ABOUT TWO MONTHS AGO the citizens of Franklin, Massachusetts, aided by the American Legion and the Federal Bureau of Investigation, forced the Communist Party to abandon Camp Unity, a 100-acre development two miles from the town. For years the townspeople had been shocked by the strains of the "Internationale," by whispered tales of "free love," and by the fraternizing of Negroes and whites. Their campaign against the camp had taken the form of petty persecution—revocation of its dance permit and frequent arrests of the campers for fishing without a license. The American Legion had contemplated more direct action, some members even suggesting the advisability of burning all buildings and horse-whipping the occupants. When the FBI added its interest to the petty persecutions of the local citizens, the Communists decided to relinquish all rights to Camp Unity and depart. The townspeople were quite pleased, and sold the site almost immediately, for an excellent price, to the Tzehagron, an Armenian youth group which proposed to establish a "health camp."

The good people of Franklin do not yet know that the problem of organized subversion in their community did not disappear with the retreat of the Communists. The Tzeghagrons are junior members of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation, an international organization far less interested in physical culture than in politics, and no less inimical to the institutions of democracy than the Marxists. The political creed of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation is definitely fascist. Moreover, members of the organization, known in Armenian circles as Tashnags, frequently enliven their politics with violence and terror. On Christmas Day in 1933 nine assassins stabbed Archbishop Leon Tourian to death in the Holy Cross Church, New York. The pretext of the murderers, all of whom admitted being members of the New York unit of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation, was the usual one: the Archbishop was a Communist. Of course he was nothing of the sort, but he had opposed certain policies of the Tashnags. Two of the defendants were convicted of first-degree murder, seven of first-degree manslaughter.

The policies of the Tashnags have paralleled those of the Nazis with unswerving consistency not only in the United States but in other countries where they have branches, notably in Egypt, Bulgaria, Syria, Greece, Persia, and France. Although they had been for years bitterly opposed to communism, they modified the belligerency of their published statements concerning the U. S. S. R. after the German-Russian pact. They are as obsessed with the idea of race as the Nazis. In fact, the name of the youth group, Tzeghagron, means "making a religion of one's race." In 1935 several of their publications accepted and approved Rosenberg's racial theories.

During the past year or so the Tashnags have been courting respectability. Their English-language publication, the *Hairenik Weekly*, always abbreviates "Armenian Revolutionary Federation" to "Armenian Federation." Instead of being openly pro-Nazi they are now only anti-British. But their function among Armenian Americans is identical with that of the Bund among Americans of German extraction.

UP TO NOW it has been difficult to estimate the effect of Nazi propaganda in the United States. The results of some of the recent primary elections, however, provide an indication of the prevalence of fascist ideas. The eight most prominent rightist candidates for public office, scattered from New York to California and from Michigan to Florida, polled more than 80,000 of the half-million votes cast in their districts; that is, men known to be far to the right of mere reaction obtained the support of 15.9 per cent of the registered voters. If this proportion were to hold good throughout the country, more than 8,000,000 American voters would have to be regarded as supporters of a native version of Nazism. In addition, a large number of non-voting aliens are open advocates of totalitarian doctrines.

WE THE PEOPLE, a group of business men supporting Wendell Willkie, recently inserted a full-page advertisement in the New York *Times*. In addition to praise of the Republican candidate, the ad contained a recommendation of a booklet by Joseph P. Kamp entitled "The Fifth Column in Washington." This thirty-six-page pamphlet attempts to prove that every New Dealer from the President down to the most humble clerk is a Communist by conviction and a fifth columnist by choice. If We, the People had been more concerned with the biographical data of Joseph Kamp, they might have included some interesting facts. The La Follette committee has said that his organization, the Constitutional Educational League, has nothing to do with the Constitution or with education. The National Labor Relations Board has condemned him as the author of anti-labor pamphlets. Until 1936 he was editor and publisher of the *Awakener*, one of whose contributing editors was Lawrence Dennis, the most articulate theorist of American fascism. Less than two years ago Kamp was one of the sponsors of a "patriotic" rally at which the principal address, delivered by General George Van Horn Moseley, consisted chiefly of an anti-Semitic outburst. Among his associates in his organizational work are Edward L. Curran, spokesman for the Christian Front, and Allen Zoll, now under indictment for attempted extortion.

Nor did We, the People mention the fact that "The Fifth Column in Washington" can be purchased at meetings of the German-American Bund, the American Destiny Party, and the Christian Front, and is praised in every important pro-Nazi publication in the country. Gerald B. Winrod, the notorious Kansas anti-Semite, a few days ago called upon each of his followers "as a Christian and patriot . . . to get this information circulated in your neighborhood, your church, your business circles with all possible haste. . . . There is no time to be lost in this time of national crisis."

THE TEXTBOOK, "Andiamo in Italia," from which this column quoted a month ago to illustrate how Italian Fascist propaganda has penetrated the public-school system, has been removed from the book list approved by the Board of Education of New York City. The board has appointed committees to study all foreign-language textbooks with the view of eliminating any which contain anti-democratic propaganda. Professors Antonio Marinoni and L. A. Passarelli, coauthors of "Andiamo in Italia," are members of the faculty of the University of Arkansas.

In the Wind

AROUND DEMOCRATIC HEADQUARTERS the Catholic vote is causing more concern than any other item. Reports from local organizations all emphasize that church bigwigs are exerting pressure in behalf of Willkie, and that in some places the drive is definitely tinged with anti-Semitism.

PRESS TREATMENT of the Gallup polls is worth watching. Up to early October the Los Angeles *Times* carried the Gallup returns prominently displayed on the front or the editorial page. But after the polls veered decisively to F. D. R., they were buried on page 12. On October 13 the front page featured an article by the *Times's* political editor headlined: "Pre-Election Polls May Err, Past Ballots Show."

CONSCRIPTION NEWS: The New York *Times* reported recently (October 13, page 2, column 4): "All men who are twenty-one to thirty-five years old, inclusive, must register, no matter how many wives or children they may have. . . ." The Boston *Traveler* published this query and reply: "*Q*. I am single but am supporting a girl friend of mine who has been out of work for some time. Would she be considered a dependent? *A*. Under the law she would not be regarded as a mere dependent."

BRADFORD (PENNSYLVANIA) newspapers are conducting an essay contest among high-school students on the subject "Americanism: No Third Term." Announcement of the competition emphasized that it was a "purely non-political contest," and the rules further specified: "It is not necessary to mention the names of candidates or political parties. It is suggested that essays be kept on the high plane of good government."

ALL GRADUATES of the Columbia Law School are being circularized with copies of a speech by Dean Young B. Smith denouncing the third term. . . . Although in recent months Harry Bridges has seen eye to eye on most national matters with John L. Lewis, he and Lewis are at odds over West Coast jurisdictional issues; and Bridges has sided with followers of Sidney Hillman against Lewis's lieutenants there.

ON ITS FRONT PAGE the New York *World-Telegram* recently ran the headline: "Willkie Assails Pussyfooters; He'll Ignore Advice to Pull His Punches." On page two, same date, appeared these headlines: "Willkie Braves Hecklers to Discuss Issues with Migrants; Avoids Attacks on Roosevelt in San Joaquin; Tempers His Talks in Face of Sentiment for President."

NOW THEY are calling it "the Vichy-Vachy government" of France.

[The $5 prize for October goes to Harry Bortin, Jr., of Los Angeles for the Gallup item printed above. The prize-winner for September, mention of whom was inadvertently omitted, was the contributor of the scoop on Dorothy Thompson's indorsement of F. D. R.; he wanted his name left out anyway.]

A Native at Large

BY JONATHAN DANIELS

THE young men in the firehouse answering questions as to the color of their eyes, their ages, and occupations joked about the business but were serious still. Where I saw them registering for the draft there was no music, no oratory, no lively show of either patriotism or belligerency. But there was in the whole day an emphasis on youth. The President put it there, and so did Wendell Willkie.

Maybe it belongs there now. In the lines while they waited, at the tables where they answered questions, they looked like an America able to be strong, and willing to be. But it was a picture of an entirely different America that the Census Bureau made in my head when it chose the same week to report that there were two and a half million fewer young people in America in 1940 than there had been ten years before. And that may be more important to young people—and old people, too—than a possible war.

Maybe it is not news. One of President Hoover's commissions pointed out the trend to an elderly population in 1933, and the National Resources Board reemphasized the trend in 1938. But regardless of the noise made about it, youth really is not very important in peace. The purpose of machines is to take the place of muscles. Sometimes labor unions and professional societies, civil-service laws, agricultural allotments, and a good share of all the other reforms seem designed to protect the people in their places from change. Most of the people in the places are not young, and the biggest part of change is youth.

Nobody knows yet what the ultimate odds are going to be in the young man's lottery of the draft, but come war or stay peace, it is already apparent that the odds against the young man are being steadily raised by the increasing number of old people who are in charge of this civilization the young are now needed to save. This has become an old country quickly. In Thomas Jefferson's time the median age of Americans was sixteen. In 1930 it was twenty-six. The 1940 census is going to show it older still. One thing it already has shown is that there was a greater increase in the number of Americans over twenty-one than the actual total increase in the population as a whole. Furthermore, if the draft figures caught approximately all of the men between twenty-one and thirty-five, and if there are about as many women of the same age, then those over the age of possible war service have a big majority in the democracy of this land which the young must defend.

Of course, only the statistical machines of the Census Bureau can completely divide this country by age. A good many parents are more interested in the welfare of their young than in that of their contemporaries. Some young people with grandmas to support are more interested than even the old folks in pension laws. Also, most of the young are counting on the improved mortality experience to keep them here until they are old also, and a good many old people still remember that once they were young.

It is pretty difficult to draw straight lines between groups of people. Nevertheless, some division in interest does exist, and it has expressed itself in seniority rules, in tenure laws, in apprentice regulations, in "higher standards for entry into the professions, in respect for the vested interest of the man who has been growing tobacco against the man who wants to. It showed itself in sympathy for the unemployment problem of the "man over forty" at a time when men over forty probably held a larger proportion of the jobs than at any other time in the known history of the world. All of these things may represent social gains—the greatest good of the greatest number—but increasingly the greatest number are the old.

The young were important in the firehouses and the schoolhouses, the courthouses and the city halls on draft day. They are going to be important in the planes and the motorized corps, on the ships and at the guns. They seem so important, indeed, that there is an increasing tendency to hold jobs for them against all other comers, young or old, when they come back. That seems just, but at the same time it is a part of the whole process of fixing the rules for the benefit of those on hand against the smaller but just as hungry body of youth coming behind them.

Hurrah for youth! Already, even before the draft of the civilians to the camps, the roads are beginning to fill with young men, moving in brown trucks and riding brown motor cycles. They look more significant than they did as hitch-hikers. They are. As the President said, youth is the keystone of the arch of our national defense. But also, and increasingly, it is the outnumbered and outvoted and out-privileged element of our population in time of peace. We live in old folks' day, and sometimes about the only function of youth seems to be to defend us. It is bad news for peace when youth becomes important only in war.

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

Novelette

BY LOUIS MACNEICE

He had fought for the wrong causes,
Had married the wrong wife,
Had invested rashly, had lost
His health and his reputation,
His fortune and his looks.

Who in his youth had gone
Walking on the crown of the road
Under delectable trees
And over irresponsible moors
To find the rainbow's end;

And was now, at forty-nine,
Living in a half-timbered
Cottage with a pale
Mistress and some gardening
Books and a life of Napoleon.

When she left him he took
The shears and clipped the hedge
And then, taking his rifle
As if for duck, went out
Walking on the crown of the road.

Portrait of a Religious Artist

LET THERE BE SCULPTURE: THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF JACOB EPSTEIN. G. P. Putnam's Sons. $5.

IF ONE comes to this "autobiography" with the conventional preconceptions, one may be disappointed. Epstein's life has been full, but his book gives its outlines only sketchily and with little direct personal revelation. Epstein's art has been full, but the book provides no articulate theory of its birth and no careful description of its growth. The appearance of this art at this time, its relation with Epstein's Jewish background, American birth, brief French training, years in London, and with other forms of sculpture, past and present, offer fascinating possibilities for discussion; but the author has not developed them. Occasionally the unadorned prose flashes into brilliance, as when he disposes of the futurist Marinetti: "Marinetti went back to give birth to Mussolini, and our own rebels have since made frantic efforts to enter the Royal Academy"; or of the poet Tagore: "It has been remarked that my bust of him rests upon the beard, an unconscious piece of symbolism"; or of a whole generation of aristocrats in this paragraph about Marlborough: "One day the Duke asked me to see the Chapel of Blenheim. We entered a building totally devoid of . . . Christian feeling. I said, 'I see nothing of Christianity here.' The Duke said, 'The Marlboroughs are worshiped here.' " But on the whole, as one reads, the book appears hastily written and inorganic.

Nevertheless, when I had finished I changed my judgment. I realized, as with some of Epstein's monumental works, that I had had a true and large experience. Perhaps the book broke all the rules, but its blunt lines summed up into the sense of a remarkably honest man and of a truly religious artist. The book lives by its own rules; reveals strength and freedom of action. After all, it articulates Jacob Epstein.

From the start of the East Side boy turning out hundreds of drawings in a Hester Street tenement, one feels a force of indefeasible directness. Epstein himself does not appear to understand the relation of this force with the crude Jewish community that soon saw the last of him. Separateness is one keynote of the man's career. He goes to Paris, studies at the Beaux Arts and Julian's, meets Picasso and Brancusi; he settles in London; after a quarter-century he returns to New York, and then goes back to London. He is extremely active, making busts of celebrities from Einstein to Beaverbrook, making lovely lyric figures of lush women models, and periodically making scandal with his megaliths hewn of the sheer stone, like the Ecce Homo and the Consummatum Est. He lives well and hard. His name becomes a music-hall joke in all Britain. (I remember the cheap Manchester theater where the comedian brought down the house by saying to the flirtatious female: "Is that a lidy? Looks more like a Epstein statue.") The separateness continues. And Epstein suffers from it. He feels himself neglected, even vilified by his generation. He has the usual bitter words of the original creator for the run-of-the-mill critic. At times, to judge by his exaggerated sense of isolation, one might almost imagine him living, not in a Hyde Park house surrounded by magnificent specimens of antique art, but like the old Rembrandt in a hovel. The point is—and he makes it in this book as well as in his work—that integral with this separateness is the man's passionate closeness to the life of his generation.

This is the counterpoint in his art: aloofness to give him detachment for original insight, wonder, and control; and profound identity with the universal in his subject—whether it be a dancing girl or a colossal Adam. Some of this contrapuntal quality is in his book, without the technical elegance of his carving. The book, by that token, is an Epstein.

I have mentioned the man's honesty. Honesty, if it is deep and virile enough, becomes religious. The honestly religious man is one who has carried through the impulse of every child to get square with the universe in which he finds himself mysteriously thrust. That impulse, falling short in honesty and strength, makes the child a member of a gang or of a chamber of commerce, or the average citizen of a nation. If it is thorough enough, vital enough, it makes him consciously a member of mankind—and that is religion. Epstein is a religious artist. He knows it himself; but I doubt if he bothers much about it. He belongs to that varied but sparse group of modern artists who are possessed of the passionate sense of unity with all life and of the passionate need to make this unity purposive; and who, at the same time, distrust the theological and aesthetic forms of that unity which their culture gives them. In consequence, there is a note of improvisation in Epstein's work, as in this book. The matter is viewed organically, but not so grasped. This is the penalty the religious artist pays in a religiously unconscious generation. He lacks the benefit of traditional cultural help in his problems of expression. Hence, also, the poignance and intensity of the religious *autodidacte*. Epstein's sculpture has this pathos; and so does his book.

By the way, the volume is admirably edited. There are forty-eight reproductions; there is an appendix containing the essence of the artist's battles with the press of London; and there is a catalogue of his complete works. In all this, I suspect the exquisite bibliophilic hand of Epstein's old friend, Adolph S. Oko. WALDO FRANK

Despair on Mt. Olympus

THE REALM OF SPIRIT. By George Santayana. Charles Scribner's Sons. $3.

SEVENTEEN years ago George Santayana opened the introductory volume of his "Realms of Being" with the sentence: "Here is one more system of philosophy." The present volume completes that system and concludes with a review of its central doctrines. It invites, therefore, characterization of Santayana's philosophic thought as a whole.

Some characterization is also necessary in order to convey the sense which Santayana gives to the term "spirit." It is not an ethereal substance, a psychic power, or a disembodied essence. It is insight or perception which focuses the meanings of experience in some moral or aesthetic center. It is the conscious grasp of significances that are "enjoyed" for their own sake, and not acted upon for the sake of any problems which challenge resolution.

Like everything else, spirit has its locus, causes, and distractions in the natural world—the only world there is, says Santayana with a fresh insistence. Its distinctive life, however, is the apprehension of all those qualities and possibilities which this natural world suggests but does not literally contain. "Its essence is to be light, not to be power; and it can never be pure light until it is satisfied with an ideal dominion, not striving to possess or to change the world but identifying itself with the truth and beauty that rise unbidden from the world into the realm of spirit."

Santayana underscores in this book, more explicitly than in any other of his recent writings, his materialism and naturalism. Critics are obviously among the unmentioned distractions of the philosophic spirit, and with an eye on them Santayana seems eager to establish a continuity between the position developed in the "Life of Reason" and his latter-day metaphysical works, which have been widely interpreted as marking a sharp break in the emphasis, if not direction, of his earlier thought. He does succeed in bringing them closer together metaphysically, but only at the cost of a wide deviation from his earlier conception of the moral life. He flatly declares that whatever is immaterial, like essence and truth, represents distinctions, presuppositions, involvements *within* the natural world; and that where there is no body, there is no spirit. Nor does he hesitate to affirm that in respect to conventional theology and popular religion, he is an atheist. At the same time he tries to show how a poetic or mythological rendering of the Christian mysteries can be squared with his atheistic metaphysics. He also claims that a similar reduction can be made from primitive animism once it is poetically interpreted.

Santayana has always been suspicious of the term "metaphysics." He understands by it an attempt to determine facts about the natural world by logic, or ethics, or rhetoric—a kind of "dialectical physics." He prefers to speak of his system as a materialistic ontology, and considers himself a lineal descendant of Democritus and Epicurus. There is indisputably a moral and philosophical affinity between Santayana and the Greek materialists. But he deceives himself in believing that his ontology can be validated by the purified common sense of mankind, "by the facts before every man's eyes." The cosmological theories of Democritus and Epicurus were, for their time, efforts at scientific explanation. To the extent, however, that Santayana claims for his ontological "truths" the status of anything more than conventions of discourse, he is writing literary science. It is less mischievous than the literary psychology he condemns in the rival school of British empiricism—from whose infection he is not altogether free—but it is of the same order.

The truth is that Santayana, as he often admits, is primarily a moralist rather than a pure metaphysician, and this final volume of the "Realms of Being" confirms it. For "spirit" is not merely a dimension of life but its culmination and fulfilment. It is the realm of "the inner life" where we can lay down the burdens of action and responsibility and, liberated from animal impulse, survey with rapt disinterestedness the meaning and promise of everything that is or might have been. Impotent to effect anything, it conquers everything by understanding. It is recommended as the only domain left in the world where genuine security can be found. "The bastions of any existing heaven may some day be stormed. Security lies in a different dimension, where no cosmic thieves can break in and steal. It lies not in being protected by spirits beyond us, but in the nature of the spirit within."

This conception of the life of spirit marks a radical change from the earlier conception of the life of reason. The life of reason now appears to be a transitional state in the pilgrimage of the soul on its path to liberation and disenchantment. Once it was the harmonious integration of impulses in an integrated society; now it is a necessary compromise with the world, the flesh, and the devil in order to escape perpetual distraction. Previously, the refreshment of the spirit by absorption in ideal objects was a phase in the life of reason. It revitalized psychic energies, strengthened the hand of intelligence, gave distance and perspective to its vision. Now the chief good is a state that recks not of good or evil. Santayana's philosophic inspiration is still Greek, but its main root is no longer traceable to Aristotle, or even to Plato, but rather to Plotinus.

The most effective answer to the Santayana of the "Realms of Being" is the Santayana of the "Life of Reason," with its sane moral economy in which security is not a blessing which descends upon us as we rise to eternity but something to be achieved by intelligent social action and rational personal discipline. It encompasses "ideal society," the shared or solitary pursuit of science, art, religion, and philosophy, without making it an avenue of escape from the distractions of "natural society" and the preferences of "free society."

"Philosophy," says Santayana, "undermines the authority of the world without escaping from it." Apparently even his conception of philosophy has changed. It was once an activity which interpreted the world and clarified our purposes within it so that we could learn to live a better life in the only home we have. In admitting that there is no escaping the world, no matter how high we fly in the empyrean of the spirit, Santayana is still a naturalist. But it is a world which has become increasingly strange and distasteful to him, one hardly worth the effort required to make it decent and reasonable.

The social sources and presuppositions of his own thought have always been a closed book to Santayana. Without prejudicing in the least the question of the respective validities of the ways of thought and action idealized in the "Life of Reason" and the "Realms of Being," one cannot ignore the fact that the period in which the second work was written witnessed the disintegration of the world whose stability seemed so assured during the years when he composed that philosophic masterpiece, the "Life of Reason." He has experienced not so much a metaphysical conversion as a moral revulsion before the tremendous changes in the world he once knew. The situations that are difficult to master when approached as tasks and challenges he has forever settled, in his own mind, by converting them into spectacles.

As always, the pages of Santayana sparkle with epigram, witty allusion, and paradox. Whether we regard his metaphysics as literal truth or poetic error—or as poetic truth or literal error—his books are most rewarding for their wisdom, their reflective commentary on the varieties of human experience. We can go to older sources, both in the East and West, to learn how to die. But despite the new note of Olympian despair in Santayana's work, there are few philosophers from whom we can learn so much about the conditions we must accept and the possibilities that remain open when we choose to live.

SIDNEY HOOK

The Choice

BEYOND GERMAN VICTORY. By Helen Hill and Herbert Agar. Reynal and Hitchcock. $1.

HERE is a truly eloquent tract for the times. Its authors believe that we are being fooled about the war and its meaning for us by chosen representatives who know the facts and fear to pass them on in their ugly, unexpurgated entirety. Worse still: "We are fooling ourselves because we slide over the fact that we cannot choose something that doesn't exist as over against something that does exist." America has not altogether lost the power of decision yet, but it has not a free choice between peace and war, only a choice between appeasement of Hitler and resistance to him.

The first alternative means indorsement of the Nazi blueprint for world domination; and drawing on German sources, the authors give a sharply etched picture of just what that implies, politically and economically. We may find it difficult to take very seriously German visions of "Unser Amerika," but to the conqueror of Europe, confirmed in his destiny, it may seem the logical next step, without which the fruits of earlier victories will lack security. Of course there are those who say it is nonsense to maintain that we cannot enjoy friendly and profitable relations with a German Europe. Miss Hill and Mr. Agar deal faithfully with this objection. They quote Lindbergh's thesis that "cooperation is never impossible when there is sufficient gain on both sides and that treaties are seldom torn apart when they do not cover a weak nation." The first part of this argument, they point out, was used over and over again by those who thought that Hitler was open to mutually profitable bargains. So he was, but having gained the advantage he sought, he invariably repudiated the contract. As to the chances of maintaining sufficient armed strength to compel respect for any treaty we might make with Hitler, does not this imply a perpetual state of preparedness with forces equivalent to those controlled by a Germany that has all the resources of Europe and Africa at its command? And would this not mean that "our objective of a rising standard of living would be permanently replaced by a rising standard of armament"?

This book calls for a national policy which recognizes that "adequate defense" requires action long before the enemy reaches our territorial waters. Such a policy, its authors declare, can be implemented only by total mobilization of our political and economic resources. "We must reject the thought that we can have only as much democracy, as much comradeship, as much strength to meet our enemies, as suits the daily needs of an accidental economic order." But as the Maginot Line has proved, no material defense is worth much if the spirit behind it is feeble. And for this reason the final and most urgent plea made to Americans in this book is that they recapture faith in themselves, revive the sense of mission which inspired the creators of the United States.

Miss Hill and Mr. Agar have written a book calculated to disturb the complacent and certain to arouse furious controversy. But they have stated their case with a clarity and a passionate conviction that must command the respect of all but the most bigoted of the opposition.

KEITH HUTCHISON

Aragon Village

A MAN'S PLACE. By Ramón Sender. Duell, Sloan, and Pearce. $2.50.

AFTER battle, when a great cause has gone down and men are scattered in exile, comes reflection. Some brood over the tragic incidents of war or relive passing triumphs; others dispute over dogmas, arguing "if we had done this" or "if we had done that," finding in denial of tactics a melancholy comfort, or in affirmation fresh hope. But to all temporarily defeated men alike, whether they weep or shout defiance, one mood is common, that of the greatest of all poems of enslavement and exile, "When we remember thee, O Zion!"

Ramón Sender, one of the leading novelists of Spain, who defended Madrid in the only way possible for dignified men, with arms, is now living in exile in Mexico. While the language of his new home is that of his old and there is some similarity of customs, it is difficult for an intellectual to put down roots, far more so than for a peasant or a workshop craftsman. He seeks to recall, therefore, his native Aragon, the hard, the grimly humorous, the backward region that is the butt and, because of its strength, the admiration of

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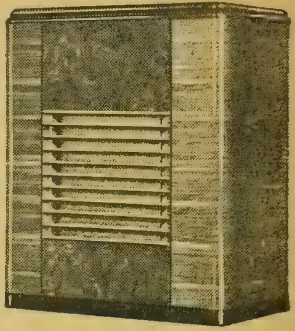
Spaniards. "A Man's Place" is a novel of Sender's village in the outer Pyrenees, and of one man's place in it. The mood of reflection carries him back beyond his manhood, to the days when like other boys he hunted the cu-cut bird because of its iridescent breast and black and white wings, when he climbed the black, echoing cliffs after eagles' nests. There was a macabre note in some of those pranks. Outside the village was a boneyard in which lay huge skeletons of mules and horses, some covered with shrunken, mummified skin. Sender and his companions hid in the hollow of dried-out ribs until the clumsy vultures settled among the bones, and then they would dash out and capture one of the revolting birds, to fasten about its neck a cowbell. In that region of peaks and chasms the vultures tolled bells as they flew, and the men of neighboring towns, as the vultures wheeled overhead, thought of Sender's village with a sort of comic wonder. The people, as in all mountain communities, were superstitious. Ana Launer, the crackbrained virgin witch of fifty years, could make old and grave men dance a bolero with her at midnight, in bare fields. It was a place of sour, punctilious rivalries and murderous rancors. It was a village, also, where the love of man for man was not unknown, and where the shining sun made men and women bloom with good cheer.

"A Man's Place" is more than a nostalgic return to the place of boyhood, however. The cryptic title of Mr. Hemingway's fine novel of the Spanish struggle reminds us that in this indivisible resistance to fascism, in this indivisible world, what happens to one of us happens to all. Ramón Sender points the argument. One day a man, the lowliest of his fellows, leaves the village, because ill fate and unkindliness have destroyed all the values of community living. Given the way of life, tragic consequences follow. Men are arrested, tortured into false confession, condemned to long years in prison. One worthless political party is shoved out by another equally worthless party, private lives are rearranged; then, silence returns. Monotony once more becomes the rule.

Fifteen years later the man who had fled into voluntary exile among the peaks returns, or rather, he is captured and dragged back. Again, because of this apparently insignificant event, life eddies violently, new patterns are made, vengeances are exacted, in pompous insults, bullet wounds, and blazing pine forests. It is unreasonable, as life is unreasonable; but see, says Sender, in the smallest of communities the movement of the least part disturbs the whole!

The story is not told consecutively, for Sender has this purpose in mind. The reader is taken back and forth over fifteen years of history. It is inevitable that the philosophical purpose should rob the book of some of that harsh vigor which Antonio Machado, in telling the similar story of Alvargonzalez, achieved. Yet it is well told; the simplicity and rigor of the style more than compensate for the formal disarrangement. The character drawing is near to first rate; short acid phrases, sardonic and penetrating, put Don Jacinto and Don Manuel nakedly before one. One knows that the snuff-taking, slovenly priest, worldly wise and caustic, is a saintly man. The harshness and the pity are never separated but pervade every part of the book. The man is not wrenched out of his landscape. There was no evidence that Juan and Vicente had murdered Sabino, the departed man, except a few circumstantial trivialities, and the fact that they were Re-



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YOU CAN'T AFFORD TO MISS IT

publicans and the winter was on its way, the birds were croaking, and the "autumn winds were moaning in the poplars and suggesting horror to everyone." If there was any other evidence, it lay in the outlook of men whose imaginations were constrained by the old ballads that blind men whined at the village fairs. There was later a ballad of Sabino's death, to prompt men to fresh idiocies. Referring to Sabino's unorthodox interment, one such balladist sang:

> Now out of the hogs' bellies
> Sabino's voice did cry.

And two travelers ran from the Sign of the Monk inn to tell the fiendish Civil Guard—which now governs Spain. This is not a great book, nor yet one of secondary importance, but because Sender is an artist and beyond the local sadness sees the universal sorrow, it is a good book. RALPH BATES

How to Save Latin America

TOTAL DEFENSE. By Clark Foreman and Joan Raushenbush. Doubleday, Doran and Company. $1.25.

IN THE undeclared war which the totalitarian powers are waging against the United States their underhand offensive in South America offers without doubt the greatest and the least adequately appreciated threat. Among the few organizations in this country which have unceasingly drawn public attention to this threat, the Committee on Economic Defense, of which Mr. Clark is the chairman and Mrs. Raushenbush a member, is one of the most outstanding. Its intensive analysis of this particular sector of "Total Defense"—the expanded version of a shorter pamphlet that aroused widest interest when it first appeared—deserves the close attention of everyone who is concerned for the independence and safety of this country.

Like every military analysis, the study starts with an appreciation of the existing situation. The first part, under the original guise of a fictitious "Memorandum on the Economic Conquest of the Americas" presented by the "Reichsburo for Political Economy" to the Führer, Herr Hitler, exposes with an abundance of color and detail the conditions which make Latin America such a fruitful ground for Nazi activities—its terrific poverty, cheap labor, and largely illiterate populations; its long history of fluctuating dictatorships; its standards of meticulously correct social behavior, to which North Americans have not always paid the necessary attention and respect; its political dissensions; its penetration by German and Italian settlers; its memories of Yankee imperialism; the Nazis' stranglehold on trade obtained by barter methods; the exploitations of economic and social contacts for political purposes; the subtle appeal to national and racial susceptibilities and prejudices; the skilful correlation of all this into a situation in which the Nazi wire-pullers can destroy the Monroe Doctrine from within, without ever being forced to come out into the open and infringe its letter, and thus force the United States into a position where it would either have to step down without a fight or appear to the Latin Americans as the "bloody money-hungry Colossus of the North."

To meet this threat to the economic and political independence of Latin America and thus to the United States, the authors in the second part present a bold and constructive All-American Defense Program. Their suggestions for the long-range defense of democracy can be summarized as the "economic integration of the Western Hemisphere" so as to deny to the Nazis in the future any foothold in South America as a basis for their subversive activities. To that end they suggest a comprehensive series of actions designed, on the one hand, to expand the economic stake of the United States in Latin America, and on the other to assist the Latin American republics in the development of their resources in ways complementary to the economy of the United States. These steps would include a survey of South American mineral resources by United States engineers and geologists; new investments in these resources on a strictly non-exploiting basis; United States loans on revenue-producing projects; the systematic diversion to Latin America of purchases customarily made from areas now under German control; the encouragement in Latin America of such consumption-goods industries as leather gloves, glass, chinaware, finely embroidered knit goods, wines, and woodenware; the encouragement of trade between Latin American states; and the maintenance, above all, of close and friendly economic cooperation with Argentina.

As short-range measures against Nazi penetration the authors suggest the buying up by the United States of all available strategic raw materials and the conclusion of a sales treaty—not the too comprehensive and too rigid hemispheric trade cartel discussed last summer—containing arrangements for the elimination of competition in the sale of certain basic commodities; an inter-American exchange-control system; an all-American surplus-products corporation disposing of unmarketable surpluses by free distribution and thus raising the health and standard of living of the entire New World; and finally the coordination of these and all similar activities in a Hemisphere Industries and Defense Board.

Thus stated the authors' program appears both bold and captivating. It has the merit of combining sweeping constructive ideas with a wealth of concrete practical observations and suggestions. Its original way of presentation is perhaps less of an asset than its authors may have thought. The imitation of the Nazi tone, though carried through with considerable skill, frequently defeats its own objectives by exaggeration. The main criticism one would be inclined to raise against the plan is that it deals too much with future possibilities and too little with immediate exigencies. It is a program of American total defense in the event of a sweeping victory of the totalitarian powers over Britain. It is not a program of action by which the United States might prevent that contingency from arising. HERBERT ROSINSKI

Out of Europe

FROM MANY LANDS. By Louis Adamic. Harper and Brothers. $3.50.

WITH emotional fervor and penetrating knowledge, with sweep and fire, tenderness and understanding, Louis Adamic here describes the lives of a number of immigrants and their descendants, of varying racial and geographical backgrounds, in a sociological document that becomes poetry, drama, and unforgettable literature.

Foreign-born himself but a devoted lover of his adopted country, he conceived a project to recreate, reinterpret, and preserve basic American values in a series of books, of which this is the first. He traveled thousands of miles to gather his source material, following the trail of the immigrants as they settled in concentrated areas of one predominant national strain, in the North, the Middle and Far West, the Southwest, the South, and New England. Cumulatively the saga of America in the last century is presented, and it is impressive, well-documented contemporary history.

Adamic believes in people rather than principles, or perhaps his sturdy, heartening idealism grows out of his conviction that a nation's greatest resources are its human beings. With the objectivity almost of a dissecting surgeon, yet with a maternal indulgence, he tells his family stories. There is the Jew who wonders what is a Jew; the Croatian woman who prays each day for the President and the Congress of the United States; the Bohemian who lived for his music; the Finns who introduced the log cabin to America and forgot to be proud of their mother-country until a good press made them so. Adamic makes you want to go to Michigan, where they still say the boulders must talk the language of the Finns since they leave the ground only for them.

Fiction could not be more thrilling than these meticulous factual reports. I know of no story I have enjoyed more than that of the friendship of a Philadelphia Quaker for a Greek; together they laid the foundation for the now all-Greek sponge business in a Florida town. The Negro enters the book slightly but significantly, as in the mention of the Negro cooks and deckhands on sponge boats, who have accommodated themselves to their Greek employers by learning to speak their Greek dialects.

The Armenian family with a passion to serve; the Slovenian who stood dazed in the Cleveland depot and was taken by a fellow-countryman to his boarding-house and factory, where he worked for fifty years; the Dutch-born dominie, in the 90 per cent Dutch town in Iowa, who named the streets after Christian virtues, Perseverance, Gratitude, Independence, and Liberty; the Mexican family seen through the eyes of the U. S. American girl who married into it and was happy for the first time. All these are heart-warming. Tragic and disturbing is the story of the tortured "American with a Japanese face."

Through these families one learns of problems common to all immigrants—the split personalities, the divided loyalties, the conflicts of cultural backgrounds, the desire to belong, the bitterness of accepted inferiority, also the deep gratitude for America as a hope, an ideal, an opportunity, a dream of their own making.

Adamic reminds us that the Revolution was partly the result of England's prohibition of free immigration to the colonies, that eighteen of the signers of the Declaration of Independence were of non-English origin, that fifty races and nationalities comprise our American origins, that it may be no accident that the most dynamic regions and cities are those which have within them the greatest national and cultural diversity.

He senses the bigness of America, but he knows its intimate beginnings, its substructure of village people—hard-working, disciplined by necessity, imbued with the cooperative principle, kindly simple folk, essentially indestructible.

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I wish all Americans could read this book, those who are remote from the struggle and sacrifice of the immigrants as well as those who are too recently arrived to realize their share in the greatness that is America.

REBECCA HOURWICH REYHER

Warning Voices

. . . *SHALL NOT PERISH FROM THE EARTH.* By Ralph Barton Perry. Vanguard Press. $1.50.

THIS SECOND WAR OF INDEPENDENCE. By William S. Schlamm. E. P. Dutton and Company. $2.

CAESARS IN GOOSE STEP. By William D. Bayles. Harper and Brothers. $3.

AN AMERICAN philosopher, the disciple and biographer of William James, a Central European publicist who has found a refuge in this country, an American journalist who has lived the last eight years in Germany—these three, from different backgrounds, with different emphasis and style, raise their warning voices about the danger threatening America and democracy. All three books are, in different ways, a call to action. All three should be read by those who wish to act intelligently. Professor Perry provides the philosophical basis for such action. In a few extremely lucid and learned pages he sums up the genius of America and the philosophical roots of totalitarianism. Of immediate concern are the two conclusions which he draws—one about the meaning of liberty and the limits of tolerance, the other about the reconciliation of might and right in the defense of democracy. The difficulties of the situation are clearly indicated when Professor Perry says that "to act and to act together are both uncongenial to the temper of democracy, but they are both imperative if the cult of democracy is not to perish from the earth." His short book is a powerful and closely reasoned appeal to all sincere democrats to act speedily and to act together.

Mr. Schlamm writes with vigor and knowledge of the suicide of European democracy in the thirties. He believes that if an incendiary blaze develops to destructive proportions, not the pyromaniac but the fire department should be held responsible. The fire departments in Europe were ineffective, not because they did not have the necessary apparatus, but because they refused to see the fire until it had become so big that their tools were of little avail. The firemen refused to lose their heads—and finally they lost much more than their heads. Mr. Schlamm is an anti-totalitarian by conviction and by experience, and Americans will do well to read and ponder his book very carefully.

Mr. Schlamm has lived in Vienna, in Prague, and in Paris, vantage points for the observation of the machinations of the totalitarians. Mr. Bayles has lived in Munich and in Berlin, where he was able to observe the rulers of Germany close up. His book is composed of biographical sketches of Chancellor Hitler and his nearest collaborators. From his long and attentive sojourn in National Socialist Germany, Mr. Bayles came back to America this spring convinced that though the goal for which the Nazis are "working, hungering, and hoping is simply defined as their place in the sun,

. . . so extensive is their claim that, if it is realized, the sun will shine on them alone." For the day when the whole world will have to serve National Socialism, the blueprints have been prepared with the immense care of Germans. "While voices from a dead but unburied past maintain that distance is still a barrier, the Führers in Berlin are proving that human genius has made the impossible possible, but that general thinking is still bogged down in the thirty-miles-an-hour age." The future of the world will depend upon whether such books as these can stimulate the thinking of people in the democracies, can make their vision clearer and turn intentions into effective united action. HANS KOHN

The Far Eastern War

THE PROBLEM OF JAPANESE TRADE EXPANSION. By Miriam S. Farley. $1. *JAPANESE INDUSTRY.* By G. C. Allen. $1. *NEW ZEALAND'S INTERESTS AND POLICIES IN THE FAR EAST.* By Ian F. G. Milner. $1. *AUSTRALIA'S INTERESTS AND POLICIES IN THE FAR EAST.* By Jack Shepard. $2. *JAPAN'S EMERGENCE AS A MODERN STATE.* By E. Herbert Norman. $2. *AMERICAN POLICY IN THE FAR EAST: 1931-1940.* By T. A. Bisson. $1.25. *GERMAN INTERESTS AND POLICIES IN THE FAR EAST.* By Kurt Bloch. $1. *BRITISH RELATIONS WITH CHINA: 1913-1939.* By Irving S. Friedman. $2. *THE CHINESE ARMY.* By Major Evans Fordyce Carlson. $1. Institute of Pacific Relations, Inquiry Series.

THIS group of nine brief books constitutes the documentation of a long-range inquiry by the Institute of Pacific Relations into the problems arising from the present undeclared war in the Far East. Taken together they effectively summarize practically all phases of the controversy and its effects on the belligerents and the leading interested powers. The two chief gaps, which perhaps will yet be filled, concern the policies of France and the Soviet Union—both of which are of immense importance at the present moment. Space does not permit a critical evaluation of each of the books. Ordinary readers will probably be most interested in Mr. Bisson's study of American Far Eastern policy and Major Carlson's brief appraisal of the Chinese army. Mr. Bisson finds that the main outlines of American policy have been maintained with unswerving consistency since 1898, but that a point has been reached where "firm and unequivocal action" is necessary to preserve the principles for which this country has stood throughout these years. Such action would presumably consist in terminating the very considerable economic assistance to Japan which, as he demonstrates, this country has kept up in defiance of public opinion. Major Carlson gives a unique picture of the structure and organization of the new Chinese army, including the guerrilla units. Unfortunately, he has little to say about the strategy utilized by the rival armies in the various campaigns. But he expresses great respect for the Chinese soldier and accords China an excellent chance of victory if its friends do their share in keeping open the lines of supply to the outside world. MAXWELL S. STEWART

The threat of the Classless Society

STATE OF THE MASSES

By EMIL LEDERER

Formerly Dean of the Graduate Faculty of Political and Social Science, "University in Exile"

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IN BRIEF

MY NAME IS ARAM. By William Saroyan. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $2.50.

Here are fourteen short stories and sketches, many of which have already appeared in magazines, supplemented by a disarmingly personal and Saroyanesque introduction and delightfully decorated by Don Freeman with drawings in the Cruikshank genre. "As to whether or not the writer himself is Aram Garoghlanian, the writer cannot very well say. He will, however, say that he is not, certainly, *not* Aram Garoghlanian."

MEN OF POWER: A BOOK OF DICTATORS. By Albert Carr. The Viking Press. $2.50.

The author of "Juggernaut, the Path of Dictatorship," retells for young people the stories of the rise to power of Richelieu, Cromwell, Frederick, Napoleon, Bolivar, Bismarck, Mussolini, Stalin, and Hitler. Obviously based on a wide historical knowledge, the stories are briefly and simply told and succeed in answering the question why a knowledge of history is important and what particular moral those who value liberty should draw.

THE SECOND DUMA. A Study of the Social-Democratic Party and the Russian Constitutional Experiment. By Alfred Levin. Yale University Press. $3.

This, the twenty-fifth volume in the Yale Historical Publications, is the first detailed study in English based on contemporary Russian sources. The thesis is that not the failure of the Second Duma but the determination of the government to get rid of it was responsible for its dissolution.

THE STOIC AND EPICUREAN PHILOSOPHERS. The Complete Extant Writings of Epicurus, Epictetus, Lucretius, Marcus Aurelius. Edited, and with an Introduction by Whitney J. Oates. Random House. $3.

This volume would be a treasure at several times the price. It is well printed and bound, it contains a helpful interpretative introduction and adequate notes, and the translators are of the best—Cyril Bailey (Epicurus), H. A. J. Munro (Lucretius), P. E. Matheson, Epictetus), and G. Long (Marcus Aurelius). The last prompts the inclusion of Matthew Arnold's essay on Long's "Marcus Aurelius," which, with James Adams's translation of Cleanthes's Hymn to Zeus, makes a nice pendant to the volume.

UNDERSTANDING PICASSO. A Study of His Styles and Development. By Helen F. Mackenzie. University of Chicago Press. $2.

Those who do not "get" Picasso should examine this portfolio. It is composed of nineteen plates, part of the cuts running from the first tender Paris offerings at the turn of the century to the fierce "stitched" portraits which follow the famous mural inspired by the bombing of Guernica. Side by side with these fifty-five cuts are seventy-nine others which suggest the artist's sources as he forayed throughout all history for his material. Thus in the plate devoted to Crucifixions, one may see what he presumably took from a fourteenth-century Spanish iron-worker and the German Grünewald. Such a method is particularly effective in elucidating the less accessible phases of the painter's work, as in the excellent plate on pasted paper (*collages*). As here employed, however, the method has a limitation aside from the obvious one that an artist can never be "explained." This is that the personal motivations in the painter have been ignored. Is Picasso a mere plastic apparatus or is he a human being? Nevertheless, the museum which sponsored the publication—the Art Institute of Chicago—is to be congratulated for at least trying to bring a fascinating artist closer to the public.

DRAMA

Country House

MOST New Yorkers whose financial status entitles them to the rank of middle class or better have bought and done over at least one house in Connecticut or Vermont, New Jersey or Pennsylvania. Their trials and their tribulations have become a stock subject for humor, and there has gradually been built up a saga in which the carpenters who don't come and the chickens which don't lay reappear as regularly as magic potions and wicked witches in fairy tales or skinflint deacons in the rural melodramas of another page. Now the Messrs. Kaufman and Hart—who usually manage to find subjects at least superfically more novel—have collected all the familiar features and put them together to make a rather desperate little farce which they have chosen to entitle "George Washington Slept Here." The fact that the very title owes its point to one of the most well-worn of all jokes about the country house should warn one that nothing very fresh is to be expected, and a visit to the Lyceum Theater, where the piece is now playing, will bring few surprises. Indeed, before the play is half over the industrious authors have used up all the standard jokes peculiar to the subject in hand and are compelled then to fall back upon a choice collection of gags which have done duty in half the farces of two generations, no matter what they were ostensibly about. Thus, if the discovery that the roof leaks is held in reserve for the curtain of Act I, we find that by Act III we have been reduced to the point of falling back upon the scene where all the characters get gradually drunk together. Even farceurs considerably less adept than the Messrs. Kaufman and Hart could write most of the play in their sleep, and I doubt that the present authors can be very proud of their work, even though the audience does not always fail to laugh at what it has laughed at so often before.

A good many of my readers and several of my colleagues have charged me in the past with granting less recognition than was due to the verve and dash of Mr. Kaufman and various of his collaborators. Perhaps they are right. But I have never meant to deny that pieces like "You Can't Take It with You" or the still current "The Man Who Came to Dinner" were extraordinarily laughable concoctions or that their authors were unrivaled at their own specialty; and the trouble with "George Washington Slept Here" is simply that it lacks so utterly the expertness of the two pieces just mentioned that the hand of the authors is hardly to be recognized in the barely more than routine competence of the construction or the writing. If the truth must be told, the play is frequently put together in so rickety a fashion that it threatens to fall completely to pieces and is so feeble in its gags as to be almost embarrassing. If—the authors being who they are—this sounds improbable, I can only beg permission to submit in evidence a specimen witticism —neither the best nor the worst in the piece but not unfair as example. Life on the supposedly historic estate is described by the proprietress as providing "life, liberty, and the pursuit of Japanese beetles." Plainly, where Washington slept even Mr. Kaufman and Mr. Hart sometimes nod.

Ernest Truex, Jean Dixon, and Ruth Weston are pleasant people, and they work hard. So does Dudley Digges, whom it is nearly always a pleasure to see no matter what play he is appearing in. But not all of them together can make the present piece more than passable.

As for the revival of "Charley's Aunt" at the Cort Theater, the principal thing to be said is simply that the old Victorian standby turns out to be at least ten times as funny as most people—including myself—would ever have dreamed that it could be. Its genuine hilarity is partly due to the really extraordinary performance by the little-known young actor José Ferrer, who plays the role of the bogus aunt with a combination of low-comedy inventiveness and sheer physical exuberance which is quite irresistible. For the rest it is due simply to the fact that the director has avoided all foolish impulses to apologize for or to condescend toward a venerable antique and has caused it to be played instead exclusively for the values inherent in a script whose elementary virtues are almost untouched by time.

As one of the more distinguished of my predecessors in the art of dramatic criticism once proclaimed, an impossibility which can be made to seem probable is always to be preferred to an improbable possibility, and upon this principle "Charley's Aunt" is firmly constructed. No one believes for a moment that anything in it could possibly have happened, but as soon as it becomes evident that no effort is being made to convince anybody that it could, we settle down to the free enjoyment of a series of complications whose innocent absurdity is, among other things, a great relief after the contemplation of innumerable unsuccessful efforts to be subtle and witty and sophisticated. It is just possible that this play which no audience of any kind or in any place ever found above its head may now take Broadway by storm.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

Next Week in The Nation

A Selected List of Children's Books

BY LENA BARKSDALE

Virginia Woolf's Biography of Roger Fry

Reviewed by MORTON D. ZABEL

RECORDS

THE best of the Brazilian music presented by the Museum of Modern Art in connection with its Portinari exhibition was the popular and folk music, some of it delightfully sung by Elsie Houston. The concerts also offered a large number of works by Brazil's leading serious composer, Heitor Villa-Lobos, including a group of piano works superbly played by Artur Rubinstein; and these revealed an expansiveness in emotion and expression unchecked by any capacity for discipline and concentration that would give both emotion and expression the distinction they do not at present possess.

Schubert's String Quartet "Death and the Maiden" and the playing of the Budapest Quartet—as miraculous as always in its musically sensitive integration of the four luminous strands of tone—provided a brilliant send-off for the New Friends of Music. The contemporary composers of this first program were Charles Ives and Arnold Schönberg. Ives was represented by six songs, of which I can say only that I was glad to have a chance to hear them but heard neither sound nor sense that aroused in me the slightest desire to hear them again. Mordecai Bauman and Milton Kaye did an impressive job with the vocal and instrumental difficulties. Of Schönberg there was the early String Sextet "Verklärte Nacht," which does not represent him as a contemporary; and the same point can be made of some other works that are to be heard in the series.

Victor has issued the second of the three sets in which it has recorded Bach's Little Organ Book in its entirety—this one (Set 697, $4) with Nos. 29, 33-45, 1-4. As recorded, the sound of the organ is again brilliant but many of the performances by E. Power Biggs are again jumbles in which none of the notes are distinguished from any of the others, as certainly the notes of the chorales should be from those of the figuration.

The Lily Pons album (Set 702, $4.25) offers Blondine's aria from Mozart's "Seraglio" and Paradies's "Quel ruscelletto" (2110), Bishop's "Pretty Mocking Bird" and Moore's "Last Rose of Summer" (17231), the Polonaise from Thomas's "Mignon" and Hymn to the Sun from Rimsky-Korsakov's "Coq d'or" (17232), and the duets "Il nome vostro ditemi" from Verdi's "Rigoletto" and "Dunque io son" from Rossini's "Barbiere di Siviglia," sung with De Luca (17233). Pons's voice is lovely, agile, accurate; and she sings all the music with good taste, except the Hymn to the Sun for which she contrives an exhibitionistic ending of her own. De Luca's style makes his threadbare voice worth listening to.

Mozart's Bassoon Concerto K. 191, excellently recorded by Oubradous with an orchestra under Bigot (Set 704, $2.50), is one of the least significant of the hack jobs that he turned out. On a single disc (17229, $2) is superb playing by the Boston Symphony under Koussevitzky, wasted on Harl McDonald's two Evening Pictures, "The Mission" and "Fiesta." And on a Black Label single (36339, $.75) is the definitive performance of Tchaikovsky's Andante Cantabile from the Quarter Op. 11, recorded by the Budapest Quartet of a few years ago.

You and I—to say nothing of Beethoven himself—may be aware of the emotional urgency and shattering impact of the development section of the "Eroica" or the Ninth Symphony; but to Charles O'Connell of Victor the section is "an intellectual exercise" in "purely technical development and labyrinthine elaborations" and is best omitted, leaving what he calls the sensuous and emotional melodic substance which is, he thinks, more important than the form into which it is elaborated. And like John Erskine's notions about the eighteenth- or twentieth-century musician Mr. O'Connell's notions about musical form and the processes of its creation are important because of the position he holds, which enables him to issue "The Heart of the Symphony" (Set G-15, $3.50), with such monstrosities as a first movement of Schubert's Unfinished consisting of exposition and coda, a last movement of Brahms's First beginning with the horn theme of the introduction and stopping at the end of the exposition, a first movement of Beethoven's Fifth with exposition and development (Mr. O'Connell is not even consistent) but without the recapitulation and tremendous coda. Mr. O'Connell discounts the objections of the "purists" and "scholastic music critics"; but he could not discount what Beethoven and Brahms would say and do about all this.

B. H. HAGGIN

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Letters to the Editors

The Socialists Are Back on the Map

Dear Sirs: Three Socialists sat outside the convention hall in Washington last April buttonholing delegates on their way into the hall to make nominations for the Presidential campaign. One wanted a candidate who would support the foreign policy of "all aid short of war" to the Allies. The second was for Norman Thomas, but wanted him to withdraw from the race if President Roosevelt was renominated. The third was against any national campaign by the Socialists. With considerable misgivings these three representatives of minority groups within the party watched the convention nominate Norman Thomas and young Maynard Krueger for President and Vice-President, and lay plans for another national campaign.

Today these three wear their Thomas buttons with the ardor of converts. They had expected, as had countless liberals, that the Republican candidate would lead an opposition to the President's interventionist policy. But when the Willkie campaign blew up as soon as the utility man took the microphone at Elwood, they realized that the only opposition on any national scale to the President's incorrigible interventionism must be provided by Norman Thomas and the Socialists.

The first task before Socialist workers was to get Thomas's name on the ballots, a more difficult job than ever before in the forty years of the party's history. Socialists had been trampled in the stampede of liberals and labor to the New Deal's standards in 1936. In that year, too, Lemke's Union Party took away a large slice of the normal Socialist protest vote. As a result, four years ago a record low of around 200,000 votes was hit by the Socialists, and in many places all organizational machinery was wiped off the political map. It took a court order to get the Socialists back on the ballot in Massachusetts. In Ohio they filed 31,000 petition signatures, but more than 14,000 were invalidated by the action of local election boards. In Illinois the Communists gave evidence of their sincerity in regard to "free elections" by protesting the Socialist signatures and then failing to show up when the hearing they had demanded was called. In Iowa the Socialists were ruled off on technicalities, and in several states in the South the situation was so hopeless that the party made no attempt to fulfil the requirements. In California, however, Thomas and Krueger were put on the ballot by the Progressive Party at a tumultuous state convention. All told, 35,000,000 persons in twenty-nine states may, if they choose, vote for Socialist candidates in this election.

To the secret distress of many old-timers, Socialist speakers have worked out a new technique in this campaign. It was originated by Maynard Krueger in his keynote speech at the convention. Instead of trying to make new converts from scratch with the usual indictments of the capitalist system and description of the Socialist alternative, party campaigners are going after those who are already convinced that we are on our way to some sort of socialism. It is estimated that there are between three and five million men and women in America who accept the basic tenets of socialism. The job is to get them to vote the way they believe and to keep them from being rushed into a last-minute push to beat Willkie.

This thirty-five-year-old Maynard Krueger, a professor at the University of Chicago and a former official in the American Federation of Teachers, has been, for me at any rate, the surprise of the campaign. Ordinarily Socialists nominate for Vice-President a labor man or a farmer who sits back to watch Thomas take what limelight there is. Not Krueger. His keynote speech, unorthodox though it may have been in the eyes of the Marxists, carried such a punch that it was taken over practically intact as the party's 1940 platform. And then he went out and campaigned, ranging territories where few Socialist voices have ever been raised, talking frankly of the need for "the threat from the left," and spicing his talk with a gusty humor all too rare in radical utterances. Invited to speak last summer before iron-ore workers on the Manitoba range, he expounded the full Socialist program. At the end of his talk a Republican orator complained to the chairman, "I thought you said this wasn't going to be a political rally." "It isn't," said the chairman. "What about this feller Krueger?" persisted the Republican. "He wasn't talking politics, Buddy," was the reply, "he was talking sense."

Thomas has talked his way once clear to the Pacific Coast, where the Socialists expect a large vote, and again as far West as Denver. Since there has not been enough money—the Socialists still hold the record of spending less per vote than any other political party—to provide him with the usual publicity and aid, he has often had to set up his own meetings, act as chairman, distribute literature, and pass the hat, in addition to being the sole speaker. Now as the campaign closes he is sticking to the industrial sections of the big Middle Western and Eastern cities, pounding away against peace-time conscription and for what he calls an "adequate defense program"—to be devised by military experts for the sole defense of the United States—and asking what has become of the New Deal. The crowds that have come to hear him have been larger and more responsive than any of the gatherings in the good Socialist year of 1932.

Whatever the outcome, the Socialists will have put themselves back on the political map.

MCALISTER COLEMAN

Radburn, N. J., October 24

CONTRIBUTORS

PATRICIA STRAUSS is the wife of G. R. Strauss, a Labor member of Parliament.

PIERRE COT was Air Minister in several French Cabinets, including that of Léon Blum. He came to the United States after France's capitulation.

WALDO FRANK, author of "A Chart for Rough Water," has written extensively on art and modern culture.

SIDNEY HOOK, chairman of the Department of Philosophy of Washington Square College of New York University, has recently published "Reason, Social Myths, and Democracy."

RALPH BATES is an English author who lived in Spain for many years. His latest book is a novel about Mexico entitled "The Fields of Paradise."

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he Shape of Things

ONSIDERING THE ODDS AGAINST GREECE sy optimism would be misplaced, but after two weeks fighting, Mussolini's own *Blitzkrieg* has still to show gns of real impetus. Yet speed is essential if it is not to bogged down by snow in the mountains of Epirus, nere winter starts early, and if the British are to be evented from getting settled in the new bases now ailable to them. The slow start of the Italian army pears strange after the months of preparation it had joyed. At first it seemed to be guided by a belief that ly a demonstration was needed to bring about the pitulation of the Metaxas government, and in centers nenable to Axis propaganda the idea was spread that a o-Italian regime was all ready to take over. Now at hope is dispelled, but the Italian commanders are ll moving slowly. The emphasis placed in Rome com- uniqués on the strength of the Greek defenses, the cellence of the Greek equipment, and the unfavorable eather is good evidence of the quality of the resistance. ie Greek army, indeed, shows many signs of intelli- nt handling. It is maintaining a flexible defense line d making good use of the terrain to outflank the enemy rces.

*

IE APPARENT FAILURE OF BRITAIN TO ove quickly to the aid of Greece has provoked criticism this country. But air bases cannot be established over- ght, and as Winston Churchill has pointed out, up to Italian invasion Greece had maintained the strictest utrality and there had been no possibility of planning positions in advance. However, once established in the gean Islands, the British navy and air force should be e to harass Italy very effectively. The future shape the campaign in the eastern Mediterranean cannot be ecast until German plans become clearer. Pressure is dently to be put upon Turkey, but that country is ikely to yield to the Axis, at least so long as it can unt on indirect Russian support. The key to the situa- n is therefore in Moscow, and a strong diplomatic sch in that direction by Berlin is indicated.

THE REASONS FOR THE JAPANESE RETREAT from the entire province of Kwangsi following the loss of Nanning a week ago are obscure. Although their casualties in the province, especially from disease, are known to have been high, it hardly seems likely that the Japanese could have been driven out so quickly if the evacuation had not been planned in advance. The voluntary withdrawal of the Japanese garrison from Waichow Island, off the Kwantung coast, and from Namou, an island east of Swatow, seems to confirm this supposition. Chinese sources also claim Japanese evacuation of the important city of Ichang, midway between Hankow and Chungking on the Yangtze. So far the purpose of the general retreat can only be guessed. The evacuated troops are reported to have been transported to Hainan Island, south of Hongkong. A concentration of troops on this island would be useful for a Japanese blow almost anywhere in the South Seas. Such a step would naturally precede an attack on the Dutch East Indies, the Philippines, or, for that matter, Hongkong. Further Japanese ambitions in Indo-China appear to be ruled out by the fact that some of the Kwangsi troops are being evacuated by way of Haiphong. The retreat also seems to preclude the long-anticipated drive against the province of Yunnan, terminus of the Burma road, since such a drive would naturally be launched from Kwangsi. Although Japan has shown surprising weakness in recent months, it would be wishful thinking to interpret the withdrawal from Kwangsi as the beginning of the end for the Japanese war machine. It is more likely to mark the beginning of a new phase in Japanese aggression, this time directed against the West.

*

IMPRISONMENT OF PANDIT JAWAHARLAL Nehru, who stands second only to Gandhi as leader of the National Congress, is bound to have serious repercussions through India. For it happens that Nehru, in addition to being Gandhi's most likely successor, is India's leading anti-fascist. Like Harold Laski, whose views on India are mentioned elsewhere in this issue, Nehru has maintained that Britain's position as a spokesman for democracy would be incomparably strengthened if it permitted India to exercise the right of self-rule. His

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imprisonment is a loss to the progressive wing of the Congress Party, but it will serve a useful purpose if it helps to awaken Britain to the perennial folly of its Indian policy.

✶

AMERICAN BUSINESS HAS JUST CONCLUDED one of the best months in history. While Willkie toured the country talking of the economic bankruptcy forced upon the country by the New Deal, the business indices pushed their way into new high ground. Industrial production is now well above the 1929 mark. Steel-ingot production, at 96.5 per cent of an enlarged capacity, is greater than at any time in the 20's. Activity in the construction industry is at the highest point in the past ten years. Electric-power output has also made a new record. The A. F. of L. reports more persons were reemployed in September than in any month since 1936. The cash farm income for 1940 is estimated to be the second highest since 1929. But the most striking gains, while Willkie talked about the plight of private industry, have been in profits. The earnings of the United States Steel Corporation for the third quarter have been exceeded in only one quarter in the past ten years. General Motors tripled its 1939 third-quarter earnings. But it remained for the Bethlehem Steel Corporation, with the next-to-highest quarter's earnings in its history, to demonstrate the far from injurious effects of New Deal policies. It is true that the spectacular upsurge of business during the past few months has been largely the result of war and defense orders. But it must not be forgotten that business began to improve before the outbreak of war. And while war orders are highly precarious, the stricture does not apply to defense orders. Barring a catastrophe, it may be assumed that business will feel an increasing stimulus from our defense requirements for many months to come.

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THE SMITH ALIEN AND SEDITION BILL passed at the last session of Congress included—as meager sugar-coating—a provision permitting the Attorney General to suspend deportation or allow voluntary departure in so-called "hardship cases." These are cases where the husband or wife of an American citizen or the parent of American children would otherwise be subject to deportation. The first case to arise under this provision is that of Mrs. Earl Browder, and the Attorney General has denied her application for clemency although her husband is an American and she is the mother of three children who are Americans. She was arrested last August and found guilty of entering the country illegally. Under the law the Attorney General has no power to suspend deportation or allow voluntary departure in the case of aliens who are members of an organization advocating overthrow of the government by force. Whether the Communist Party is such an organization has yet to be decided by the Supreme Court, b the Attorney General held that Mrs. Browder's "evasi testimony" regarding her relationship to the Commun Party created doubt as to her eligibility for lenien When deportation is suspended, the law requires a rep to Congress, which can override the Attorney Genera action, and the Attorney General fears a row. No rep would be required, however, and reentry would be p sible if voluntary departure were permitted. The Att ney General's order leaves the door ajar for a reheari and we hope that he will permit voluntary departure.

✶

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN OFFICIALS HA refused to present the case for the university in the op hearing to be staged by the Michigan Committee f Academic Freedom which is investigating the dismis of thirteen students four months ago. The fact that ten the thirteen students were members of the American S dent Union and that all had participated in one way another in progressive political activities has given rise the suspicion that the students were dismissed beca of their organizational activities or their suspected pol cal views. Whether any of the students had actually be engaged in "subversive" activities, as is rumored local is unknown. No charges have been filed and no hearin held. That is the basis of the vigorous protests bei raised by educators from all parts of the country. hope they will force the university to observe the der cratic rules.

✶

LAST WEEK AN ADVERTISEMENT APPEAR on the back cover of *The Nation* featuring the letter the New York *Times* in which Oswald Garrison Vill announced his support of Wendell Willkie. In the sa issue, commenting on Mr. Villard's action, we said advertisement came from the Republican National Co mittee. The agency which placed the advertisement *The Nation* had told us in explicit terms that this the case. We have been indignantly informed by a fri of Mr. Villard's that he and some other individuals terested in spreading the message of the letter had s scribed funds for the advertisement and that the Rep lican National Committee had nothing to do with We accept without question this disclaimer and set do the true facts here. But for the sake of the record want to reiterate that we spoke in good faith, having reason whatsoever to question the statement that the vertisement came from Republican headquarters. On contrary we have clear evidence that the same statem was made regarding the same advertisement to a c temporary publication. And we think the indignation Mr. Villard's friends a little exaggerated; when you s port the Republican Presidential candidate you can't too superior about the official Republican organizat

Why Roosevelt Won

THE dimensions of Franklin D. Roosevelt's third victory are not fully established as we go to press. is apparent, however, that while the President has llen short of the 10,797,090 plurality which gave him per cent of the popular vote in 1936, he has won an tounding triumph. He has stood political experts on eir heads by recouping in unprecedented fashion the sses of a midterm election while carrying for the first ne in American history the burden of the third-term ugaboo. But the historical significance of the 1940 elec- on runs deep and is hardly to be expressed in terms of political tour de force.

The campaign we have just been through was bitter the extreme. Politically experienced Europeans now this country, appalled at the reckless flow of passion d energy, compared it with the last free elections in totalitarian states and wondered the more because perficially the issues were not sharp enough to war- nt such powerful currents of emotion. The candidates d not seem to be far apart. Wendell Willkie's cam- ign policy was in fact a tribute, as eloquent as it was uctant, to the achievements of the two Roosevelt dministrations. Rather than fly in the face of obvious pular feeling he chose to indorse the Roosevelt Revo- ion and urged his own candidacy largely on the ground at he, rather than the President, could administer the ins of that revolution with honesty and efficiency. Like President, he scored and challenged the dictators and vocated help for the British.

Why, then, the heat? And why the smashing Roose- t victory, despite popular uneasiness about violating third-term tradition?

The answer lay beneath the surface of the campaign, the implications of Willkie's candidacy rather than in thing the Republican candidate said or did. In the ur years that lie ahead American business will have to e the dilemma that has bedeviled the capitalists of rope. It will have to decide whether to oppose itself every way to the juggernaut of German imperialism d in so doing risk its special privileges at home, or to nothing to stave off a British defeat, frankly accept New Order abroad, and attempt to traffic with it as ofitably as changed circumstances will permit. Despite endell Willkie's advocacy of aid to Britain, despite bold words in defiance of the dictators, it became parent early in the campaign that he was to have the pport of all those who had either identified their in- ests with a German victory or who, resigning them- ves to that eventuality, were already planning for erican cooperation in the New Order.

These more vocal elements were, of course, insignifi- t in the population as a whole. But the defeatist feeling which they generated was vaguely pervasive in large sectors of American industry. Millions of business men, however anti-fascist by preference, knew that the pillars of the British-dominated order were in danger of crumbling and they did not want to be found on the wrong side of the fence. They wanted to be sure that, come what may, this country would meet the situation with a man at the helm who knew and sympathized with the business-is-business point of view, and they looked upon Wendell Willkie as that kind of man. Say what he might about the great social gains of the New Deal, he had won his spurs in a ruthless war against one of the New Deal's most unimpeachable programs. He was for the safeguards that had been set up for labor, for investors, for farmers, for consumers—but, they told themselves with a wink, he would know when to stop. He favored conscription of man-power for defense but opposed the mildest effort to conscript recalcitrant industries. In short, here was a man who in a period of turmoil was intelligent enough to preach reform while invoking every device to maintain the status quo.

The kind of campaign which Willkie chose to conduct was a hard kind and one which required the utmost in shifting, tacking, and blatant self-contradiction. It lacked logic and conviction, and these defects had to be made up in passion and prejudice. They were. The campaign of 1940 will go down in history as one of the ugliest on record. In place of issues the Republican Party was forced to resort to devices, and they were not pretty.

Foremost of these was the exploitation of the sentiment against a third term, which was turned from an honest issue into a fevered attempt to portray Roosevelt's election as the entering wedge for American fascism. Perhaps even worse were the bogies conjured up by the Republican high command in 1936 and developed to grotesque and criminal proportions in 1940. A "People's Committee to Defend Life Insurance and Savings" was set up to provide machinery through which life-insurance agents warned customers that their policies would be worth only fifty cents on the dollar unless Wendell Willkie were elected. Blame for the war and for the victories of the Axis powers was fixed on Roosevelt, who was shamelessly accused of having abetted the Munich betrayal. Secret tips from high sources were spread to the effect that the President had completed plans for provoking war with Japan immediately upon his reelection. Communist agents in the labor movement whispered of conversations with John L. Lewis in which the labor turncoat was said to have told them that the President had warned him that the C.I.O. could continue to exist under his Administration only as a great company union. Nor was anti-Semitism overlooked by the slimier and more desperate of the Willkie backers, like Hugh S. Johnson, although Willkie himself was undoubtedly honest in his repudiation of such tactics.

All these devices failed before a magnificent demonstration of the mental health of the common people of the United States. Despite a national press which was 90 per cent for Willkie; despite the fact that the "dictator" allowed his opponent at least ten times the opportunity to present his case on the radio that he himself required; despite the sly distortions that streamed over the air from the Lindberghs and the Lewises; despite the conversion of certain shaken liberals to the Willkie cause—despite these things, a great majority of the American people went quietly to the polls and used their own good judgment. Their ballots said simply that they knew where Franklin D. Roosevelt stood and that in these grave days it was better to sacrifice the relative value of the third-term tradition than to sacrifice a leader whose devotion to democracy had been put to the test and found strong. In a world sick with fear and discouragement that decision is a tonic, and its recording may well mark a turning-point in the world's desperate resistance to tyranny.

France Waits

THE French people are still waiting to know to what bargain with Germany their government is committing them. Both Marshal Pétain and Vice-Premier Laval have spoken in the past few days but have not dissipated the fog which hangs over their negotiations with Hitler. The former hinted that "collaboration" with the conquerors *might* lighten France's sufferings, improve the lot of prisoners of war, reduce the cost of the German army of occupation, and modify the tight lines of demarcation between occupied and unoccupied France. But he gave no indication of the price which would have to be paid for these concessions. The only uncloudy part of his whole address was his demand for absolute obedience to his leadership at a time when France had "many obligations to victorious Germany."

Reports from Vichy emphasize that the agreement reached with Germany is at present confined to general principles. The value of the agreement to the Nazis, however, depends on the concrete measures of assistance toward winning the war which they may expect from France. These all-important details remain to be arranged, and it is obvious from the news dispatches that a variety of hitches have impeded negotiations. In the first place, Mussolini seems to have gummed the works by refusing to reduce his claims on the French empire. Hitler, having no direct interest in North Africa, was prepared, no doubt, to pay for French aid out of loot previously assigned to Italy. The dislike of his Axis partner for this scheme can be deduced from the following statement in the semi-official Italian weekly, *Relazioni Internazionali:* "No worming out will be permitted. If France honestly wants to participate in the new European setup she must first settle accounts still open with the nations that defeated her."

However willing some Frenchmen may be to bow down before German might, they are not ready to acknowledge Italy as a conqueror or to make over to it vast territories as the price of admission to a junior partnership in the Axis. Moreover, there is some reason to believe that Marshal Pétain and General Weygand are not yet prepared to put France into the war against its old ally by placing the French navy and bases at the disposal of the Axis. That might prove poor strategy, for it is possible that such a revocation of the armistice terms would be regarded by some of the colonial authorities as releasing them from their allegiance to Vichy. A closely related argument against intervention in the war is uncertainty about the public reaction.

One thing has become quite clear in the course of the Franco-German negotiations—that whatever plans Hitler wishes to carry out, Pierre Laval will be his devoted agent. Immediately after the defeat of France the French Vice-Premier was credited with a scheme for the creation of a Latin fascist bloc as a counterweight to Germany. But he seems speedily to have realized that the weakness of Italy and Spain was fatal to this idea, and he is now ready to accept for France the status of a German protectorate so long as he is allowed to be its Quisling. Democracy, he told reporters in an interview in Paris, is dead the world over, and he went on to declare that he was staking the future of France on cooperation with Germany. This is only another way of saying that he was backing Germany to win the war against Britain, and he will be inhibited from committing France completely to this cause only by the difficulty of persuading the French people to follow him.

With a view to overcoming this obstacle, the further definition of the "principles of collaboration" is likely to be deferred pending an educational campaign. Reports from Vichy report a tightening of the censorship and the use of films to promote hatred of Britain and awe and admiration for Germany. Prominence is being given to a German promise that the conclusion of a full agreement will mean the release of the majority of the French prisoners of war.

But the strongest means of putting pressure on France is the whiphand which Germany holds over its economy. Already the Nazi locusts have swept through occupied and unoccupied territory alike, and their depredations, added to a bad harvest, have left the country bare. The one thing now plentiful in France is paper money, for the Germans always pay for what they take and thus avoid the appearance of plundering. They can well afford to do so since the currency they use is supplied by the French themselves, partly through the enormous payments for the army of occupation, partly in exchange for narks which the German authorities turn into the Bank f France in such amounts as suit their convenience. tripped of goods but rolling in paper money, France is lready far launched on a tide of ruinous inflation. It can nly be checked by the retention inside the country of uch supplies as still exist and by the recommencement f production. But these steps depend entirely on Gernan willingness to reduce the costs of the army of occuation, to make raw materials available, and to allow the eestablishment of economic relations between the two arts of France. This is the bludgeon which Hitler holds ver France, and it is Laval's task to impress the French eople with its terrifying force and to persuade them of he wisdom of "collaboration" no matter how degrading ts terms may be.

To the President-Elect

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

I WRITE these words just after the echoes of the last campaign speeches have died, just before the ballots re marked. And so I do not know who you are. Peraps it's better so. If I knew your name were Roosevelt, might withhold some honest and urgent words out of alse hesitation to tell a third-term President how to suck olitical eggs. If I knew it were Willkie, I might be eized with a sense of desperation and futility. This ould be stupid. Citizens have a duty to speak and there much to be said; much, in spite of the billions of ords spilled in ink and air waves in the last three onths.

I am going to be specific to the point of narrowness; have grown tired of large words. We've all been using o many of them in these campaign weeks. You have ld the people, for instance, that the election was about e survival of democracy. You have said you would prerve peace but reject appeasement. You have come out r a big defense program. You have promised the connuance of social legislation and freedom of the workers organize. These things are fine. But now I want to now what they are going to mean in translation. What ill be the actions into which these good general words e turned? Political programs which do not become olitical actions are a dangerous diet for a free people.

Take the survival of democracy. Does that mean the nited States will refuse to allow Hitler to win the war? ou promised very firmly several times that we would main at peace; although also, at an earlier stage of the mpaign, you wisely qualified that promise. I don't ink the promise was ever wholly honest, if you will ccuse my saying so. I'm sure you want to avoid actual nflict, but a dozen imminent circumstances may end ur present state of unneutral non-belligerency. We on't, for example, allow those American planes in Martinique to be carted off to France for the use of Hitler. I'm sure we won't. Will we allow the Dutch East Indies to fall into the hands of the Japanese? Will we send ships to Singapore to augment the British fleet? Certainly you couldn't have discussed these items in detail in the course of the campaign. But I think you should have refused to vie with your opponent in unqualifiedly promising peace. Instead, you should have bravely warned the nation that war may be necessary; that certain possible happenings will be prevented even at the risk of war. You should have told the people plainly that this country is already inextricably engaged in the struggle against Hitlerism and that we shall not draw back from its uttermost consequences. You may think that if you had followed this course you would have been defeated. Maybe you would, though if you are the leader your followers believe you to be, you might have created wide understanding and support by your very courage. Suppose you had been defeated? Even your defeat could be better tolerated in a democracy than timidity and false promises.

But that's past. Now you must be clear-cut. We want to know what you plan to do in defense of democracy.

Not many of us want you to declare war on Germany or on Japan or to send American troops to foreign shores. At this stage of the struggle that would seem reckless and unnecessary. But we believe the United States must help Britain to whatever degree is necessary to prevent its collapse and the surrender and destruction of its fleet. Our own safety depends upon Britain's survival. And beyond safety is the hope of a world in which we can live in the light of those principles of social and political decency which you so warmly commended in your campaign speeches. For both we will fight with arms if we have to. You can count on that.

But this brings up a major question. The international struggle is rapidly taking shape—not only in military terms, but in terms of its political meaning. More and more people are coming to realize that a new world is being born. There isn't much latitude for choice in this struggle. You have to plump either for fascism or for a democratic system incomparably bolder and more wholeheartedly committed to social justice than anything the world has yet seen. And yet a lot of people who favor defense and even favor a "strong stand" against foreign interference in this hemisphere believe they can, at the same time, cling to a system of unreconstructed "free" capitalism for America: let the big industries run the defense program and keep a tight rein on subversive activities. These are the same people, mostly, who are laying plans for profitable deals with totalitarianism the day the British fleet is sunk or surrendered.

I want to tell you that these people are the American fifth column. Nazi agents, Communist defeatists, native fascists, none of these provide more than auxiliary power for the drive to end the kind of democracy that you promise us and that we demand. The important forces of reaction are the men who, in a final showdown, would prefer fascism to a genuine, consistent New Deal—a thorough renovation of a system which has bred fascism as a disease. Only democrats can defend democracy. Print that, Mr. President, on a placard and hang it over your desk. You'll need it in days to come.

To resist the appeasers and to hold steadily before your eyes the real meaning of the war will take a tough mind and monumental stubbornness. First of all, you will have to push out or keep out of places of power many influential and strategically placed individuals who seem, by surface indications, to have all the right qualifications. There are men at this moment in government agencies and on your Advisory Defense Commission who should be retired quickly. They know a lot about industry and nothing about democracy. Get rid of them. A little dislocation is better than a major betrayal.

Bring more labor people into influential positions in all branches of government. Make labor understand that the struggle is its struggle; that the workers to whom you have addressed such passionate appeals for support have a life-or-death stake in the resistance to Hitlerism. Unlike Britain, the United States has no political labor movement which can serve as collaborator and goad; but the unions form a reservoir of energy and ability which has scarcely been tapped.

Conscript also the best progressive men and women in the professions; the most enlightened farmers; people who know what the war is about and what forces must win if there is to be peace either in our time or in times yet to come.

You can count on other strong allies if you have the courage to enlist them. In France today, still rotting in detention camps, are thousands of the world's bravest fighters against fascism, the soldiers of republican Spain, plain workers and farmers, most of them, who picked up guns to defend their country and their elected government. They did what we may have to do, what you, under the defense program, are preparing us to do.

And not only Spaniards. Southern France is full of Italian anti-fascists. Some fought Hitler and Mussolini in Spain; others have lived for years in peaceful exile. Today they stand in imminent peril of being driven back to the tyranny from which they fled. These people, too, know at first hand what fascism means; and they know how it moves to achieve its ends.

In southern France are also thousands of anti-Nazi Germans and Austrians and Czechs and Poles and Hungarians, not to speak of anti-Nazi French. A few have been brought to this country; and for the lives of those few, liberals must be grateful. But each man or woman has run a gauntlet of suspicion and delay, some of it in the State Department, some in consular offices abroad. This attitude must be broken down, swept out of the minds and practices of our officials. You, Mr. President-elect, can do much to change a situation which has become a scandal to all decent people.

Because, you see, Americans must learn some new things. Our government, in particular, must learn to recognize as allies those men and women around the world who are fighting the battle to which we have committed ourselves. Whenever the "common people" who put you in office see a Bourbon prince from a pro-fascist state given preference as a visitor to this country over an anti-fascist hunted by the Gestapo—whenever we see that, a hand closes over our loyalty and our impulse to work and fight. We don't willingly fight for a society which prefers Bourbon princes to anti-fascists; that is the sort of society we are fighting *against.* We know our friends. We know our struggle. And we are learning ways of testing our government's understanding of these matters. If the war we are engaged in is truly a people's war, no isolationist or defeatist propaganda can diminish the fervor of the people on whom you must depend for labor and for battle. But we must be sure.

CONTENTS

THE SHAPE OF THINGS 433
EDITORIALS:
WHY ROOSEVELT WON 435
FRANCE WAITS 436
TO THE PRESIDENT-ELECT by Freda Kirchwey 436
PRIORITIES AND DEFENSE by I. F. Stone 439
THE GREAT AXIS SQUEEZE by Herbert Rosinski 440
THE JEWS ARE NOT ALONE by William Zukerman 443
THE UTILITIES KEEP IT DARK by Dan Hargraves 445
ENGLISH WAR SLANG by Lester V. Berrey 446
EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS by Keith Hutchison 447
IN THE WIND 448
A NATIVE AT LARGE by Jonathan Daniels 449
BOOKS AND THE ARTS:
NOTES BY THE WAY by Margaret Marshall 450
MR. NEVINS'S ROCKEFELLER by Gustavus Myers 450
THE REAL ISSUE OF THE WAR by Ralph Bates 452
"A WALL OF STONE" by Louis B. Salomon 453
PSYCHIATRY WITH PICTURES by Karl Menninger 454
A SELECTED LIST OF CHILDREN'S BOOKS by Lena Barksdale 454
IN BRIEF 457
DRAMA: BETTER MOUSETRAP by Joseph Wood Krutch 457
RECORDS by B. H. Haggin 458

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Priorities and Defense

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, November 4

THE austerely non-partisan note struck by Eugene G. Grace's latest pronunciamiento on labor evoked a deplorable glee among the New Dealers, who plan to celebrate their victory by barbecuing John L. Lewis. The president of Bethlehem Steel has not bargained collectively under Mr. Roosevelt, and whatever the birdies may have told Mr. Lewis, he has no intention of bargaining collectively under Mr. Willkie. "I know of nothing," Mr. Grace said at the quarterly meeting of his board of directors, "that contemplates any change at all in our labor policy. . . . We have had no part in any action which would make our labor policy appear to be a political issue." Mr. Grace does not intend to be involved in any conspiracy to enforce the Wagner Act. Bethlehem has a backlog of $1,100,000,000 in unfilled orders. It is running at 103 per cent of its theoretical capacity. Its third-quarter income reached levels unattained in the last war. But Mr. Grace gave a sharp "No" to reporters who asked whether he would grant the C. I. O. contract Mr. Lewis expected when he became a Commonwealth and Southern subsidiary. Mr. Lewis may plead that Bethlehem's defense contracts contain escalator clauses which would add any pay increases to the government's bill. He will get nowhere with that argument. In the last war a board headed by William Howard Taft awarded a wage increase of $1,600,000 to Bethlehem employees, and the government gave Bethlehem the funds to pay it. Bethlehem allegedly took the money but ignored the award. The same Mr. Grace was president of Bethlehem then. The first task of the defense program after election is to make Mr. Grace and his fellows obey the law. This is essential to uninterrupted production; in 1918 the labor turnover at Bethlehem was 118 per cent. It is likewise essential to morale, for democracy by the grace of Bethlehem is not the democracy for which men will fight willingly at $21 a month.

Mr. Grace's quarterly report raised another crucial issue. This centers about the word "priorities," of which much will be heard in coming months. It is really the issue of monopoly in a new guise; the old struggle against a vested interest in scarcity made fiercely urgent by the needs of defense. "Priorities" give right of way to defense contracts. If a manufacturer can produce but 100 trucks a year, and he finds himself with orders on hand for 100 army trucks and 100 trucks for a private customer, a government board will give priority to the army order. Obviously there is no need for priorities when industrial output is sufficient to take care of both military and civilian needs. Priorities are only necessary when productive capacity has become inadequate. Obviously we have already reached that point, for Mr. Roosevelt has just established a Priorities Board at the Defense Commission. A fundamental question arises: Shall we meet the problem of inadequate capacity by priorities or by expanding productive capacity? To expand productive capacity is to break the back of monopoly, and Mr. Grace's motto is his monopoly right or wrong. At the meeting of the Bethlehem board he put forward an ingenious line of argument against the expansion of productive capacity. He called it "inflation in production of commodities" and said it was "a full brother to inflation in currency." This is a novel contribution to monetary theory. Inflation in currency increases prices and living costs. "Inflation" in production of commodities lowers prices and living costs. This is an odd argument and an odd terminology to issue from the circles which have been insisting, in their fight against the forty-hour week and similar New Deal reforms, that what we need is to produce more. Mr. Grace and the men for whom he speaks would rather produce less and charge more for it.

The natural tendency of the business man is toward priorities. Rather than embark on plant expansion, he would keep a backlog of orders to be filled at his convenience. In this way he gets a maximum of business on a minimum of capital investment. Priorities have other advantages for him. They cut down the supply of commodities for the civilian population as military needs absorb productive capacity. This raises prices, and the rise in prices widens profit margins and lowers real wages. The manufacturer thinks also of the losses he may suffer afterward if he extends capacity beyond normal needs. In this the reasoning of the business man is like that of the ordinary citizen who hesitates to join the army for fear that when he emerges, if he emerges, he may have lost his job and his home. The problem is met in the one case by compulsion. The ordinary citizen is drafted. If we were to meet our industrial problem in the same direct way, the government would go ahead and end the dangerous bottlenecks in machine tools, planes, engines, steel, and shipbuilding by erecting new plants now and worrying about the post-war economic problem when the war was over. The problem of priorities thus becomes the problem of whether the defense of the United States is or is not to take priority over the interests of industry. France decided to give industry priority, and the consequences are plain. England is still struggling to obtain priority for defense. "British industry, by and large," the London *Economist* said dryly as recently as last June 15, "has until recent weeks been making the maximum effort compatible with no disturbance to its continuation now or to its profit-making capacity hereafter."

There are three choices before industry. The first is the use of priorities. They involve an ever-increasing amount of interference in business and price-fixing. Priorities breed priorities; the truck manufacturer told to give army trucks priority must in turn have priority for the metal and machinery that goes into the trucks; and the maker of the metal and machinery must in turn have priority for the raw materials he needs. All down the line there must be protection against unreasonable prices. Thus the consequences of the policy favored by Mr. Grace and his kind will be greater government control of industry than ever. An alternative is government ownership and operation of some factories in all the bottlenecks of industry. The risk for business is that in peace time this will leave us with TVA-like yardsticks in many major industries. The TVA proved a tonic for Commonwealth and Southern, and I can think of no better way to keep capitalism limber as its waistline grows more mature. There is a third choice. Perhaps, for speed and good feeling, it is preferable. Industry can expand plant and modernize equipment with the aid of government loans or government-guaranteed bank loans. There are hazards here, too, but most of them are for the monopolists. Cheaper steel and alloys, cheap mass production of planes and machine tools would open a new future for American industry. It would give us world leadership in production, permit the maintenance on a wider scale than ever before of low prices and high wages. There is no general risk of overproduction at the lower price levels this renovation and enlargement of productive plant would enable us to reach, for at this point begins the huge market of the ill-fed, the ill-clothed, and the ill-housed. There must be other men in industry than the Graces. There must be some enterprise left among the entrepreneurs. Big business recently financed an expensive publicity campaign about the "new frontiers" waiting to be opened up in industry. Here they are. No endless prairies, no thirsty deserts are before our business men; no child crying in a covered wagon is behind them. These are frontiers that can be crossed in luxury, at government expense. Will business prove shortsighted and afraid?

The Great Axis Squeeze

BY HERBERT ROSINSKI

THE ultimate significance and success of the New Era in World History so proudly proclaimed by the three Axis partners are questions which for the time being must remain in suspense, but there can be no doubt that the new strategy of a world-wide onslaught upon the British Empire, and through it upon the United States, will mark a vital, perhaps decisive, turning-point not merely in the present war but in the age-long struggle between land power and sea power.

The remarkable influence hitherto exerted by sea power upon the course of history has resulted as much from the inferior organization of land power as from sea power's intrinsic and peculiar strength. In the course of the last three centuries Great Britain was able to overcome one vastly superior Continental rival after the other, not only because its insular position, in conjunction with its command of the sea, made it practically immune to enemy attack, but equally because the superior organization and mobility of its sea power enabled it to distract, exhaust, and finally overcome the incomparably greater resources of its opponents. By the blockade of a few focal points it was able seriously to disorganize their economic systems; by the skilful use of small expeditionary raids upon their coastal cities it imposed upon them disproportionately great protective efforts; in overseas campaigns—against France in the Iberian Peninsula or against Russia in the Crimea—exploitation of the superiority of sea over land communications enabled it to exhaust them by a ruinous strategy of attrition. From its secure position it was able, time and again, to raise the other Continental powers against its rival of the moment until the latter succumbed under the combined pressure of land and sea power. Last but not least, by cutting its opponents' lines of communications with their overseas possessions, it was able to protect its own outlying colonies as well as to isolate theirs.

Through this ability to *concentrate its efforts*—due to the fact that attack and defense coincided in the acquisition of "command of the sea," and that command of the European terminals protected both motherland and colonies—and also to *separate the forces of its opponents* so that they could be overwhelmed singly, Great Britain was able to increase its weight in the balance of power far beyond its relatively limited resources and to obtain the lion's share of overseas territories.

This felicitous state of affairs could continue, however, only so long, on the one hand, as the outlying parts of the empire remained essentially insular in character and the dangers threatening them came in the main "over sea," where they could be intercepted by the superior power of the British navy, and, on the other, as the Continental empires remained in the state of inferior organization that characterized them up to the beginning of the nineteenth century. In the course of the last century the various outlying sections of the empire began, from their coastal bases, to push deeply into the continents; at the same time the coming of the railroads enabled the great land powers for the first time efficiently to coordinate their huge sprawling bodies. Thus the pressure upon the empire began to shift from the sea to the various land frontiers, and the traditional system of centralized defense by the superior strength of the British navy became less and less capable of protecting the whole. So gradual, however, was the advance of the great land empires, and so great were the advantages still remaining to Britain through its insular position, that for several generations more it was able to stave them off by its traditional methods and as late as the World War to overcome the greatest menace it had ever had to face

The price of that success had, indeed, to be paid at the Washington Disarmament Conference in 1921, when Great Britain had finally to recognize the independence of the United States and Japan in their respective spheres of naval preponderance. But by dismissing a conflict with the United States as impossible, by disregarding (except for the construction of the great naval base at Singapore) the increasingly imminent threat of an armed clash with Japan, and by concentrating its attention upon the maintenance of its position in the Old World, Great Britain could still hope to rely upon its traditional pattern of imperial defense: namely, the protection of motherland *and* empire by the establishment of naval superiority in European waters; the concentration on a war of attrition, waged by blockade; the isolation of the enemy's positions by sea power and the protection of its own by relatively small forces on land and in the air.

For the first eight months of the present war that system, except for the unexpected success of the German invasion of Norway across the Skagerrak and Kattegat, worked surprisingly well; but with the collapse of France and the entry of Italy into the war, its foundations were rudely overthrown. The attempt to bring the war to a rapid conclusion by an invasion in force of the British Isles has, indeed, happily been foiled; but the price has been nothing less than the temporary immobilization of the bulk of the forces of the empire in the defense of the mother country. Thanks to the brilliant and devoted cooperation of the R. A. F., the British navy has demonstrated that in its own element sea power still reigns supreme, but the margin of superiority which it has been able to establish over the enemy has been so narrow that behind its shield no fewer than two million men have had to stand under arms in order to protect the country against a surprise attack by an army of invasion not exceeding half a million at the utmost.

Although foiled in his original intention, Hitler has found himself in a position where he can turn all the traditional weapons of sea power against itself. By keeping the threat of invasion permanently suspended over the nerve centers of the British, he forces them to maintain this excessive concentration of man-power, while with the bulk of his forces he is able to strike overland, with unprecedented mobility and strength, at the weakly defended links of the empire. By utilizing the overwhelming strength of his military machine to impose his control upon the whole Continent, he is systematically strengthening himself against the stranglehold of the blockade, depriving Great Britain of any foothold for a counterstroke, and at the same time preparing the way for a shattering blow at the backbone of the empire.

From what we know about the Nazi leaders and their ideas, this new strategy is something more than an improvisation to disguise the failure of their plans for invasion and shift the war over the winter season into the Mediterranean; it is something more even than merely the brilliant exploitation of a new situation. Behind it stands a deliberate plan to break the hold of sea power over the Continent once and for all by systematically turning its own weapons against it. Sea power was able to baffle and finally to overwhelm land power as long as it could withdraw at will from the latter's grip into the element where it reigned supreme, and from there exercise its powers over the land. Now, however, by striking overland at the empire's continental links, land power would force sea power to accept the issue on its own ground, where it can array overwhelming superiority.

Sea power, by practically trusting the defense of the empire to the establishment of naval superiority over its European rivals, had been capable of carrying out that defense with a minimum of effort; now land power, striking simultaneously at the various links in this world-encircling empire, would force upon it a decentralization of its defensive effort that would overstrain its limited resources. Sea power, by isolating its opponent from the sea and encircling him on the land, had been able to bring him to his knees by economic stranglehold alone; now land power, breaking through that ring by its overwhelming striking power, would extend its Continental empire so far as to make itself practically blockade-proof, while at the same time, with the new weapons of submarine and aerial warfare, it would attempt to impose a counter-blockade upon its opponent.

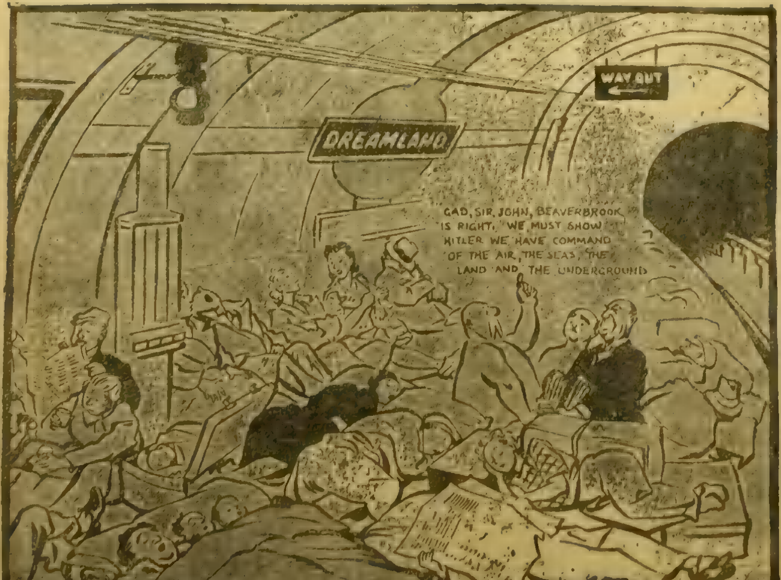
Finally, sea power, immune against attack by sea, had hitherto been able to choose the time and place for its own blows, enjoying to the utmost the power of the attacker to distract his opponent. Now the roles have changed: sea power has been thrown back and pinned down to the defensive, and land power, able to defy under present-day conditions any serious attempt upon its coasts, can itself use all the powers of initiative and distraction in its overland attack upon the outlying parts of the empire.

In the light of all this it is not astonishing that Adolf Hitler should more and more feel himself to be the successor of Napoleon in his titanic struggle against the sea power of Great Britain, destined by the skilful use of the infinitely greater technical means at his disposal to succeed where the other had succumbed.

The fall of Egypt before a combined attack from Palestine and Libya would undoubtedly entail the loss of the whole of Africa up to the frontiers of the Union, and in addition, in all probability, the loss of the Near East up to the gates of India. Thus, the empire would be broken into two widely separate areas—Great Britain and Canada on the one side; India, Australia, and New Zealand on the other. Economically the closing of the Suez Canal might not affect communications between these two isolated blocks as seriously as it would appear to do at first sight, since shipping between them has already been largely diverted to the safer, though longer, route through the Panama Canal, a route which bids fair to replace that of Suez as the central lifeline of the empire. But strategically the loss of that interior line would tend to upset the whole British system of defense, which is based upon the dual role of the Mediterranean fleet as a check upon the Italian navy and a central reserve whence reinforcements could be rushed to either extreme of the line. It is a well-known fact that during the past few years the Mediterranean fleet has been rendered more and more important as an imperial reserve by the possibility that it might have to be rushed to the Far East to meet a Japanese attack.

It is at this point that Japan's accession to the military alliance of the two Western Axis powers intervenes to complete the new strategy of a coordinated world-wide drive against the British Empire. With half the British forces in northern waters pinned down by the threat of an invasion of the British Isles and the necessity of keeping the sea lanes to them open; with the other half pinned down by the Italian navy's persistent refusal to give the British Mediterranean fleet the opportunity of eliminating it by a decisive knockout blow; with Hitler's mechanized armies poised to rush across Asia Minor and Syria and cut the jugular vein of imperial naval defenses; Japan, by openly ranging itself on the side of the Axis, is able to hold over the British position in the Far East the imminent threat of an attack in full force, to which the British would at the moment be unable to oppose more than the weak cruiser and submarine forces in that area. Such an attack—striking not at Singapore, which is too well fortified to succumb to an *attaque brusquée*, however strong, nor at the Philippines, but in all probability at the Dutch East Indies, in particular at Borneo, which is the key of the whole situation because of its oil—would, if successful, make Japan economically blockade-proof, complete the encirclement of the Philippines and interpose an advanced base between India on the one side and Australia and New Zealand on the other.

By thus threatening vital joint British and American interests in the Far East at the moment when the British fleet is unable to afford them adequate protection, the strategy of the Axis powers hopes not only still further to distract British attention and forces, but at the same time to place the United States on the horns of a perplexing dilemma. On the one hand, as the Axis powers are well aware, the United States could not possibly remain indifferent to the prospect of a successful Japanese onslaught upon the British and Dutch empires in the Far East. On the other, intervention would be fraught with a host of difficulties. A mere economic embargo, without the military means to parry any Japanese attempt to counter it by a *coup de force*, would be fatal. The dispatch, however, of a substantial part of the American battle fleet to Singapore would threaten to embroil the United States in a war with Japan that would draw upon all its resources and consequently restrict the assistance which is at present enabling Great Britain to hold its own on the ultimately decisive European battlefield. Nothing is better calculated to bring home the gran-


DREAMLAND
WAY OUT
GAD, SIR JOHN, BEAVERBROOK IS RIGHT. WE MUST SHOW HITLER WE HAVE COMMAND OF THE AIR, THE SEAS, THE LAND AND THE UNDERGROUND

London Sleeps.

diose sweep of the world-wide political and military onslaught upon the British Empire than this gigantic "squeeze," which, starting from the threat of invasion on the Channel, aims, by the distraction of the whole British front from Gibraltar via Greece and the Near East to Singapore, to induce the United States to restrict the assistance it has given so far to the defense on the Channel. Nothing better illustrates the revolutionary forces by which the whole world is being drawn into one huge maelstrom.

The Jews Are Not Alone

BY WILLIAM ZUKERMAN

IN ONE of his great war cartoons the inimitable David Low depicts Hitler driving European humanity, in the figure of Christ, up a steep hill to its crucifixion. Mad with rage, Hitler lashes the quivering body and shouts, "I'll make an Aryan of you." The picture is a true representation of Europe under the Nazis. At the same time it points to a significant change which the war has introduced into the Jewish scene in Europe and probably throughout the world.

That the scene is utterly dark is now a truism. The world seems to have accepted the Nazi persecution of the Jews as an incontestable fact with which it must come to terms. Hitler has reduced to the commonplace even so awful a tragedy as the literal extermination of a people. He has standardized Jewish persecution like everything else, and Jewish news is now the same in all Nazi-occupied territories. One who knows the story of the Jews in Berlin for the last seven years knows also what their fate has been in Vienna, Prague, Warsaw, Amsterdam, Brussels, Copenhagen, Oslo, Paris, Bratislava, Budapest, Bucharest—in any European city under the Nazi heel.

The war, which has brought about so many changes in Europe, seems on a superficial view to have left the Jewish problem untouched. In reality, however, the great upheaval which it started and which is now revolutionizing the mind and soul as well as the face of Europe, is penetrating even into the hitherto impregnable citadel of Nazi doctrine. It is only externally that the dismal Jewish scene has remained the same. Men of genius like Low, and even ordinary observers of war-time Europe who look below the surface, have noticed that the current is changing and have glimpsed a promise of some distant hope for this most tragic situation.

It is common knowledge that the Nazis introduced a new type of anti-Semitism, or at least made new use of the ancient evil. Jew-hatred, for them, has not been an aim in itself but a tool for the attainment of other purposes. They have used anti-Semitism as a smoke screen for advances in other fields, or one might say as a scaffolding behind which another edifice, their real purpose, was hidden and constructed. To use a historical illustration, the Jewish problem was to the Nazis in the field of propaganda what Belgium was supposed to have been to the Kaiser in the field of military operations, a stepping-stone to the capture of Paris and the domination of Europe. If this is true—and the entire history of Nazism is confirmation of the view—the war has introduced a definite change into the situation. For those larger aims of Germany have now been in the main achieved. The Nazis have reached their Paris; they are now masters of the continent of Europe. Anti-Jewish feeling has served its purpose and can be relegated to its proper place. The Nazi edifice is ready, and the scaffolding can be removed.

This does not mean that the Nazis have had a change of heart toward the Jews, or that there is hope that they will abandon anti-Semitism in the future. But it does mean that the fierce, almost morbid concentration on anti-Semitic propaganda as an instrument of political, economic, and diplomatic policy is bound to diminish because it is no longer necessary and also, perhaps, because very few people are now left who can be taken in by this obvious bluff. The Jewish problem is being absorbed by a bigger problem. The Nazis have found a new object of persecution—the non-Jewish European nations. In the terms of Low, Hitler has now Aryanized Christ and is proceeding to crucify the Aryan nations of Europe as he has crucified the Jews. The new and larger spectacle necessarily obscures the older and smaller one. Absorbed by the bigger task, the Nazis can no longer be so preoccupied with the Jews. At the same time their Jewish and non-Jewish victims are being brought together as never before, and their separate ordeals are blending into one great tragedy.

That this process is actually going on can be confirmed by every European observer of the Jewish scene. Strange signs of it have come from Germany, from the Nazis themselves; the very first months of the war saw some curious lapses from orthodox Nazi theory. The ban on Jewish doctors, for example, the first and strongest of the Nazi commandments, has been flagrantly violated, if not officially repudiated, by the Reich government. Jewish doctors who for one reason or another have not been able to leave Germany are being invited, and if invitation does not avail, conscripted, into military hospitals to tend the wounded. In many cities, Jewish medical practitioners are being allowed to resume civilian practice too. The concentration camps in Germany, Austria, and the Sudetenland are being scoured for Jewish physicians who have withstood the torture of years and remained alive; when found, they are given their freedom and placed at good salaries in German military hospitals.

Similar leniency is being shown toward Jewish engineers and mechanics, who are getting jobs and equal treatment with Aryans in all munition factories. The ban has even been lifted on Jews in the German army; Jewish young men of military age are being conscripted into labor battalions. In short, the famous race theory, the rock upon which the Nazi faith was built, has been swept away by the first emergency of the war. That huge mountain of racial laws and decrees piled up for seven years to prove that the Jew is a natural parasite who cannot be useful, whose very skill is a curse, and whose presence is a dishonor has been conveniently removed by so simple a device as a special badge marked W. N. J.—for *Wirtschaftlich Notwendige Juden* (Economically Necessary Jews). The doctrine which has been repeatedly proclaimed as the very essence of Nazism, as an eternal law of nature written in the heart and blood of every German, has been calmly sacrificed for the services of a few hundred skilled physicians, engineers, and mechanics. Hitler's pact with the Communists was no greater evidence of Nazi cynicism.

The German people in all sincerity seem to have a more friendly attitude toward the Jews since the outbreak of the war. Informed persons know that the rationing laws alone would have caused the death of every Jewish man, woman, and child in Germany if brave and simple people among their German neighbors had not aided them with food, fuel, and clothing. Of these kindnesses there is ample evidence in the numerous reports of penalties for such conduct published in the Nazi press.

Still more significant signs are visible in the countries now under German domination. It is a known fact that in all Nazi-occupied territory, with the single exception of Poland, anti-Semitic propaganda has failed dismally despite the pressure of the Nazi super-efficient propaganda machine, aided by the military machine. The Czechs, the Danes, the Norwegians, the Dutch, the Belgians, the French, all stubbornly refuse to be influenced by the Nazi anti-Jewish drives, and all resist passively the introduction of anti-Jewish laws and regulations. In all the occupied countries the segregation of Jewish professional men and business enterprises is ignored; a Jewish sign on a shop is often a signal for a rush of buyers. Jews are secretly provided with food and other rationed articles of which they are officially deprived. In the greater part of Nazi-occupied Europe there is more sympathy for the Jews now than ever before. In fact, the most frequent grievance of the Nazi press in Germany is that the conquered populations are not cooperating in the regulation of the Jewish problem. (A recent article in the *Schwarze Korps* complained bitterly that even the notorious Quisling was not a good anti-Semite.) In short, both inside and outside Germany there is developing a new realization of the particular role which the Nazi brand of anti-Semitism has played in the present subjection and enslavement of Europe. Millions of people who used to take Nazi anti-Semitism at its face value have suddenly been made to look behind its screen and to discover the Nazis' true objective—world domination and the enslavement of all other nationalities. The non-Jewish European world has come to see that in the face of a common enemy the problems of the Jew and the non-Jew are the same.

It is gratifying for a Jewish observer to report that the same consciousness of the unity of their interests is now penetrating the Jewish masses of Europe. The old feeling of isolation, quite understandably strengthened in recent years by Nazi persecution, is giving way before the new and stronger forces let loose by the Nazi invasions. The various movements for a nationalistic solution of the Jewish problem, which were so strong before the war, are now receding into the background. With so many states, big and small, crumbling into dust, hope that the problem might be solved by the establishment of a Jewish state has of necessity faded. Even the most ardent nationalist must now realize that the principle of national separation has failed and that the tendency is toward the unification of states and peoples. As a result, most minor, purely Jewish questions are being sunk in the all-important problem facing the whole of democratic mankind—that of fighting the Nazi menace. From personal experience in war-time England I can affirm that British Jews at the moment feel more completely at one with the non-Jewish world than any Jewish community has ever felt before. And England was until the outbreak of the war the political and spiritual center of Zionism.

Under the lash of one of the greatest tyrannies in history, a great portion of European humanity, without distinction of nationality, race, or religion, is being driven up a new Calvary to its crucifixion. But in the midst of this terrible tragedy, the various peoples quivering under the Nazi blows are learning painfully the great lesson of the sameness of interest and unity of aim of all persecuted and oppressed peoples. All are now reorienting themselves psychologically to meet a new world in which their smaller national differences will be subordinated to the larger interests of humanity. The Jews are contributing their share toward the realization of this hope.

The Utilities Keep It Dark

BY DAN HARGRAVES

WHEN advertising pulls its punches and says a great deal less about a new product than it could say truthfully it provides material for a news story that follows the man-bites-dog formula. Advertising has been doing just that in the case of the new fluorescent tube lighting which is beginning to appear here and there in stores and offices. The fact that is of greatest interest to the prospective buyer of lighting is that this new light source produces from 100 to 200 per cent more light than incandescent lamps for the same amount of electrical energy. But the advertising done by the manufacturers of fluorescent tube lamps seldom, if ever, mentions this verifiable fact.

In order to understand this unwonted reticence on the part of the large lamp manufacturers, it is necessary to look at the relationship between them and the privately owned utilities which produce electricity for lighting. The General Electric and Westinghouse companies, which between them control the Mazda patents covering tungsten-filament incandescent lamps, enjoy a virtual monopoly in lamp manufacture; that is, they make approximately 80 per cent of the lamp bulbs, and by granting licenses to use their patents control a large part of the competition. The public-utility companies are among their largest customers for lamps. But lamp manufacture is only a part of their business; they make and sell all types of electrical equipment, from giant turbines and generators to flatirons and wiring devices. For power-station equipment the utilities are practically their only customers, and for the sale of appliances and wiring devices they are very greatly dependent on utility good-will.

Fluorescent lighting has been an actuality in the laboratories of the lamp companies for a number of years. There may have been some pressure to keep it there, but when the engineers who lighted the two World's Fairs demanded it for decorative lighting for their buildings and exhibits, the cat was out of the bag. It is probable that the two big lamp companies were eager to seize the tremendous opportunity created by the public display of this new type of lighting. Their basic Mazda patents on incandescent lighting were shortly to run out, and one large independent manufacturer claimed patents on fluorescent tube lights which promised real competition.

At this point the electric-utility companies really became worried. Their relations with the public had been none too good in recent years, and they dared not appear to be standing in the way of progress by unqualified denunciation of this new development. On the other hand, it offered a real threat to their revenues in one of their most profitable fields, commercial lighting, for which rates are invariably higher than for domestic use. Conferences became frequent, and it was apparent that the companies planned to act together.

George Whitwell, vice-president of the Philadelphia Electric Company and chairman of the Edison Electric Institute's "Better Light—Better Sight Bureau," expressed their point of view. As quoted by *Tide*, an advertising trade magazine, Mr. Whitwell said, "Utilities are not opposed to any sound technical development of which fluorescent is an example, even though reductions in revenue, which over the years may be substantial, are involved. . . . *But utilities will oppose advertising which stresses reduced cost of electricity.*" (Italics mine.) Whether the hint was broad enough for the lamp companies, or whether it was made plainer for them privately, you will look in vain in any advertising by the makers of fluorescent light sources for a direct statement that fluorescent lighting will reduce your electric bill.

The action taken by individual utility companies to protect their profitable commercial-lighting revenues will vary in detail but not in direction. Any consumer of electricity, particularly if he buys lighting for a store or office, can easily check the attitude of his local electric utility by letting it be known that he is interested in fluorescent lighting. He is quite likely to be visited by a pleasant young man whose sole aim in life seems to be to protect the electric company's customers from people who are trying to sell them gold bricks. His argument is likely to be that fluorescent is most interesting, and excellent for certain minor lighting jobs, but that it is far from the stage of practical application for general lighting. He will probably do an artful job of damning with faint praise since his sales talk, or more accurately, no-sales talk, is the product of the big brains of the industry.

The consumer will be told that fluorescent tube lighting requires fairly elaborate starting and control auxiliaries, and that more fixtures may be required to secure proper spread of light. He is not likely to be reminded that incandescent lamps, which are, in effect, miniature suns, require expensive reflecting and diffusing fixtures to achieve reasonable uniformity of lighting, and that much useful light is lost through this necessary protection against glare. Nor will he be informed that fluorescent tubes have the source of light spread over at least ten times as great an area, and that their surface brightness is so low that they may be exposed to the eye without discomfort, and therefore need less elaborate fixtures.

Much will be made of the fact that fluorescent lighting tubes require a brief warm-up period like radio tubes, and do not operate satisfactorily at outdoor winter temperatures. One is less likely to hear that these tubes have twice the useful life of incandescent lights, and produce less than half the amount of heat. Mention will probably be made of such technical matters as "stroboscopic effect," a sometimes perceptible flicker due to the pulsations of alternating current. The fact that this can be avoided by installing the tubes properly in pairs may or may not be mentioned.

If the consumer persists in trying fluorescent lights, he is likely to be told that he will need much more of this daylight-colored light than he needed of the yellowish light from incandescent lamps. Science may be abandoned at this point for arguments based entirely on taste and popular notions of how artificial lighting should appear to the eye. But if the measurable intensity of light required for the job in hand is considered, from 60 to 100 footcandles may be mentioned, whereas up to a year ago from 30 to 50 footcandles were considered adequate, if not ideal, for all ordinary purposes.

Many electric utilities have taken the initiative in warning their customers by letter and booklet to go slowly in accepting this new lighting development; they have even offered the services of the utilities' lighting engineers—impartial, of course—in checking any proposed installation. Some have gone farther to make sure that other elements in the industry "play ball." When independent distributors have been more enthusiastic in their selling methods than the utilities desired, manufacturers have been induced to take away their franchises.

The experience of one of the larger electric distributing organizations, an affiliate of a large electrical manufacturer, is particularly revealing. This organization trained a group of young men in the sale of fluorescent lighting and sent them as a sales crew into a region where competition was threatening. The utilities demanded, and got, the privilege of reviewing any proposals made for the relighting of stores, to make sure that these relighting jobs were "properly engineered." They were frank in saying to the distributor that "properly engineered" meant that there was to be no reduction in the total amount of electricity consumed. Needless to say, the results of the sales drive were disappointing.

The utility companies are still worried. They know that this revolutionary form of lighting cannot be stopped altogether, and that they are fighting a rearguard action. They will doubtless continue to fight it because every delay in the public acceptance of fluorescent lighting means more dollars in their pockets, but they are not unaware of the delicacy of their position. Many utility companies devote considerable energy and expense to the promotion of various types of electrical apparatus whose chief appeal to the customer is the long-run saving which will offset the high initial cost. Electric refrigeration, for example, requires a sizable investment, but offers a continuous saving at the expense of the ice industry. This argument may occur to some consumers when the high initial cost of fluorescent lighting is emphasized. The only discernible difference here is in whose ox is gored.

Another element of inconsistency in the stand taken by the electric utilities is of even broader public interest. Despite the development of large public-power projects in recent years, there exists a real danger of a production bottle-neck at the point of power supply. National power production is now reaching a new all-time high. Many utilities are announcing, with appropriate fanfare, the expansion of their power facilities to take care of defense needs. Under the circumstances, the question may well be asked whether the zeal of privately owned utilities to keep their commercial lighting loads at present levels does not work against a sound public policy of power conservation.

English War Slang

BY LESTER V. BERREY

WAR is notoriously a fertile hotbed of slang. When men are transplanted en masse from their accustomed mode of life into a strange environment and given unfamiliar tasks, they need a new vocabulary to describe the unfamiliar activities and objects. The War Department may be somewhat dilatory, but the verbal arsenal is always full of shot and shell.

The first crop of war slang has naturally not been fully garnered, although H. L. Mencken in the *Readers' Digest* has already assembled some of the choicest items. The prolific coinages of the first World War have not been sufficient. With the technique of warfare radically different, armies no longer use chiefly the language of the trenches but that of the air. And the civilian population follows suit. Long before the air attacks on England began, the people had come to know the London anti-aircraft barrage as the *rat-trap* and aptly called the balloons *flying elephants.* They dubbed the giant searchlight *Paul Pry,* and called one that diffuses its beam a *bearded lady.* Their two most familiar friends are the sisters *Mona* and *Clara,* the air-raid and all-clear signals, in whose names we recognize the moaning of the warning sirens and a contraction of the welcome "all clear."

The vocabulary of this war does not come to civilians at second hand. They have seen the great German dive bombers come arrowing out of the sky, like giant birds swooping down to *lay their eggs.* They call them *cuckoos,* in allusion to the cuckoo's habit of laying its eggs in another bird's nest. They know from their own experience the meaning of *flying pig,* an aerial torpedo, and of *crump hole,* the crater made by its explosion. They have watched with grim awe the brilliant *fireworks* of the large anti-aircraft shells, or *onions,* as the *Archies* blast the skies over their heads. They have cheered the rout of the *Jerries* as the *Spits* (British Spitfire fighter planes) come swiftly to the rescue, and have watched a plane *flying streamers* as it swirls downward to its doom.

Not all of the words made current by the war are entirely new. *Scrounge* is one of the most familiar heritages of 1914-18—evidently dialectal, with the sense of squeezing, from which its significance of "pinching" (stealing) naturally developed. But whereas the word was formerly restricted to stealing from military departments, it is now applied to the petty pilfering of public property during blackouts.

Warphan is a blend of *war* and *orphan,* a horrible word held over from the former war and given a greater currency to designate the pitiful youngster who has lost both parents in this war in which the citizenry has suffered more than its defenders. A newborn brother to it is *vackie,* for the child evacuated overseas.

Abbreviation is a characteristic of all war slang. Thus ammunition becomes *ammo,* a Messerschmitt plane an *Me,* torpedoes are *torps,* and fast German torpedo boats are *E-boats—E* for enemy. Just as members of the Australian and New Zealand Army Corps were called *Anzacs* during the first World War, the French call members of the Royal Air Force, *les Rafs.* The English in general they call *Titeems,* from tea time.

The word that has received the greatest currency at home and abroad is *blitz,* used as both noun and verb. It carries the implication of bombardment on a much grander scale than the 1914 contribution of *strafe,* and will probably probably find as permanent a place in the language of war. *Fritzkrieg* is facetious for a German bombardment. Also from *Blitzkrieg* comes the dreaded *blitzflu.*

Flap, a scare or alarm, originated with the air service, but the R. A. F. in general has given us few linguistic innovations. A pursuit plane is still a *peashooter.* The commander of an airfield is called the *stationmaster.* Bombers *leave calling cards* with the enemy. A *fog factory* is a locality where fogs are plentiful. When he gets lost in the fog, a pilot is said to *tangle in the soup. To fly by the seat of one's pants* is to navigate a plane by one's flying instinct, rather than by instruments. *Scramble* is R. A. F. for a fight. *Kicking her into a maneuver* is descriptive of the dextrous artifices required to dodge anti-aircraft and pursuit-plane fire. Staying out of the enemy plane's sights is called *keeping the tail clear.*

To brown off (to be bored, fed up) is descriptive of the tedium endured during the protracted period of inactivity before the *Blitzkrieg* on England. The way British morale has stood up in the ensuing nightmare is exemplified by the popular gesture, *thumbs up.*

Everybody's Business

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

Wall Street on Guard

ON SEPTEMBER 1 the following ruling by the Committee on Member Firms of the New York Stock Exchange became effective, subject to temporary exemptions to those members requiring time to adjust their existing methods:

> Any member, allied member, or member firm acting as an odd-lot dealer or specialist or otherwise publicly dealing for his or its own account (directly or indirectly through a joint account or other arrangement) on another exchange in securities listed on the New York Stock Exchange shall be subject to proceedings under Section 8 of Article XVI.

The object of this ruling is to put an end to the practice known as multiple trading: the penalties provided by the section of the constitution of the Stock Exchange invoked are suspension or exclusion. The vast majority of citizens, I fancy, if they noticed the announcement of this ruling in the financial pages of the newspapers, dismissed it as a purely technical matter, of interest only to financial professionals. Actually it has a far wider significance, for it is a step by the New York Stock Exchange to protect its near-monopoly of the nation's security business. In addition, it represents a challenge to the SEC, which has been attempting to raise the status of the out-of-town exchanges with a view to assisting decentralization of the investment business. It is for this reason that Commissioner Sumner T. Pike, by no means the most radical member of the SEC and a former Wall Street man himself, has asked the New York Stock Exchange to rescind the multiple-trading rule.

So long as the New York Stock Exchange was enjoying frequent million-share days it was not worried by losing a small amount of business to Cleveland or Chicago. But during the past two years the steady shrinkage in volume has produced a hungry mood in Wall Street. It is well known that the business now available is quite insufficient to pay the overheads and leave a profit for all the members of the Stock Exchange. Expenses have been cut down, but the whole apparatus is still geared to a turnover which can hardly be attained unless there is a revival of the speculative orgies of the past. A number of members, it is said, are hanging on, desperately hoping that Willkie will win and happy days be here again. If he doesn't, they say, they will throw up the sponge and seek a more lucrative way of life.

Meanwhile Wall Street, with too large a family to provide for, is unwilling to assist the growth of its provincial cousins. The latter, it is alleged, have been unfairly pampered by the SEC, which has encouraged unlisted trading on the out-of-town exchanges of securities fully listed in New York. In order to provide good markets for such stocks, the local exchanges appointed specialists to look after them. Specialists often have to maintain inventories of the stocks they deal in, and they must have capital. It happened, therefore, that in some cases the members taking on this job were also sufficiently well-to-do to be members of the New York exchange as well. These are the boys against whom the new rule is aimed. The complaint against them in Wall Street is that they do not, in fact, make effective markets on the outside exchanges but carry on their business almost entirely "off the New York tape." As the special committee which reported last February to the governors of the New York Stock Exchange put it:

> In effect, through the facilities of the New York Stock Exchange members, the floor of the New York exchange is transferred to the floor of the local exchanges, with little or no expense to the local-exchange members. Such local-exchange members, through the existence of the local-exchange market, avoid the necessity of transmitting the order to a member of the New York Stock Exchange and the payment of New York Stock Exchange non-member commissions.

In asking the New York exchange to cancel the multiple-trading rule, Mr. Pike asserted that an investigation by the staff of the SEC showed that its enforcement would be injurious to the regional exchanges and thus to the investing public. He pointed out that three-quarters of the nation's total stock trading is done on the New York exchange, while over half of that on the regional exchanges is accounted for by New York member firms. By using this powerful position to impair the efficiency of outside markets—and this is what the new rule does—the New York exchange tends to force the investor to do business through Wall Street even though this may be expensive and inconvenient. For instance, the man in Chicago who wants to sell fifty "Steel" is liable to the New York State transfer tax if he is compelled to deal in New York instead of in his home town.

In February, 1938, Justice Douglas, then chairman of the SEC, stated in a public address:

> While our national economic welfare rests on the welfare of small business, our national financial machinery is geared almost exclusively to large business. Financing of small business is only one phase of the problem of devlopment of local or regional capital and securities markets.

The overcentralization of investment business in New York both nourishes and feeds on the overconcentration of wealth. New York, because of its near-monopoly of capital markets, sucks in the savings of the whole country. But Wall Street is a really good market only for the securities of the major corporations. They are the ones that provide the turnover and get the publicity, and they are what the investor is encouraged to buy. The smaller corporation with only a state or regional reputation is infrequently welcomed to the "Big Board," and even if it does receive a listing, it is likely to languish because New York dealers are too busy trying to sell "Steel" and "Motors" to bother very much about concerns less widely known.

Today there are a dozen big centers of population whose exchanges should serve to canalize local capital into local industry. But in order to grow to the extent necessary to handle this job and to gain the support of investors in their districts, these regional exchanges must get a share of the bread-and-butter business provided by dealing in the "blue chips." The Chicago broker who establishes relations with a Winetka investor by selling him fifty du Pont may be able to go on and interest him in a local chemical company whose potentialities he has been able to study. That is the kind of development that the SEC rightly is trying to encourage.

In the Wind

NO RIFT EXISTS between F. D. R. and Joe Kennedy, insiders insist. They maintain that the reports were actually inspired by New Dealers to drum up interest in Kennedy's preelection broadcast.

THERE'S A MINOR UPROAR among baseball players, sports writers say, because Kenesaw M. Landis, baseball commissioner, didn't lobby for special draft arrangements for ball teams. They wanted to train six months at a time and play ball the other six.

SHORT-WAVE ITEM: A German broadcast in Hindustani from the German station at Zeesen said: "We, the German people, respect Mahatma Gandhi just as much as we do Adolf Hitler. Herr Hitler has the same principles as Mahatma Gandhi. National Socialism, too, teaches non-violence."

ROBERT SHERWOOD, the playwright, has been called in as an adviser to help "build morale" among draftees. There will also be a morale drive on the home front.

IN THE FINAL WEEKS of the campaign the Chicago *Tribune,* F. D. R.'s worst enemy among the press, ran a battle page for Democratic and Republican propaganda. But after a few days the impartiality became too painful; so the *Tribune* added a third column blasting Roosevelt.

WHEN GARDNER JACKSON quit Labor's Non-Partisan League he wrote a letter quoting Justice Holmes's remark, "Every man's major premise should be his realization that he is not God." The line was suggested to Jackson by a justice of the Supreme Court.

IN FULL-PAGE ADS attacking the New Deal, the Willkie Youth Committee denounced the Administration because Joe Lash was working for the Independent Voters Committee for Roosevelt. It charged that Lash had led the "pro-Russian" Student Union, but neglected to mention that he resigned after it indorsed the invasion of Finland.

THE NEW DEAL got one big break in the last week of the campaign. When Stephen T. Early kicked a Negro policeman, the only newspaper to get a picture of him doing it was one of those rarities, a pro-Administration paper. The picture wasn't published, and the AP couldn't buy it.

WHEN UNION organizers were beaten up outside the Ford plant in 1937, the union charged a number of Ford "service men" with assault. The accused men disappeared and were never prosecuted. One of them, union attorneys have learned, has been employed for the last year at the Ford exhibit at the World's Fair.

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind —either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. A prize of $5 will be awarded each month for the best item.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

A Native at Large

BY JONATHAN DANIELS

SO FAR as our own young men are concerned I am almost more afraid of this winter than this war. The sawmills are buzzing, and the pine trees today may be boards in a barracks tomorrow. The army hopes so. But in some places it has had to seek lodgings for carpenters as far off as fifty miles from their hammering. Meanwhile, the new soldiers are on their way.

I am not one of those who regard the present crop of young men as soft, but I know they are mortal and as susceptible to cold and the bugs which often accompany it as to the most beautifully designed bombs. The army knows that, too. In October, at Camp Edward in Massachusetts alone, it began to build a group of ninety-three medical buildings. Similar units are undoubtedly under construction elsewhere. There is bound to be sickness among so many thousand men. Even though the carpenters hammer with such fury on the new lumber from the sawmills that none of the young men will be still living in tents when winter sets in, problems of housing and health will remain.

Housing is only one aspect of the health problem involved in the speedy assemblage of so many men. I hope the Army Medical Corps understands the dimensions of its task, but one of the ablest physicians I know is deeply disturbed by what looks to him like lack of foresight—"not to mention lethargy and stupidity"—on the part of those who have been training the reserve officers in the Army Medical Corps, who, as this defense program proceeds, are going to provide the medical care in the hugely expanded military force.

A fourth-year medical student had just been in to see the doctor about an internship in a hospital with which the older man is connected. The doctor asked the young medico about the experience he had had during his summer vacations, particularly during the summer just passed. The young man said that he had had no medical experience because he was in the Reserve Officers' Training Corps of the Medical Department of the army. He had been in camp at Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania, for six weeks.

"Well," said the doctor, "of course, you learned considerable there about the medical handling of troops, examination of recruits, camp sanitation, building and care of latrines, the prevention of dysentery, typhoid, and other infectious diseases."

"No," said the young man, "we spent the majority of our time learning the manual of arms."

It turned out, the doctor told me, that during the six weeks' training period of 420 fourth-year medical students who next spring will be commissioned as second lieutenants in the reserve corps of the army, almost no time was devoted to military medicine. Except for one day a week the days were all consumed with setting-up exercises, learning the manual of arms, drill, and studying military tactics. During the six weeks there were two or three lectures on camp sanitation and one demonstration of sanitary precautions at bivouac. Once a week there was a sham battle, with practice in carrying litters and a demonstration of the routine from dressing station to base hospital.

"This young man felt," the doctor said, "that possibly the summer was of more value to him and his comrades than he realized at the time in that at least they were taught a certain amount of military discipline. But he felt that the same amount of discipline could have been taught through medical activities which would at the same time have given them a great deal more knowledge of the medical necessities of troops. He felt that when he had finished his six weeks' training about all he had learned was the routine of drill, the manual of arms, and some military tactics, none of which would be of value to him in any capacity in which he would be called to serve during actual war."

This is second-hand testimony, undoubtedly. Young doctors who expect to be commissioned seldom testify out loud about those who are to give them their commissions. And older doctors, except in official capacity, do not criticize the profession even when it is in arms. But the Army Medical Corps is going to be the doctors of a large part of America now—a part of America congregated by the thousands in a first winter in barracks which, despite the efforts of the colonels and the carpenters, promise to be at least hurriedly built. The emphasis, in this crisis, is on the production of man-power and motor-power. This is a big army, for America, that we are mobilizing. And the last time we mobilized such an army more men died of disease than were killed in war.

A soldier does not have to go to Europe or the Far East to die. If this young reservist slandered his Medical Corps teachers, the Medical Corps will still survive. But if, as the older doctor thought on the basis of the young man's testimony, there is lethargy at least in the Medical Corps' training methods, some of the soldiers who ought to survive may not.

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BOOKS *and the* ARTS

Notes by the Way

NOVELS based on a revolutionary theme have acquired a prestige, especially among writers, quite out of proportion to the relatively few successful ones that have appeared so far. They are, of course, indigenous to the revolutionary times; more important, the attempt to understand and find some order in the social forces at work in the world is at least the beginning of affirmation—that is why the blurbs for such books always end with a declaration of the author's profound faith in mankind. (By the same token I suspect the "prerevolutionary" school of hard-boiled realism, which is essentially negative in its approach, has had its day.)

The reason why there have been so few successful novels of this kind is not obscure. The novelist who wishes to write in the tradition, brief but impressive, of Malraux and Silone, must combine the powers of artist and critic in a new and delicate balance. Good art has always required the critical capacity for selection, design, and broad conception; it has also required, since "every force has its form," the artistic capacity for submission to the material and its force. But the problem of balance becomes more difficult if only because the social conception which underlies such books as those of Malraux and Silone is less easily translated into unconscious individual human motive and behavior than, say, a conception based on Christian ethics; it can easily be turned into a mechanical, vise-like pattern, rather than transmuted into the moral vision of a work of art. And in the self-conscious process of correlating social and human behavior the writer runs the risk of clipping his own wings and those of his characters.

It is a tribute to the French genius of André Malraux that "Man's Fate," which was the first, still remains the best of the revolutionary novels, though Silone's books are only less impressive. But a growing number of writers are working with more or less success in a form whose difficulties are a measure of its possibilities; and one of the most interesting of these is Ralph Bates. His latest book, "The Fields of Paradise" (E. P. Dutton, $2.50), is set in Mexico. It tells the story of Felipe, "a man of the paths" who in the course of his travels as an itinerant maker and seller of fireworks comes to the village of San Lorenzo, as yet untouched by the revolution. The light-hearted, confident Felipe comes into conflict with the masters of the town; he is thrown into jail, where he organizes a break that becomes a successful revolt. There follows a bloodless but bitter struggle with the church in the person of Canon Mendoza. Meanwhile, Felipe, caught in the net of responsibility woven by his own impulses and acts, including his love for the Indian girl Candelaria, ceases to be a "man of the paths" and stays in San Lorenzo to help put in order the new life which the revolt has set in motion.

San Lorenzo is Mexico, Mexico is the world, and Felipe is the bringer of fire to burn over last year's fields and let the new grass grow. But the bones of social meaning which give the story shape and strength are well imbedded in the firm living flesh of human character and action. San Lorenzo remains San Lorenzo. Felipe, I realized on reflection, becomes too articulate, overwise, but neither he nor the other characters, with the exception of Arturo, the long-imprisoned local leader, turn into symbols, though certainly part of the reader's interest in the Spaniard Hinojosa, and even more in the village priest, lies in what they represent. (Hinojosa is a vestigial conquistador; Father Ignacio's humble but stubborn defense of the peasants against the arguments of the visiting bishop Mendoza serves to reveal how class lines divide the bureaucracy of the church as well as the people.)

The revolt—both the action and the behavior of men in action—is handled with great skill and insight in the most exciting chapters in the book. But though they form its center, not its end, interest is sustained up to the last two chapters—which have the effect of a too-prolonged epilogue. The writing throughout is extraordinarily fresh and precise, concentrated and strong. No words are wasted, and occasionally a rereading is necessary, though "The Fields of Paradise" is less difficult in this respect than "Rainbow Fish." It is also less successful, within its own terms, than that book, but its terms are far more complex and comprehensive.

Mr. Bates, who took an active part in the revolutionary struggles in Spain long before, as well as during, the civil war, has a competence in social knowledge and understanding shared by few contemporary novelists. Since writing his first book, "Lean Men," he has made amazing progress in his command of language and form. Throughout the present book one feels that he knows exactly what he is doing and how to do it. "The author's intention," I read on the jacket, "is exactly mirrored by the story." And that, I suspect, is why "The Fields of Paradise," good as it is, is not greater than the sum of its parts. The story fits a little too neatly into the pattern prepared for it; the author sits firmly in the driver's seat and there are no runaways. What is missing is the daemonic quality which distinguishes "Man's Fate" and which is linked with that capacity for submission referred to above. It is not clear, as yet, whether Mr. Bates is blessed with a daemon—whether, having achieved so great a measure of control, he can now contrive to lose it—though there was more than a hint of an affirmative answer in "Rainbow Fish."

MARGARET MARSHALL

Mr. Nevins's Rockefeller

JOHN D. ROCKEFELLER: THE HEROIC AGE OF AMERICAN ENTERPRISE. By Allan Nevins. Charles Scribner's Sons. Two Volumes. $7.50.

THESE two volumes are obviously designed to rank as the authoritative biography of the founder of the Standard Oil Company. They constitute an ambitious attempt to present a view different from that of Henry Demarest Lloyd, Ida Tarbell, and others. But in order to refute an aspersion cast upon Rockefeller's father by one of these, it was not necessary to give a prolix account of his parentage and early life. This mass of items, occupying much of the first volume, may be gratifying to Rockefeller's descendants, but it is of no vital interest to posterity. More relevant chapters deal with the rise of the petroleum industry and Rockefeller's domination of it, his organization of the first great industrial trust, and his accumulation of a fortune of more than $1,000,000,000. Subsequent pages tell of the philanthropies Rockefeller established.

Mr. Nevins's capacity for incessant output evidently precludes a sense of perspective and proportion. He crowds detail upon detail, piling up a tedious bulk of material out of which emerges distinctly the author's desire to exalt the latest hero on his list. In his preface he declares of what has been written by others that "almost none of it is unbiased." Yet not only in the title of his work but repeatedly throughout the book he attests his own bias in approaching his subject.

Unable to escape the overwhelming proof that the Standard Oil Company benefited by scores of millions of dollars from secret railroad rebates, Mr. Nevins concedes the validity of much of the criticism heaped upon Rockefeller and the Standard Oil Company. But he seeks to extenuate this practice by saying that secret rebates were given before Rockefeller's time. This strays from the point. Standard Oil was the first company which systematically and comprehensively dragooned railroads into the practice. An even more telling fact which is passed over is that our railroads, many of them built largely by means of public funds and land grants, were thus turned into instruments for the pyramiding of corporate riches. However, after his brief admission, Mr. Nevins promptly discovers advantages to offset the indictment.

Echoing a now outworn term, he characterizes former attacks upon the Standard Oil Company as the "literature of muckraking." He assumes that this "literature of exposure" —as he also designates it—began with the books on Jay Gould's skulduggery after the Civil War and reached its height in the 1890's and 1900's. As a matter of fact, almost from the formation of the American Republic reports prepared by Congressional, legislative, and aldermanic investigating committees had exposed corporate and political corruption and plundering. Book and magazine writers were much belated in following suit. Why? One reason was the publishers' penchant for lauding millionaires—with the exception of Gould, then the stock scapegoat of capitalism. Houghton's book, "Kings of Fortune, or the Triumphs and Achievements of Noble, Self-Made Men," issued in 1884, was only one fulsome example of the tendency. The searching writings of Lloyd, Tarbell, and others were as much a revolt against the current fashion of adulation as an expression of mounting popular alarm at the power and abuses of accumulated wealth.

If the "muckrakers" fell into extremes in the fervor of their revelations, they are matched by Mr. Nevins, who tries to find every possible extenuation for Rockefeller as an individual and seizes every opportunity to rhapsodize over his era as "the heroic age." Yet whatever credit may be assigned to Rockefeller for not participating in some of these practices, the age of the formation of trusts saw many huge stock waterings, stock jobbings, regular debauching of poli-

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tics, great frauds and swindles, briberies, evasion and defiance of law, ruthless business methods, and vast exploitations. These glaring misdeeds prompted Theodore Roosevelt to brand the perpetrators of them "malefactors of great wealth."

Mr. Nevins extols Rockefeller as a "bold innovator" in industry and in philanthropy, though years before Rockefeller's consolidations Commodore Cornelius Vanderbilt had pointed the way by welding railroad systems; in one place Mr. Nevins acknowledges the impression made upon Rockefeller by this example. In philanthropy the endowed Rockefeller organizations opened some new channels, but that was all. Endowments, coupled with the donor's concept of himself as a God-chosen "steward" of wealth (Mr. Nevins has a chapter on stewardship), much antedated Rockefeller's benefactions. Among those who established philanthropic trusts during their lifetime, the banker George Peabody, in 1857, was the munificent pioneer.

Mr. Nevins regards his hero's story as "one of the great romances of American history," but during Rockefeller's lifetime popular odium centered on him as the stark embodiment of acquisitiveness, and his sanctimoniousness made him seem the personification of pretense and hypocrisy. When in advancing age he bestowed vast sums on humanitarian projects, public hostility was softened but not removed. Perhaps the most telling factor in such rehabilitation of the Rockefeller name as has taken place has been the character of John D., Jr. This simple fact points a moral more effectively than all Mr. Nevins's varnished chapters striving to create a much-misunderstood Rockefeller, Sr.

GUSTAVUS MYERS

The Real Issue of the War

WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE? A Proclamation of British Democracy by a Labor Party Spokesman. By Harold J. Laski. Viking Press. $1.75.

HERE it is, the way for Britain to beat off apocalyptic assault and rescue Europe from despair. Plain as a pikestaff. The frozen Tories, who would not and could not keep the peace, who could not fight manfully when the war had come, won't like Laski's doctrine. The "hesitant dynamists," who offer increased old-age pensions as reward for staggering duties, will answer, "Yes, but—no!" The revolving *furibundos* of the pseudo-left will denounce it. To fascism by imposition Laski would oppose socialism by consent.

There are no waste words in this splendid little book. Its criticism of society and of the rulers of Britain and France is the familiar one of the left, expressed, however, with a balance and urbanity that will make this book a pleasure and an excitement for those who are repelled by adjectival ferocity and special pleading. The war began, Laski convincingly shows, because the capitalist statesmen of Britain and France feared to overthrow fascism. Hoping always to turn the Third Reich against the Soviet Union, they rejected the only effective alliance available to them. By seeking to defend the British and French empires alone, as the special interests of their own privileged class, they brought the peoples they misled to the brink of total defeat and enslavement. It is a criticism still valid even if, like Laski, we are not fooled by the incomparable mendacity of the Kremlin apologists. For while Laski evinces no trace of hostility toward the Soviet Union, he recognizes that Chamberlain's folly in guaranteeing Poland without an alliance with Moscow gave Stalin an opportunity for one of the most cynical pieces of bargaining that the history of power politics records.

If this general criticism of imperialist politics is true, Laski argues, if the old form of democracy has been incapable both of maintaining peace and of effectively waging war, then Labor must "organize the surrender" of the privileged classes. His commentaries upon the early stages of the war, up to the overthrow of the Chamberlain government, are especially interesting. The British government announced that it was fighting for democracy, but it did nothing to prove it. It was the old retrogressive and decaying form of democracy it sought to preserve, not that which the war effort itself demanded. Mr. Laski illustrates his points vividly. Chamberlain, on June 30, 1940, explained his paralysis of will by saying that he did not think the workers would put forth the effort that victory required until the bombs began to fall on Great Britain. It throws a flood of light on Chamberlain's mind. He had, Mr. Laski says, "no confidence in the power of the Britain he symbolized to evoke from [the working classes] the energy that victory required until the ravages of war had made them passionately angry." Mr. Chamberlain would utilize anger in place of conviction. The trade unions, now inspired by new hopes, are working desperately to make up Mr. Chamberlain's lost time. There are huge tasks ahead for Labor, as well as dangers of defeat from within and without. Mr. Laski points out exactly what the dangers are. The trade unions willingly surrender their interests for a while (and the membership does, I would add, not merely the leadership) but so far there is little sign that the employers are making comparable sacrifices. The war, in Britain as in the Soviet Union or any other European country, is lowering the standard of living, but taxation has not yet seriously affected the comfort of the wealthy classes. Far too great a proportion of the war costs are being raised by the creation of bankers' credit, to become a burden upon the people later. There have been concessions, of course, such as greatly increased wages for agricultural laborers, increased unemployment relief, etc., but there have been no effective redistributions of economic power, and if Britain is to win, there must be. If the war ceased tomorrow, the old relation of poverty to privilege would exist, with all that implies as to the nature of the peace. The ruling classes are still in the positions of 1919, which enabled them to bring the world to its present predicament.

In other words, it is not socialism after the war which Labor must urge. And, by the way, American readers must remember that European labor has indissolubly linked its political fortunes with the idea of socialism. The route toward socialism must be in part traversed now—not only to make the war effort effective, but in order to awaken the revolutionary energies of peoples now overrun by the Axis. Mr. Laski is emphatic upon the Indian question. That country has been brought, he declares, to a consciousness of its national destiny. "There is not one popular leader in India, with a serious following behind him, to whom we can appeal for support of the continuance of our paramountcy. Year by year, to maintain it, we have to resort to special powers, the exercise of undemocratic authority, the wide use of the power to imprison and to flog. The few Indians of position we can produce to applaud our rule are men whom we have elevated for that purpose."

The liberation of India, which Mr. Laski does *not* believe to be a simple problem, would have greater effect in awakening sympathy within Germany and Italy than any other single act. It would elicit Soviet confidence, and win wide approval in the United States.

I have not indicated the sobriety of this book with sufficient emphasis. Mr. Laski's learning and his power of persuasion are too well known to need any comment. This is the best statement on the issues of the war yet to come out of Britain. It is written by a member of the National Executive of the Labor Party. That party is a major party, and it is the rising one in Britain. To it, far more than to Mr. Churchill's magnificent leadership in the great crisis of June, July, and August, the visible awakening of Britain and the animation of its resistance have been due.

RALPH BATES

"A Wall of Stone"

THE VOYAGE. By Charles Morgan. The Macmillan Company. $2.50.

THE theme of Charles Morgan's new novel, as of most of his previous work, is "singleness of mind," that triumphant inward tranquillity the achievement of which has been the aim of all philosophy, even though most professional philosophers are notoriously unable to bear the toothache patiently. Rejecting mere rational intellect as a sufficient guide to this refulgent goal, he exalts the transcendental ideal, as epitomized in the passage from Santayana which serves as an epigraph for "The Voyage":

> It is not wisdom to be only wise,
> And on the inward vision close the eyes,
> But it is wisdom to believe the heart.

The setting of his new story, which seems to me even more mature and thought-provoking than "The Fountain," is France in the years following the Franco-Prussian War. The peaceful vineyard district of the Charente produces both of his principal characters: Barbet Hazard, grape-grower and cognac-distiller, whose completely integrated nature liberates him from the shackles of hatred, fear, ambition, and lust that fetter most human beings; and Thérèse Despreux, impetuous and self-reliant, who fights her way up through the bohemian world of Paris to become a famous diseuse. In so far as the novel has a plot, it traces the strange yet tender growth of their love for each other, a romance that to the sentimental reader may seem casual and lusterless beyond all endurance but which nevertheless harmonizes thoroughly with the tranquil, Olympian mood of the entire book. In no sense could Barbet be called a romantic hero, although on at least one occasion his quiet self-possession thrusts him into the position of having accomplished what his neighbors deem a miracle. "When we are ready," he gently repulses all harassing worries over future dilemmas, "we shall know what to do." Again Barbet: "I think people bother their heads too much with 'why?' and 'how?' and 'what will the consequences be?' I

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have no more *opinion* about it than I have about the grapes on a vine."

In this story, as in "The Fountain," Mr. Morgan makes prominent use of a prison—though this time his hero keeps the prison instead of being incarcerated—in order to stress a point to which a certain trite quotation about stone walls and iron bars scarcely does justice. "To be tied by force, by other people—to be in prison even, is still to be free. The terrible thing is to let chains grow in one's own mind—not to be able to walk out of a room though all the doors are open. . . . Hatred and fear are chains." Thus Barbet, while he remains confident of his rightness in keeping some half-dozen prisoners in the town's makeshift jail, quells an incipient prison break alone and unarmed, without violence; when he finds himself beginning to be walled in by his own dislike for a refractory inmate, he acts with characteristic directness, releasing the prisoners and going to jail himself for having broken the laws of society.

It is this spiritual freedom, the power to do calmly and inconspicuously whatever he thinks at the time to be right, that sets Barbet apart from other men, and, paradoxically, makes him completely at home at all times, in any company. It is this that he means when he speaks of making a "voyage" —not the easy transporting of one's body from town to town, but the ability to change completely one's way of life, "not to be earth-bound, not to be stage-bound or money-bound, not to be *bound* by anything."

That, you will quite rightly say, is pure Thoreau. Though Mr. Morgan's exquisitely polished prose has "a dying fall," an almost feminine sensitivity to nuances, he preaches the same gospel as did the Concord pencil-maker who knocked together a shack by Walden Pond to prove that one could make "voyages," and who, incidentally, having been jailed for non-payment of a tax which he considered unjust, wrote: "I saw that, if there was a wall of stone between me and my townsmen, there was a still more difficult one to climb or break through before they could get to be as free as I was."

LOUIS B. SALOMON

Psychiatry with Pictures

PSYCHIATRY FOR THE CURIOUS. By George H. Preston. Farrar and Rinehart. $1.50.

CAN you imagine a psychiatrist with a sense of humor? The influence of James Thurber has come to psychiatry. Preston has a talent for clever line drawings, and with them he illustrates a simple, clear, informal text which in 148 pages gives a very adequate introduction to the subject of psychiatry.

"Psychiatry suffers from words," says the author in the first line, but he proves in the next 147 pages that not all psychiatrists are so afflicted. There are quotable passages on every page; take this:

> Some friend of yours is walking through life using his stomach . . . to protect himself from the difficulties of a world which is too strenuous. . . . If a man doesn't work and support his family, we put him in jail for non-support; but if he can prove he is sick, then we do not put him in jail, and the rest of us . . . take care of his family. . . . In our present civilization being sick can relieve you of a great deal of responsibility.

Or this:

> The fable of the Cheshire Cat, the cat with a head and no body [Preston is a little inaccurate here], is an excellent starting place for any discussion of psychiatry. Psychiatry is supposed to deal with the mind, but no one ever saw a mind which was not associated with . . . a heart, a set of lungs, arms and legs, and a lot of other miscellaneous internal machinery. . . .

The author is Commissioner of Mental Hygiene for the state of Maryland. This book enables the people of forty-seven other states to share some of Maryland's good fortune.

KARL MENNINGER

A Selected List of Children's Books

BY LENA BARKSDALE

PICTURE BOOKS

Animals Everywhere. By Ingri and Edgar Parin d'Aulaire. Doubleday, Doran. $1.25. A panorama of animals from the tropics to the poles. Rich color and entertaining detail.

A Country A B C. By Clarke Hutton. Oxford. $2. Lovely pictures of flowers, fruit, animals, and insects.

Babar and Father Christmas. By Jean de Brunhoff. Random House. $3. Babar obligingly travels to Father Christmas to invite him to visit the elephant family at Celesteville.

The Little Train. By Lois Lenski. Oxford. 75 cents. Simple story of a toy train. Many pictures.

Hercules. By Hardy Gramatky. Putnam. $1.75. Triumphant tale of an old-fashioned fire engine. Action pictures in full color.

April's Kittens. By Clare Turlay Newberry. Harper. $1.75. Pictures of true distinction illustrate this amusing story of a little girl's three small kittens.

Presents for Lupe. By Dorothy P. Lathrop. Macmillan. $2. A red squirrel from South America receives presents from his native land. Lively pictures in three colors.

The Tale of the Whitefoot Mouse. By Henry B. Kane. Knopf. $1.25. Remarkable photographs and delicate line drawings make this little nature story unusually appealing.

Peter and the Wolf. By Serge Prokofieff. Illustrations by Warren Chappell. Knopf. $2. The principal musical themes accompany the text, and the many pictures in full color are striking and beautiful.

At the Zoo. By W. W. Robinson. Illustrations by Irene Robinson. Macmillan. $2. Two children visit their friends at the Zoo. Many good animal pictures.

They Were Strong and Good. By Robert Lawson. Viking. $2. Spirited pictures in black and white illustrate this story of some of the strong and good (not famous) people who helped to build America.

TALES OF FACT AND FANCY

The Little History of the United States. By Mable Pyne. Houghton Mifflin. $1.75. A simple history from 1492 to the present, with picture maps and amusing thumbnail sketches.

Story of Alaska. By Clara Lambert. Crayon illustrations by C. H. de Witt. Harper. $1. Factual text and pictures with an imaginative quality combine to show the life, resources, and beauty of Alaska.

This Is the Way We Build a House. By Creighton Peet. Holt. $2. Details of house-building made interesting with excellent photographs.

From Robin to Junco. By Mary I. Curtis. Houghton Mifflin. $1.35. Bird book in story form, telling much about the habits and usefulness of familiar birds. Fully illustrated.

Peter by the Sea. By Julian R. Meade. Illustrations by Grace Paull. Doubleday, Doran. $1.50. A story with humor and natural charm for small boys. Peter learns to be a good swimmer and a good gardner.

Tommy Carries the Ball. By James and Marion Renick. Scribner. $1.50. Football story for the youngest fans with diagrams of play.

Thee, Hannah! By Marguerite de Angeli. Doubleday, Doran. $2. Old Philadelphia is the scene of this amusing Quaker story, which the author has illustrated in rich, soft color.

The Bells of Amsterdam. By Ruth Langland Holberg. Illustrations by Richard Holberg. Crowell. $2. Pleasant story of a bell-ringer's apprentice. Excellent pictures.

The Tinkers of Turntable. By B. G. Herzog. W. R. Scott. $2. Amusing story about ordinary people who have magic power.

Where the Wind Never Blew. By Padraic Colum. Macmillan. $1.50. Only an Irish poet could make this story of wandering barnyard animals at once so convincing and so magical.

Gaily We Parade. Selected by John E. Brewton and Illustrated by Robert Lawson. Macmillan. $2. A happy collection of short poems by authors old and new.

FOR TEN-TO-TWELVE-YEAR-OLDS

Children of the Sea. By Wilfrid S. Bronson. Harcourt, Brace. $2. Life story of a dolphin who was befriended by a boy. Excellent writing, scientific background, and many helpful pictures make this a book of distinction.

Brittany Summer. By Kathleen Coyle. Harper. $2. Spirited story of a delightful family visiting on an island of Brittany.

Blue Willow. By Doris Gates. Viking. $2. Sensitive and courageous story of a little girl whose one cherished possession was a blue willow plate.

The Sea Is all Around. By Elizabeth Enright. Farrar and Rinehart. $2. A little girl from the West spends an exciting winter on an island off the Atlantic coast.

The Fair American. By Elizabeth Coatsworth. Macmillan. $2. A beautifully written story of the eighteenth century, in which Andrew and Sally go to sea and help to rescue a homeless French boy.

Michel's Island. Mabel Leigh Hunt. Stokes. $2. A boy's adventures on Mackinac Island in the days of trappers and Indians.

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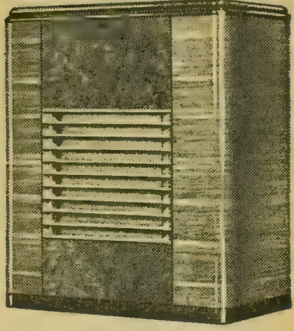

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Big Knife: The Story of George Rogers Clark. By William E. Wilson. Farrar and Rinehart. $2. Stirring adventures and fine character drawing make this a notable biography.

Concord's Happy Rebel. By Hildegarde Hawthorne. Longmans, Green. $2. An excellent life of Thoreau and a fine picture of old New England.

Introducing Charles Dickens. By May Lamberton Becker. Dodd, Mead. $2.50. A great novelist is graciously presented to the younger generation.

Growing Pains. By Wanda Gág. Coward, McCann. $3.75. This diary of an artist begun when she was fifteen is the best kind of career story.

Wilderness Orphan. By Dorothy Cottrell. Julian Messner. $1.50. Interesting story of a pet kangaroo which reverted to the wild.

Under the Greenwood Tree. By William Shakespeare. Lyrics selected by Julia Louise Reynolds. Illustrated by Leonard Weisgard. Oxford. $2.50. A distinguished gift book.

In Early Issues of The Nation

R. P. Blackmur's "The Expense of Greatness"
REVIEWED BY LOUISE BOGAN

Serge Lifar's Biography of Serge Daghilev
REVIEWED BY LINCOLN KIRSTEIN

IN BRIEF

SERGEANT LAMB'S AMERICA. By Robert Graves. Random House. $2.50.

A distinguished poet-critic-novelist presents the story of the early campaigns of the American Revolution through the eyes and pen of a sergeant in His Majesty's Ninth Regiment of Foot. Having adopted a point of view which is obviously a novelty for American readers, Mr. Graves interlards his lively tale with interesting, well-documented data concerning the British army (1776 model), and ends, as in "I, Claudius," with his narrator poised and ready for a sequel.

INVASION. By Hendrik Willem Van Loon. Harcourt, Brace. $2.

This purports to be an eyewitness account of the Nazi invasion of America. The events narrated, Mr. Van Loon explains, "are the revaluation against an American background of what happened in those neutral European countries which were suddenly attacked and overrun by the Nazis." It is obviously intended to make the blood run cold. It does.

THE CARIBBEAN DANGER ZONE. By J. Fred Rippy. G. P. Putnam's Sons. $3.

This is indeed a realistic account, as the publishers assert, of strategy diplomacy, just now to the fore in the vital area of the Caribbean, and of dollar diplomacy as well. It is easy to understand from the judicial and documented presentation of this beam in our eye why the good-neighbor policy had such hard going at first, though Professor Rippy brings out that the earlier policy was never approved by most Americans.

ELEANOR ROOSEVELT. By Ruby Black. Duell, Sloan and Pearce. $2.50.

A straightforward life of Mrs. Roosevelt by a newspaperwoman whose work has brought her into close contact with the President's wife since 1933. This pleasant biography of a remarkable woman we all admire is, as the jacket claims, "intimate and authoritative." It is an exaggeration to call it also "important."

AP: THE STORY OF NEWS. By Oliver Gramling. Farrar and Rinehart. $3.50.

This is not only the inside story of the Associated Press from its inception in 1848, but also an attempt to summarize all the news the AP has gathered since that time—like a foreign correspondent's autobiography on an extended scale. The tediousness of the result is not lessened by novelized scenes and Alger-book illustrations.

AUTHOR IN TRANSIT. By Lancelot Hogben. W. W. Norton and Company. $2.50.

The *Blitzkrieg* arrived in Oslo fifteen minutes before Mr. Hogben was scheduled to leave on the hour-and-a-half-long airplane journey to his home in Scotland. In consequence he made a journey of 20,000 miles around the globe—and wrote this travel book, which is full of pungent comments on Scandinavia, the Soviet Union, Japan, and the United States. Although Mr. Hogben's remarks are unfavorable to Russia and favorable to Japan, he is not reactionary.

DRAMA

Better Mousetrap

I DOUBT that Lawrence Langner and Armina Marshall are very much interested in the New England town meeting or that they will ever write a play built around the Middle Western art of calling hogs. It would not be easy in either case to disengage the erotic motive, and it is plainly only in the juicier pages of American social history that they find their inspiration. Some few seasons back they concocted a farce-comedy called "The Pursuit of Happiness" which was concerned in large part with the pleasant custom of bundling and which turned out to be very amusing indeed, but just now they have rather signally failed to repeat the success with a play about the Oneida Community or some similar experiment in simple communism. If bundling is funny, then plural marriage and experiments in scientific breeding probably ought to be at least ten times funnier. But somehow or other in "Suzanna and the Elders" (Morosco Theater) they just don't turn out to be.

One reason is perhaps that the authors take the more serious parts of the present play rather too seriously. In "The Pursuit of Happiness" the subject of bundling was kept well to the fore; the more abstract and more purely political aspects of the rights of man appeared only remotely in the background. But in "Suzanna and the Elders" they seem equally bent upon extracting belly laughs from the audience and upon the almost schoolmasterish task of explaining just what the members of the Oneida Community believed and just why human nature doomed the experiment to failure. The entire action takes place in the living-room of the community house, and the curtain rises upon a happy group of sisters darning socks to the rhythm of a gospel hymn. The sudden eruption of an irate deacon from a Boston church provides opportunity for an explanation of the community's principles and a full justification of its determination to destroy the possessive instinct at its source by abolishing selfish monogamous love in favor of high-minded promiscuity. The simultaneous appearance of a young convert with a genius for mechanical invention and a wickedly exclusive passion for the most attractive of the young ladies makes the subsequent course of the action all too immediately clear. Bible socialism just can't stand up against either new ideas in production or old ideas in love. Emerson, Elbert Hubbard, or whoever it was that invented the famous phrase is completely confuted. The Oneida Community made thousands of better mouse traps and, I believe, is still making them. But look what happened to the Oneida Community.

The other difficulty with the Langners' play is simply that while the serious parts are being too serious the funny parts aren't being funny enough, and the play illustrates a danger which is ever present in subjects that look too obviously rich—the danger, that is to say, that the author will find only those jokes the inevitability of which made the subject look so promising in the first place. That, unfortunately, is precisely what happens here. Most American males get ready to laugh and most American females get ready to giggle when it is suggested that they consider the possibilities inherent in a society which enjoins an attractive degree of promiscuity as a solemn duty. But the present authors find no way of elaborating the joke except by a rather laborious dotting of *i's* and crossing of *t's* until the whole thing becomes somewhat more embarrassing than funny. The cream of the cosmic jest certainly involves physiological implications, but physiology by itself is never funny. Acting honors in "Suzanna and the Elders" unquestionably go to Howard Freeman, whose efforts succeed in making genuinely amusing the relatively minor role of the shy bookkeeper who is unwillingly selected to take part in a breeding experiment. Morris Carnovsky, sometimes an excellent actor, is curiously wooden as the leader of the Communists, and Haila Stoddard as Suzanna does not succeed in being more than an attractive soubrette.

Ethel Waters, remarkable both as an actress and a singer, certainly deserves a better vehicle than any she has had in recent years, and a good many people seem to think that she has found it in "Cabin in the Sky" (Martin Beck Theater)—a sort of fantastic opera with a book by Lynn Root and music by Vernon Duke. Here she plays the devoted wife of a shiftless Negro who is given a second chance on earth, where he is tempted by a comic devil (Rex Ingram) and watched over by the Lawd's General (Todd Duncan). Manifestly the intention was to achieve an effect like that of "The Green Pastures," but actually the quaint mythology of the former play is debased into a mere series of gags, and the two works resemble one another about as Joe Chandler Harris's Uncle Remus resembles a character in a story by Octavus Roy Cohen. Nor does the score seem to me in better taste, for it is written sometimes in something approximating the idiom of the spiritual, sometimes quite frankly in that of Tin Pan Alley. Miss Waters gets everything that is to be got out of a song like "Taking a Chance on Love," but the question is whether she should sing it at all, or at least whether she should not in any one performance make a definite choice between her talents as an interpreter of genuine Negro moods and her undoubted ability to be, when she chooses, merely a Broadway torch singer who happens to be black.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

RECORDS

IT ISN'T possible for me to evaluate all the models of phonographs put out by all the manufacturers; for this would leave me no time and space for my primary job of evaluating records. All I can undertake to do is recommend a few good machines at various price-levels; and the Lafayettes I am going to speak of are very good.

Even the person with only $37.50 to spend will get enjoyable results from the JS-175, a table-model radio-phonograph. For $59.50 there is a console combination, the JS-128, on which I will postpone comment until I have heard it with the new speaker that is to be put into it. And for the person able to spend about $100 there is a really excellent machine, with tone that has power, depth, and richness—the B-102, which varies in price according to its phonograph equipment. With the vastly improved new Astatic FP-18 crystal pickup with permanent sapphire point the price is $89.95; with the Audak D-31E magnetic pickup, which gives clearer and more brilliant tone, it is $98.95. The machine can be had with the new Garrard RC-30 record-changer: with the Astatic pickup-head on the changer the price is $104.95; with the Audak head on the changer the price is $127 (because of an expensive machining-job); and if I could not afford the additional $22 I would take the machine without the changer but with the Audak pickup.

Until now Lafayette has restricted itself to low and medium price and quality levels; this year it offers a machine in the $250 range—the Overture, which with the right phonograph equipment gives as fine reproduction as most people would want. By right phonograph equipment I mean the superb Audak D-36E pickup, with which the price of the machine is $249.50; and with the Garrard RC-30 changer equipped with D-36E head the price is $275. With the Astatic FP-38 pickup the price is $235; with the Garrard changer and Astatic head it is $249.50. And again I would pay the $25 more for the changer with the Audak head; or for $249.50 I would take the Audak pickup without the changer in preference to the changer with the Astatic head.

These prices for the B-102 and the Overture are for the entire machine in one cabinet; but the finest results are achieved by putting the speaker into a separate cabinet such as I described in my article of July 27 (the bracing for complete rigidity that I spoke of consists of a piece of one-by-two-inch wood fastened to each panel diagonally from corner to corner; and when the cabinet is made rigid in this way there should be no need of any opening in the bottom or back). A reader who equipped his Victor R-99 phonograph with such a speaker-cabinet and the Audak D-36E writes: "The simple change of transferring the same speaker to your type of cabinet wrought almost unbelievable wonders. . . . And then the pickup brought an improvement equally great." The D-36E should be installed only in a high-fidelity machine; and if you contemplate getting one you would do best to ask the Audak Company (500 Fifth Avenue, New York) what the installation requires: you may not need the transformer I had to use for my Scott. Lafayette will attach and counter-balance a D-36E head on your Garrard RC-30 changer for the new lower price of $29.50, plus $5.88 for a transformer if you need one. It will attach an Audak D-27E or D-31E head for $22.

One of the objections to record-changers has been the rigidity of the arm, which causes excessive wear on the record. On the Garrard RC-30 the arm, when the needle is on the record, is disengaged and free-swinging; and so there is no longer that objection. With the Audak head on the changer use only a chromium needle, not a Rec-O-Ton or Red Seal or any of the others; and if you use a fresh one for each group of records and remove it at the slightest trace of fuzziness in the tone, the wear on the record will not be anything to worry about. Without a changer use half-tone or full-tone steel—a fresh needle for each record-side; as a semi-permanent needle, and for new records, use only chromium. Don't use non-metallic needles: they give poor reproduction, wear down too quickly after repointing, and can do as much damage to the record when they are worn down as worn steel needles do. Audak supplies a sapphire point which you can use with the D-36E; otherwise don't use a sapphire except in a pickup in which it is built in as an integral part; and then let it be the Astatic FP-18 or FP-38 according to the degree of fidelity of your machine. But you will do better to change needles on an Audak D-27E or D-31E in return for the superior reproduction.

All this, added to what I wrote in my article of July 27, is as much as I know about equipment.

In the National Committee for Music Appreciation set of "Madama Butterfly" the tenor is fair, but the soprano has a voice of no great sensuous beauty that is clouded by a strong tremolo in loud passages. In the "Rigoletto" set the Duke is quite good; the Rigoletto's full voice is not as agreeable as his half-voice, but his style is good; the Gilda, on the contrary, sings the notes accurately but with no musical style, and with a cold and at times acidulous voice; and it may be that the voices are made to sound as they do by the brassy recording. The Rodolfo in the "Boheme" set is good, though he has to strain for his high notes; the Mimi sounds like the soprano of "Butterfly"; the Musetta and Marcello are fair.

B. H. HAGGIN

Letters to the Editors

On Government by Poll

Dear Sirs: You wouldn't think much of the doctor who would excuse a mistake with the explanation that he had not acted according to his own opinion of the case but instead had interviewed the patient's relatives, friends, and neighbors and followed the advice of the majority. It would be not less dangerous to have important national policies decided by a poll or postal referendum as suggested in *The Nation* of October 26 by W. P. Cortelyou.

Dr. Gallup is unquestionably useful when he discovers for the Blank Soup Company that 90 per cent of its customers like soup made one way rather than another. Some good may also result from his anticipation of election returns. But it would be a very different thing to compile the opinions of the men in the street on such a question as whether or not Guam should be fortified and then use the result as a club over the heads of our elected representatives.

We should of course be very particular in choosing men to govern us. But having chosen, we should demonstrate our faith in their intelligence, patriotism, and morality by trusting them to reach right decisions, whether or not such decisions are at the moment in accord with the wishes of the man in the street.

This does not mean a restriction of democracy. It means rather that the ordinary citizen, who has not access to the sources of information available to the head of the government, shall not be used by the executive he has hired as an alibi for failure.

If at reelection time a man's only asset is the ability to keep his ear to the ground, he should be left in that position and replaced by someone who can also lift up his eyes unto heaven.

AVRA PILZER

New York, November 1

A Miracle Worker's Mistake

Dear Sirs: Your story of the rabbi who worked a miracle so that while it was Sabbath all around him he was able to travel because it was still Friday where he was is all right but the details. He would have had to work his miracle before Friday midnight—Sabbath for the Jews begins (see Genesis, Chapter I) at sunset Friday afternoon. The Biblical definition of a day, week day or Sabbath, is, "And it was evening, and it was morning, one day."

MAURICE J. BLOOM

Newburgh, N. Y., October 30

Bloch and the Trotskyists

Dear Sirs: I have just been reading the October issue of *Fourth International* and discovering a great many things about myself of which I had not previously been aware. It appears, on the authority of the late Leon Trotsky himself, that I am an "infamous reptile"—a distinction I am obliged to share, however, with *The Nation*—and, on the authority of the editors of the magazine, that I am not only a "Stalinist" but an "agent of the GPU" and the "confidential go-between" for Soviet Ambassador Oumansky and Vicente Lombardo Toledano, general secretary of the Confederation of Mexican Workers. All these remarkable allegations were prompted by the fact that in an article in *The Nation* for June 8, dealing in part with the first assault on Trotsky's house on May 24, I wrote that the attack had "all the earmarks of a put-up job in which Trotsky, as well as a credulous public, is being victimized." By suppression of the latter half of this statement the Trotskyites have since been trying to make it appear, in spite of my specific rejection of that hypothesis, that I accused Trotsky of having assaulted his own house!

My article was written only two days after the attack, at a time, incidentally, when the Mexican police and press were proceeding on the self-assault theory; my own view of the attempt, which there is no point in restating here, seemed to me at the moment a more logical explanation. Subsequent developments have shown that my guess was considerably wide of the mark, but to pretend to conclude from this that I was making an effort to "cover up" the guilt of the true assailants is deliberate dishonesty.

For the record it may be just as well to add that my very limited acquaintance with diplomatic circles does not include Ambassador Oumansky, so that I can scarcely be the "liaison man" between that gentleman and Lombardo Toledano. I am not and never have been the "managing editor of *Futuro*," nor am I the "head of the purchasing department of the Universidad Obrera." For nearly a year I have had no connection with *Mexican Labor News*, but during my editorship of that bulletin I did not publish it "under orders of the CTM." These facts are either readily ascertainable or else already known to Albert Goldman, Trotsky's lawyer, and to the editors of *Fourth International;* so that I harbor no illusions that this letter will rid them of assumptions innocently held. Nor will I again burden the pages of *The Nation* with denials of charges as stupid as they are wilfully malicious.

HARRY BLOCH

Mexico City, October 28

A C. O.'s Real Purpose

Dear Sirs: Your editorial criticism of the action of conscientious objectors at Union Theological Seminary represents an apparent misunderstanding of two important points. First, the basis of conscientious objection is disapproval of the war system in any of its aspects. Second, the evasion of combatant duty by exemption has no consolation in it for the conscientious objector.

The basic desire of a conscientious objector is not to "get out of" doing something unpleasant. It is, rather, to do everything possible to eliminate war as an instrument of international policy. The fact that certain liberal clauses in the conscription bill allow for the exemption of ministers and divinity students does not make registration for purposes of a military draft any more acceptable. Everyone who registers and is called must serve either as a combatant or as a non-combatant. It is to such a policy, which denies the sanctity of private conscience, that the conscientious objector must stand opposed.

If it is to this that the Union Seminary boys object, may their cause prosper.

ROBERT R. HUME

Chicago, Ill., October 23

Hoover and Polish Relief

Dear Sirs: In your issue of September 23 there appears a letter from L. G. J. under the heading Food for Europe. This letter reports statements said to have been made by Herbert Hoover, which are so obviously untrue that Mr. Hoover has not deigned to answer them. He has, however, authorized me, as an officer of the Commission for Polish Relief, to flatly deny the statement quoted by L. G. J. that any of our relief supplies in Poland have been touched by the German authorities.

Your correspondent quotes Mr. Hoover as saying, "Two million bushels of wheat shipped to relieve Poland has been seized partly by Germany, partly by Russia." The Commission for Polish Relief, of which Mr. Hoover is a member, has never shipped a single bushel of wheat or any other grain for Polish relief, either into Germany or into Russia. In fact, the total amount of relief which we have sent into Poland, consisting mostly of milk and fats and cod-liver oil for children, represents a value of less than one-sixth of 2,000,000 bushels of grain. Neither the Germans nor the Russians have seized one pound of the relief supplies which we have sent into Poland.

The moment any of our relief supplies are diverted from the channels for which they are intended our relief activities in Poland will stop, but we have been given no grounds for such action up to now.

MAURICE PATE, Vice-President,
Commission for Polish Relief
New York, October 28.

[We have attempted to obtain from L. G. J. substantiation of the information contained in her letter. Since we have been unable to reach her, we feel obliged to print Mr. Pate's protest.—EDITORS THE NATION.]

Today's Dred Scott Case

Dear Sirs: May we call the attention of the readers of *The Nation* to a case which the Solicitor General of New York State has called the "Dred Scott case of the twentieth century"? It involves a poor shoemaker, Rosario Chirillo, and his family in Westchester County, New York, who are fighting the attempts of relief authorities to deport them to Wooster, Ohio.

In January, 1939, Chirillo returned to his former residence of Mamaroneck, New York, to be near his married children. He earned a livelihood until September, when lack of work forced him to apply for relief. After the first few relief checks he was told that he was not eligible for relief because he had not lived in the community twelve months prior to his application, and that he must return to Ohio. When he refused, the Welfare Department obtained a court order to compel the Chirillos to move to Ohio. Counsel for the Workers' Defense League, representing them, has appealed to the highest state court on the ground that the law is unconstitutional.

A victory for us in this case will establish firmly that the United States is one nation and not forty-eight with barriers against one another's citizens. Our able attorneys are contributing their services, but funds are urgently needed to meet the heavy cost of printing the briefs. They should be sent to the Workers' Defense League, 112 East Nineteenth Street, New York.

DAVID L. CLENDENIN,
National Secretary-Treasurer,
Workers' Defense League
New York, November 2

Fifth-Column Industrialists

Dear Sirs: In ferreting out fifth columnists let us not terrorize callow blond farm youths of German parentage, but rather scrutinize the activities of the men who, from their lucrative places on the directorates of banks and of oil, mining, and other corporations, wave the American flag with one hand while with the other they receive profits from alien exploitation and control of basic American industries.

The upheaval of the first World War revealed the extent to which foreign interests had penetrated in the control of American metals, for example. A single instance, that of copper, will suffice to demonstrate this point. In 1917 three American copper concerns were found to be active affiliates of German interests. In the case of the American Metal Company, with an issued capitalization of $7,000,000, control of $3,336,000, or nearly 50 per cent, was vested in the Metallgesellschaft of Frankfurt-am-Main and Aaron Hirsch of Halberstadt, working through the false front of the United States Smelting, Refining, and Mining Company. In 1918 the German concern of Vogelstein and Company, using the same American affiliate as a smoke screen, controlled a yearly output of copper of 50,000,000 pounds from American mines.

In a book entitled "Political and Commercial Geology" (1920, McGraw-Hill Company) Professor J. E. Spurr showed that since American capital owns American mines, smelters, and refineries, the Germans were able to obtain this amazing control only through a systematic and persistent building up of selling concerns, which later developed close working agreements with copper refineries. Today it behooves us to be alert and see to it that American copper producers enter into no secret agreements with aliens.

The real fifth-column danger derives from this seizure of American resources by camouflaged holding companies with the traitorous connivance of American capitalists ready to sell their country's security for gold. Jay Franklin's description of the finding of French soldiers with their bodies riddled by French iron sold to Germany by the "hundred families" of France's economic hierarchy may yet find its parallel in American experience if circumstances force us into battle against Hitler's legions.

DONALD P. BEARD
Kansas City, Mo., November 1

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AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

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The Shape of Things

THE BEST EVIDENCE OF GREEK SUCCESS IN checking the Italian drive is the complete absence of news from Rome about the campaign apart from an announcement of a shake-up in the high command of the army in Albania. It would be unwise to overplay the extent of the setback which Mussolini's legions have suffered, but it is possible to draw some conclusions about its immediate consequences. The most important result is the shattering of Italian hopes of imitating the German victory in Poland and forcing the capitulation of Greece within a few weeks. Before General Ubaldu Soddu can regain the offensive he will have to reorganize his forces, and meanwhile the onset of winter will strongly reinforce the mountain defense line. But in the sunny islands of the Aegean the British will have time to establish their new air and naval bases, from which they already are launching punishing raids on Italy. A further consequence of Greece's vigorous resistance is the stiffening it affords to the morale of Turkey, Yugoslavia, and other threatened countries. Meanwhile Germany is holding singularly aloof from the Italian campaign. Did Hitler disapprove of his partner's adventure, which is an obvious attempt to compensate for the German *Gleichschaltung* of Rumania? And is he hoping that Italy will run into so much trouble that Mussolini will be compelled to appeal for Nazi assistance and pay a heavy price for it?

*

GENERAL WEYGAND, SENT TO NORTH AFRICA to organize its defense, seems to be carrying out his task in a way displeasing to the Nazis and their Vichy satellites. They intended him to keep out the British and break any "Free French" movement, but he appears to regard his duty as including the prevention of any effort to disrupt the French empire for the benefit of the Axis powers. He is now reported to be sitting tight in Algiers and ignoring orders to return to France. His attitude helps to explain the lack of progress in Laval's negotiations with Germany.

IF NEVILLE CHAMBERLAIN HAD DIED FIVE years ago he would have rated a minor place in history as an able administrator and social reformer. As it is, he seems doomed to long remembrance as one of the unhappiest misfits who ever occupied 10 Downing Street. He was not a bad man, and he genuinely sought peace and worked hard to achieve it. But because he was ignorant, obstinate, and unimaginative he led his country straight into war. It was not his failure alone but that of the class which he represented—a class so intent on maintaining its privileges, so obsessed with its fears of Bolshevism, that it entirely missed the revolutionary implications of Nazism. Chamberlain himself, even after he had listened personally to Hitler's ravings and submitted under threats to the humiliation of Munich, still failed to realize the extent of Nazi ambitions and the utter futility of appeasement. He came back really believing he had secured "peace for our time" and basked in the plaudits of a people he had deluded as he had deluded himself. That was the apotheosis of appeasement, of the sabotage of collective security which began when Japan invaded Manchuria. Step by step the British Tories under the leadership of Earl Baldwin and Neville Chamberlain broke up the hopeful machinery of the League of Nations, while always expressing devotion to the spirit of Geneva. They won the 1935 general election by promises to strengthen collective security while at the same time they quietly jettisoned sanctions against Italy. So Ethiopia was sacrificed, then Spain, then Czechoslovakia, by the men who made war inevitable because they dared take no risks for peace. Today the personal tragedy of Neville Chamberlain is being stressed, but death does not remove the disastrous consequences of failure. No British imperialist, except perhaps Lord North, ever did so much to undermine the British Empire.

*

JOHN L. LEWIS, THE "GREAT PROFILE" OF the labor stage, whose career in more recent months might be described under the heading from Hamlet to ham, is due to take his own cue next week at Atlantic City and retire as head of the C. I. O. We hope there will be no hitch in the performance, but the Communist claque

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which has become his main support is bound to bring out all their mechanical noisemakers to persuade the convention that Lewis is indispensable. They will fight hard, not because of their loyalty to Lewis but because his elimination will be the first step toward peace with the A. F. of L., which in turn will be the first step toward elimination of the Communist Party as an influence in a united labor movement. Knowing their talent for persistence and intrigue, we may expect fireworks, but we hope Lewis will show one last evidence of good judgment by carrying out his promise. Otherwise the C. I. O. itself will be split. In particular we hope that Philip Murray will not join the forces of persuasion. The welfare of the C. I. O. and not personal loyalty to John L. Lewis should be his first consideration.

*

THE A. F. OF L. WILL BE MEETING IN NEW Orleans during the same week. A preliminary pronouncement by John P. Frey indicates that the question of racketeering is on the agenda. This is good news, and we hope the A. F. of L. will curb its autonomania to the extent of making it clear that racketeers cannot practice their peculiar form of autonomy on unions carrying charters from the federation.

*

THE SCRAP IRON AND STEEL INSTITUTE IS complaining that the principal effect of the embargo on the sale of scrap to Japan is an increase in the sale of semi-finished and finished steel to the same country. The institute, of course, wants the embargo lifted. We think the answer is to extend it to semi-finished and finished steel. Our steel companies, with huge backlogs of orders on hand, cannot possibly meet American and British needs with necessary speed. Why should they be selling steel at this time to Japan? Most shocking of all is the revelation that the Japanese are placing orders here for armorplate. Armorplate is one of the principal bottlenecks of the defense program. That two-ocean navy is likely to be long delayed by the fact that our facilities for the manufacture of armorplate are dangerously insufficient. Yet an official of the Scrap Iron and Steel Institute says "the Japanese have inquired for and placed tonnages of plates for warships and merchant vessels." Heavy shipments of machine tools, of which there is likewise a shortage, are also going to Japan. Inquiry about the reported shipment of 3,000 tons of machine tools on the Tokai Maru from New York on October 8 brought a strange answer in Washington. The Washington *Daily News* was told there was no strict embargo on machine tools because "it is a question of how far we should go in risking unfriendliness with any country." It seems rather late in the day to talk of "risking unfriendliness" with Japan.

THE REASONING OF THE SUPREME COURT in the Apex sitdown-strike decision has led the United States Circuit Court of Appeals in New York to sit down hard on the government's revival of six-year-old indictments against the leadership of the Fur Workers' Union. Judge Learned Hand, for a unanimous bench, reversed the convictions of Ben Gold, Irving Potash, and their nine codefendants under the Sherman Act on the ground that the Supreme Court in the Apex case had "repudiated" earlier interpretations of that statute. Under those earlier interpretations, which Thurman Arnold has sought to resurrect, a unionization campaign could itself be a "restraint of trade" punishable under the anti-trust laws. The offense of which the fur workers' leaders had been found guilty in the District Court was "restraint of trade" in furs between New York City and Newark. The restraint occurred in the course of a campaign to organize three non-union shops in Newark in 1932. But the Supreme Court in the Apex case made it clear that "restraint of trade" under the anti-trust laws is "restraint of trade" in the common-law sense and applies to attempts to limit *commercial* competition but not to such restraint as may occur in the course of ordinary trade-union activities. The Circuit Court, following this line of reasoning, reversed the furrier convictions, for Gold, Potash, and their fellows were not trying to restrict commercial competition but to unionize an industry.

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IN AUGUST, UNDER A LETTER OF INTENT issued by the War Department, Henry Ford began the erection of a plane-engine factory at River Rouge. This will soon be completed. The government and Ford are still negotiating the question of how the cost of the plant shall be paid. In the meantime, the Defense Commission has awarded Ford a contract to build some 3,000 engines in the new factory. Their total cost will be $122,323,020. The Defense Commission waited, discreetly, until the day after election to announce the contract, for it goes to one of our outstanding violators of the Wagner Act, and it contains no provision requiring Ford to obey the labor law. Six NLRB orders are now outstanding against Ford, and one—involving his main factory at Dearborn—has been upheld by the Circuit Court of Appeals. A stipulation providing for observance of the Wagner Act was written into the International Shoe Company contract recently after a protest by the United Shoe Workers. But the Ford contract contains only stipulations requiring the company to live up to the Walsh-Healey Act. The presence of these stipulations, of course, is no guaranty of observance; in fact, the United Shoe Workers assert that they are a dead letter in their contract. But their inclusion in the Ford contract would at least show that the Defense Commission intends to honor its repeated pledges that labor laws will be enforced on defense.

THE TEST-TUBE REVOLUTION GOES ON APACE. A new synthetic material, Cordura, to be used in the making of automobile tires is described in the news edition of the American Chemical Society. It is made of cellulose which is derived from cotton but also from other sources; it is specially made for building tires and has several advantages over the cotton fiber now in use. Under load, the rayon fiber lengthens gradually, while cotton fiber does not. The tensile strength of Cordura becomes greater as it gets dry; that of cotton decreases. As the temperature goes up, the strength of Cordura becomes as much as thirty times that of cotton. Here are figures on performance: The best cotton tire is worn out at 21,000 miles; Cordura is still in good condition at 52,000. Run at 80 degrees Fahrenheit a cotton tire is useless after 6,000 miles; Cordura is in good condition at 20,000. Run at 106 degrees, the comparative mileages are 600 and 18,000. It is also reported that a set of Cordura tires has actually been driven more than 100,000 miles. Cordura will arouse resistance in the sales room. More serious, it will cut down further the outlets for cotton. A few years ago the social-minded Rust brothers, having invented a cotton-picking machine, took steps to insure that it would not increase the already serious economic dislocation in the South. It becomes more and more clear that we must devise some form of social control whereby the miracles of the test-tube revolution may be released without bringing hardship in their train.

Molotov in Berlin

NAZI diplomatic technique requires negotiations to be completed entirely under cover and to be followed by a much-publicized conference which proceeds to reach unanimous agreement with miraculous speed. Thus the efficiency of the "new order" is demonstrated. If this pattern has been followed in the case of Russia, Molotov's visit to Berlin suggests that the horse-trading is over and he has come to sign on the dotted line.

It is significant that on this occasion Berlin is the scene of action. In August, 1939, when Hitler had favors to ask and Russia was in a position to command a high price for its neutrality, von Ribbentrop flew to Moscow. This time Hitler is not making requests but demands, and he is able to summon the Russian emissary to his capital. The change is symptomatic of the relative decline in Soviet power vis-à-vis Germany in the past fourteen months. In spite of the huge territorial and strategic gains which Russia has achieved, it is far less able to resist German threats than it was before the war started. For there is now no western front, and if Hitler wished to strike at the Ukraine, he could leave a holding force in France and the Low Countries and switch the bulk of his army to the east. Were he to do so, there is good reason to believe that his *Panzer* divisions would rapidly overrun a large part of western Russia. Confidence in his ability to cripple the Red Army before Britain could organize an offensive in the west is Hitler's trump card, and Stalin knows it.

The Soviets, however, still have a nuisance value, for there is no doubt that, provided his terms are met, Hitler would prefer to finish with Britain before he tackles Russia. It has always been his endeavor to take on one enemy at a time. So we can imagine that German demands on the Kremlin have been sweetened with the honeyed accents of friendship and sugar-coated with bribes. It is not very hard to guess the nature of these demands. In the first place, Hitler wants Russia to make the recent tripartite pact effective by reaching a nonaggression agreement with Japan. This would enable the latter to turn south toward the Dutch East Indies, threatening the British Empire in the rear and keeping the United States preoccupied in the Pacific. Japan is clearly eager for an understanding with Russia and probably willing to pay a fairly high price for it. However, it is looking to German pressure on Moscow to keep Russia's terms within bounds.

Germany's second requirement is the assistance of the Soviets in clearing a passage across the Dardanelles. Turkey has adopted a very firm line in the face of the Axis advance into the Balkans and has refused to abandon its British alliance. It has not gone actively to the aid of Greece, but its armies stand ready to prevent Bulgaria from stabbing Greece in the back. Still worse, they block the way into Asia Minor, which is the only available route by which German land power can outflank British sea power. In making this stand Turkey has been acting on the assumption that Russia, equally concerned with keeping the straits out of German hands, would give it tacit if not open support. What Hitler wants, therefore, is Russian pressure on Turkey to force the Turks to come to heel. In return, it has been suggested, he is willing to offer Russia a free hand in Iran and an opportunity to win access to the waters of the Indian Ocean. As a bribe this would be doubly advantageous, for not only is it at the cost of a third party but also, if accepted, it would provide still another worry for Britain.

Proposals such as these will not be easy for Russia to swallow, for they will leave its strategic position in relation to Germany seriously undermined. It is possible, therefore, that Molotov will stall for time, especially now that the disastrous earthquake in Rumania has introduced an unexpected complication for the Nazis. The full extent of the damage is not yet known, but reports of extensive destruction in the oil fields suggest that Russian oil may now command a higher premium than ever. Dislocation of the transport system may also hinder for a time any German move either east or south from the new Rumanian base. In short, this act of God comes as a hard blow to a man who, but forty-eight hours before, had claimed to be under the special protection of Providence, but it may well rejoice the atheist watchers in the Kremlin.

Election Profit and Loss

THE heat of the Roosevelt-Willkie campaign melted contests for lesser office into an insignificance which they hardly deserved. The election of a new House of Representatives and 36 Senators, not to mention numerous state and municipal officials, has an obvious importance in its own right. Beyond that it may be viewed as a kind of scientific control which serves to check or correct the estimate of public opinion revealed by the Presidential vote. Even allowing for the strong tendency of a victorious Presidential candidate to carry along the bulk of his ticket, the results of the 1940 Congressional elections afford scant nourishment for the anti-liberal forces of the country.

Of the 36 Senatorial contests, the Democrats won 22 and the Republicans 13, the remaining one being La Follette's narrow victory on the Progressive ticket in Wisconsin. Not counting Shipstead's abandonment of the Farmer-Labor emblem for that of the G. O. P., the elections produced only five switches in the party line-up of the Senate. Illinois, Indiana, Nebraska, and Ohio elected Republicans to replace Democrats, while the reverse process took place in Delaware. This gives the Republicans the trifling gain of three seats, two of them representing states that were carried by Willkie, and leaves the Democrats with a majority of 36. In the House the Democrats increased their majority by 10 seats.

We are not inclined glibly to equate a Democratic victory with a triumph for liberalism, and we find a few of the results of the 1940 elections rather unpalatable. We regret the loss of three Congressmen who have been particularly good on labor legislation: Reuben T. Wood, Missouri A. F. of L. official who aroused the antagonism of William Green by his determined fight on the Smith amendments; Frank W. Fries, Illinois Democrat and member of the United Mine Workers, and Kent E. Keller, like Wood a member of the House Labor Committee. The defeat of Senator Minton robbed the Administration of a powerful supporter, and the reelection of Representatives Clare Hoffman and M. L. Sweeney does their respective states no honor.

More than outweighing these losses, however, were La Follette's reelection, Senator Mead's victory over Bruce Barton, and the elevation to the Senate of Abe Murdock, who shamed his colleagues on the Smith committee by his forthrightness and judicial bearing. Further gains were recorded in the reelection of Representatives Healey (co-author of the Walsh-Healey Act), Voorhis, Hook, Welsh, Leavy, Coffee, Boland, O'Day, and others with similarly good legislative records. Of the 116 Democrats who voted against the Smith amendments to the Wagner Act, only 10 were defeated. On the other hand, the primaries lopped off Senators Holt and Burke and rid the House of the notorious Mr. Thorkelson; and two of the most virulent opponents of the Wagner Act, Representative Anderson, of Missouri, and Routzohn, of Ohio, were defeated at the polls. The sustained strength of the Administration in all parts of the country, as reflected in the Congressional contests, makes an even sorrier thing of the pathetic post-mortem now advanced by Willkie diehards to the effect that their hero would have won but for the unfortunate geographical distribution of a few hundred thousand votes.

A Mellon in the Manger

THE St. Lawrence River falls 224 feet on its 1,200-mile journey from Lake Ontario to the Atlantic. It is the most even stream on the continent; the variations between its maximum and minimum flow, a crucial factor in power development, are slight. Waiting to be harnessed in the steady pour of the St. Lawrence's waters is the greatest source of hydroelectric power on the North American continent. Most of this great river lies in Canada, but the United States shares ownership of the turbulent International Rapids section between Ogdensburg and Massena, New York. Along these forty-nine miles, the river falls ninety-two feet, and here electricity could be developed at a cost of little more than one-tenth of a cent per kilowatt hour, a fraction of the cost of generating power by steam.

Modern warfare depends in large part on the electrochemical and electro-metallurgical industries, and these in turn are dependent, as their name implies, on electric power. In New York State, within reach of St. Lawrence power, are raw materials for some of the most important of these industries. These include four billion tons of magnetite and homatite iron ores, of which a billion tons rank with the purest in the world; billions of tons of pyrites for the production of sulphuric acid; the finest and most extensive deposits of salt in the country, assuring unlimited supplies of sodium and chlorine; excellent deposits of graphite and zinc. Other raw materials of war and industry could be readily and cheaply transported to the power sites via the Great Lakes–St. Lawrence waterway. Development of the International Rapids for power would also clear them for navigation. Thus the power project and the waterway are interconnected, and the two combined represent a mighty potential addition to America's defense and industrial development.

The struggle to unlock the potentialities of the St. Lawrence Valley, which has now been going on for more than a generation, has been a struggle between the people of the United States and of Canada on the one hand and the enormous political and economic power of the Aluminum Company of America on the other. The price of power is a major factor in the price of aluminum; the maintenance of the one is essential to the maintenance of the other. Mellon's giant monopoly in what has become one of the basic materials of modern industry and modern war stands like a colossus across the Canadian-American border, with a firm grip not only on the St. Lawrence but on its tributaries, the St. Maurice and the Saguenay, and on the Niagara, at the other end of Lake Ontario. The Aluminum Company of America has exercised a veto over every power project in this great area on both sides of the border. Where the Aluminum Company could get its way, power was developed. "Where the threat of public development," the New York Power Authority said some years ago, "assured the possibility of competition with its power and aluminum monopolies, the development was blocked." Mellon's millions had their way.

Mr. Roosevelt has precipitated the fight again by allocating $1,000,000 from the $200,000,000 special defense fund given him by Congress, to pay the cost of a preliminary engineering survey. And the Mellon interests, with their Niagara-Hudson (Morgan) power allies, have launched another propaganda campaign against the development of the St. Lawrence. The Aluminum Company must have its profits and its monopoly, let defense suffer as it may. The coal interests are being mobilized by the fear of cheap power, New York port interests by their fear of a waterway. Railroads and railroad labor are being told that they would suffer from the competition of the new seaway. American manufacturers and shipowners are being confronted with the bogy of enhanced foreign competition. All the musty arguments that were used by toll roads against canals and by canals against railroads are being resurrected in an effort to convince the American people that they would be harmed, somehow, by cheaper transportation, cheaper power, cheaper production costs, and a cheaper bill for defense. *The Nation* intends to return to the subject of the St. Lawrence and to discuss the musty arguments being brought forward. At this time it wishes to stress only one point. A major defense program will transform the St. Lawrence from a question of cheaper power to one of *sufficient* power. St. Lawrence power will soon be a necessity. The Aluminum Company and its allies would like to control that necessity and impose a heavy price on its use. Congress, which will face this issue very soon, must decide whether it is primarily concerned with the defense of the Aluminum Company or with the defense of the United States.

Unity for What?

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

THE formula of national unity was stated intelligently and magnanimously on the day after the elections by speakers at the meeting held at Carnegie Hall in New York by the Council for Democracy. It has been put forward in varying terms by most of the newspapers in the country, including many which supported the candidacy of Wendell Willkie. Stripped of rhetoric and qualifications, the formula is this: Our democracy is in danger. It is threatened by one of the strongest military tyrannies in history. We can defend it only if we stand together, putting aside domestic animosities, and striving as one man to build a nation unassailable by any outside force.

Many of the supporters of unity take pains to point out that they favor continued political opposition so long as it is patriotic in its purposes and honest in its methods. As Dorothy Thompson said in a recent column, "We need to say to the opposition, 'Cheer up, you're among friends.' And prove it." An engaging plea for political conflict in the midst of crisis is made by Jonathan Daniels in his page in this issue. Mr. Daniels defends the old American custom of political vituperation; he believes in the creativeness of controversy; he believes that unity itself draws vitality from the ancient freedom to disagree.

I find myself curiously disturbed by this whole discussion. I find myself shying off from a concept of unity untethered to events and policies. The eloquence at Carnegie Hall left me both exalted and confused. Even the common-sense distinctions put forward by Mr. Daniels and Miss Thompson fail to wipe out my doubts.

If the sort of world in which I shall care to live is to survive, certain changes must be swiftly effected and certain acts must be performed. If they are not attended to soon, the struggle that this nation is engaged in will be lost, and it will be lost for the whole world. And so a concept of unity which blurs the issues on which the struggle is being waged is not a source of national strength but a threat to it. Only a unity consciously and militantly dedicated to the end for which democrats are fighting on this planet has value or should be encouraged. Any other concept is smeared with a dangerous Hitlerian mysticism.

What we must unite upon is a bold program of democratic advance. It must be founded in a determination to prevent the domination of our social and political life by powerful private interests. It must include a sharp analysis of the ways by which fascist intervention proceeds to wreck a democratic state. It must demand uncompromising action against such intervention. It must encourage the most efficient and self-effacing collaboration between democratic elements; building a front to which anti-fascists of all parties and nationalities can repair. It must defend social gains as the best basis for a strong national defense. It must insist that representatives of the broadest social groups be drawn into the political general staff. It must insist that representatives of narrow private interests be required to conform to a policy of genuine democratic control, and that the private interests themselves be held to rigid standards of public service.

And beyond such matters of domestic organization lie the issues of the struggle itself. This struggle is not only or even primarily an international war. It is a revolutionary conflict which is being fought simultaneously across national lines and inside each nation. Our recent election was a reflection of the conflict with many of its ugly symptoms hardly concealed. At this point I want to quote a few lines from an article by H. G. Wells which you will read on a later page of this issue. Mr. Wells is discussing the new world order. He says:

> It is now urgent to replace not only our national sovereign states but also our competitive and wasteful economic exploitations by a more highly organized method. To achieve a progressive world organization as speedily as possible, before extinction overtakes us, is therefore the primary problem. . . . Everything rests on our ability to solve that. Unless we are clear about that, not merely world peace but the survival of our species in its present form is just futile aspiration. . . .
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> Organized world peace and welfare mean such a revolution in human life as will dwarf all previous revolutions to comparative insignificance. They mean such a universal scrapping of time-honored institutions as mankind has never faced hitherto.

These words are worth pondering when we consider the proposals for political unity which today brighten the pages of the press. If you believe Wells is basically right, as I do, you will think twice about the value of such indiscriminate gestures of reconciliation as "putting Willkie in the Cabinet." And you will flatly oppose other suggested measures of appeasement—an end to new reforms, concessions to business—which are being urged upon the President in the interests of an undivided front.

The election was not a football game; and its rivalries are not to be wiped out by getting together afterward over a mug of beer to sing "For He's a Jolly Good Fellow." That technique is in the American tradition, but the tradition is an adolescent one. Today a harder mind and a more severe judgment are called for. The fact is that unity is valuable only if it is genuine, and it is genuine only if it springs from common effort in a common cause. The boys in the Willkie clubs are not to be put down as enemies of democracy; but neither are they to be brought into the democratic camp by promises to water down democracy.

That has been tried. It was tried in England until the genuine divisions of policy and loyalty in the "united" Chamberlain Cabinet well-nigh delivered the country into the hands of the Nazis. It was tried in France: unity was the slogan even when reactionaries and Communists were sabotaging the war and Hitler's troops were moving across the border. In each case the underlying meaning of the war was played down in the mistaken idea that only by ignoring unpleasant realities could the nation present an appearance of solidarity.

The only sort of unity that can be trusted to endure the strain of these coming days must emerge from a clear formulation in Washington of the issues of the world struggle. On such a basis might be built a genuine united front of all elements that can reasonably be expected to work together. Some of those elements can doubtless be drawn from among the more liberal supporters of Wendell Willkie; there may be many a Patterson or a Stimson in the ranks of the Crusaders. But in that united front there will be no room for the reactionaries and bigots and appeasers who were with Willkie to a man. In this struggle they are to be kept on the other side of the political barricades.

CONTENTS

THE SHAPE OF THINGS 461
EDITORIALS:
- MOLOTOV IN BERLIN 463
- ELECTION PROFIT AND LOSS 464
- A MELLON IN THE MANGER 464
- UNITY FOR WHAT? by Freda Kirchwey 465

THE PRESS LOSES THE ELECTION by I. F. Stone 467
FIGHT, CHEAT, OR YIELD by H. G. Wells 468
THE BATTLE FOR TIN by Edsel Kelly 472
QUID PRO QUIZ by George Joel 474
WITHIN THE GATES 475
IN THE WIND 476
A NATIVE AT LARGE by Jonathan Daniels 477
BOOKS AND THE ARTS:
- THE LATE PINE TOP SMITH by Preston Newman 478
- AN EXAMPLE FOR CRITICS by Morton Dauwen Zabel 478
- SOLDIERS FOR A PEOPLE'S WAR by Keith Hutchison 479
- LOST PLAYS by Joseph Wood Krutch 480
- LIFAR ON DIAGHILEV by Lincoln Kirstein 481
- THE PHILOSOPHY OF PEIRCE by Eliseo Vivas 483
- IN BRIEF 485
- ART: MURALS IN THE FUTURE by Paul Rosenfeld 485
- RECORDS by B. H. Haggin 486

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The Press Loses the Election

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, November 11

THERE is deep resentment here against the press. Part of it is due to a post-election peeve. The campaign was a dirty one, and the winners forget that so was almost every other Presidential campaign in our history and that they gave as well as they got. Part of the anti-newspaper feeling in Administration circles is due to the misrepresentation to which New Dealers have been subjected since 1933. It causes them to feel at times a maddened exasperation about as logical as the fury of a bear which has been bitten by a bee.

Secretary Ickes provided an example at the press conference he called last week to gloat over the contrast between the views of the country's newspapers and the verdict of their readers. The Secretary wanted to know why a newspaper should print an editorial for national unity on its front page and yet carry inside "as bitter an attack by a columnist as can be written on the President and the President's family." Presumably the paper to which he referred was the Washington *Post*. The columnist was Pegler. Secretary Ickes—I hope—did not intend to imply that the *Post* should have dropped Pegler's column, but he certainly sounded as if he did, and when his interlocutor goaded him to it, the Secretary said he didn't think a newspaper to be free had to print sewage. Here the New Deal's doughtiest laid himself wide open. The press will not be made freer by encouraging publishers to censor their columnists.

The problem of the press in its main outlines is well enough understood. To exercise freedom of speech one needs only vocal chords. It is not necessary to buy a cathedral in order to enjoy freedom of worship. But freedom of the press is the inalienable birthright only of an American who can lay his hands on a million dollars. The Constitution gives every American the right to own a newspaper, as it gives every American the right to own a diamond tiara. The problem of the press is one facet of the monopoly problem. No one denies that freedom of the press is precious. Many New Dealers feel that it is too precious to be left in the hands of so few people. Six chains control roughly one-fifth of the total newspaper circulation of the country, and most of the press faithfully records the *vox populi* of the country clubs. The election returns show the widening rift between the common people and the press. Secretary Ickes cited the results of a survey which *Editor and Publisher* may wish it had never made. This showed that Mr. Roosevelt was elected in 1932 with the support of 40 per cent of our daily press; in 1936, with the support of 36 per cent; this year, with less than 23 per cent behind him.

These figures, which lump little rural sheets with huge metropolitan organs, actually exaggerate the extent of Mr. Roosevelt's journalistic support. In terms of circulation I doubt whether more than 16 per cent of daily-newspaper circulation backed the President for reelection. I know of only eleven dailies of considerable size north of the Mason and Dixon Line which were for Roosevelt. They are the Springfield (Massachusetts) *Republican*, the *News*, *Post*, and *P. M.* of New York, the Philadelphia *Record*, the Camden (New Jersey) *Courier-Post*, the Chicago *Times*, the *Post-Dispatch* and *Star-Times* of St. Louis, the Kansas City *Journal*, and the Los Angeles *News*. Only two northern chains supported the President—the McClatchy press in California's central valley and J. David Stern's Philadelphia-Camden combination. Nor was the solid South solid journalistically. The only big paper supporting Roosevelt in Tennessee was the Nashville *Tennessean;* the only one in Kentucky was the Louisville *Courier-Journal*. None of the papers in San Antonio, Dallas, Houston, Memphis, or New Orleans supported Roosevelt. The election results are hardly a testimonial to the power of the press.

Not that the newspapers didn't do their best. An analysis of how five leading pro-Willkie papers allotted their space during the campaign shows how hard they worked to elect their candidate. The papers studied were the New York *Times*, the Chicago *Tribune*, the Pittsburgh *Post-Gazette*, the Rochester *Times-Union*, and the Los Angeles *Times*. In the aggregate, on two typical days in October, they gave 2,243 inches of space to Republican material, 348 inches to Democratic. In percentages of total space devoted to both, this gave Willkie 86.6 per cent and Roosevelt 13.4 per cent. The New York *Times* and the Rochester *Times-Union*, a Frank Gannett paper, were the fairest of these five. They actually gave the President and his party a third of the space devoted to politics, only two-thirds of it to Willkie. This by comparison was high-minded and magnanimous. The Chicago *Tribune*, the worst of the five, gave Willkie 96 per cent of the space; Roosevelt, 4 per cent. The dossiers of the New Deal, which takes a masochistic pleasure in following the press, are full of horrid examples culled from the past campaign. Perhaps the most amusing was the protective censorship exercised by the New York *Times* over its own candidate. Last June 4 *Look* published an article by Willkie suggesting that Roosevelt run for a third term. The *Times* refused to take an advertisement about the article from the National Committee of Independent Voters for Roosevelt and Wallace.

A good deal of nonsense about the past appears in attacks on the press. Newspapers today are probably edited with more decorum and fairness than formerly. Jefferson's devotion to a free press met its test in *Federalist* scurrility. Jackson and Lincoln were treated more harshly than Roosevelt. Bad as the propaganda against the New Deal has been, it has never fallen quite so low as that to which Bryan was treated in 1896. Unfortunately the best that can be said for most of our newspapers is that they are not as unfair as they once were. They are not the medium they ought to be for the discussion and debate of the great issues before us. These issues center about the need to subordinate the rights of big property to the public good and the national safety. It is hard for the owners of newspapers to consider objectively changes that would cut down their own power and privileges and those of the minority for whom they speak. How to curb their power without curbing freedom of expression is a problem so ticklish that few politicians have the courage to discuss it even in private. Some of the suggestions that bubble up in conversation here from time to time make a newspaperman shudder: a "Pure Food and Drug Act for newspapers," administered by a kind of Pontius Pilate commission to determine what is true; non-partisan boards in each community to advise editors; the old Minton brainstorm of three years ago—a law to forbid the transportation of falsehoods in interstate commerce. There is hope that perhaps some day the men who write the newspapers may share control with the men who own them. There is some but not much talk of a government newspaper as a kind of yardstick in the field of the press. The radio is looked to hopefully as a check on the newspapers.

The New Deal is prepared to surrender much to prevent an open fight, but I hope there will be a limit to its patience. The press is still the principal means of free discussion. No government is good enough to be trusted with its control. But control of the press by a few wealthy individuals or corporations may be just as unwholesome.

Fight, Cheat, or Yield

BY H. G. WELLS

IS PEACE POSSIBLE NOW?

THE world is full of warfare. In Britain we are spending six million pounds a day, I gather, on the war. And in spite of anything that that sincere supporter of the present monetary system, Mr. Maynard Keynes, may say or do, this means bankruptcy and inflation within a measurable time. In a little while we may find money in our pockets that will practically buy nothing. So far as I can see, all the gold in the world is gravitating now to the vaults of the United States of America. When it is all safely interred there, America may be considered to have won the Gold Standard game. I presume that then the rest of the world will have to work out a new system for exchanging labor and commodities. For we shall still have our hands, our heads, our land, and our raw materials.

How to reanimate that land and those materials is likely to be a difficult and contentious process. It is a matter that our experts in business management should be attending to now, most urgently. They should be making schemes for barter and a new and independent exchange system. So far as I know, nothing of the sort is being done, and in our careless British fashion we are likely to be caught by this problem unawares, and undergo all the stress and suffering that unpreparedness entails. Not only here but all over Europe a progressive social disorganization is plainly apparent; day by day we can see things getting worse, education being disorganized and demoralized, the standard of living sinking, freedom dwindling. The first question, therefore, we have to put to ourselves is: Is it possible to get any peace now? What sort of peace can we possibly have at the present time?

We still read speeches and articles advocating a peace settlement now. But ask these writers, "Is it a peace that would allow us to disarm?" and they will say, "No, we must keep armed to the teeth." Is it a peace that would lift in any way that apprehension of sudden attack which hangs over all the world today? No, such a peace is inconceivable at present. Anything you could call a peace would be so insecure that it would still cost six million pounds a day and do nothing material to arrest the progressive disorder of our lives. The balloon barrage would still have to stay in the sky and the troops under arms. Such a peace would be a mere technical change of no practical importance at all. Instead of being technically at war as we are now, we should be technically at peace, as China and Japan are at peace now. When England and France declared war last September, they started something that it is going to be very difficult to stop.

So let us ask: What is the real nature of this strange, new-fashioned war which we are so incapable of ending in any effective way? Obviously, we cannot make any hopeful plans for restoring order to the world until we know the real nature of its disorder. Do we know—are we clear on this matter? I suggest we are not. We are all ridiculously at sixes and sevens, because so many people who set up to be leaders of thought prefer to be eloquent and demonstrative when they ought to think. What, in the broadest terms, is happening to the world?

WHAT ARE WE FIGHTING AGAINST?

I ask: Are we fighting against anything definite at all? You will hear it constantly repeated that this is "a war of ideologies." You will hear about the totalitarian state, National Socialism, Bolshevism; and you will hear it stated and implied that these are new and more complicated methods of state organization that are coming into existence, that the "individual" is to be subordinated to these new elaborate state systems, and that the present struggle is a struggle to preserve our individual freedom and self-respect from envelopment in this serpent of the totalitarian state.

Either this is true or it is not true. I submit that it is not true. I am going to ask a very simple question indeed: Do any of these states really exist at all? Is there such a thing as a totalitarian state in being? Is there a National Socialist state? Is there now anything in the nature of a working system that you can call Bolshevism? Is there any sort of definite working social organization anywhere corresponding to any of these words?

If these things are in existence, if these alleged new and more elaborate state organizations are living realities in our world, then they must consist almost entirely of people who have definite places in them; people who have specific jobs; people who know they are safe if they do their jobs properly; people as sure in their actions as cogwheels in a watch, knowing clearly how they stand to one another, knowing clearly how this wonderful new organized state in which they live and move and have their being stands toward all the rest of the world. We must, in fact, be facing a higher and more complicated order, with a shape and a character and a mind of its own with which we can deal. It will have a character with which we can negotiate and upon which we can rely. Well, where is there such a living "ideology" in operation? Our politicians and journalists reach out in search of such a system, and do they find anything of the sort? I suggest that nowhere on earth do these things —totalitarianism, National Socialism, Bolshevism—exist, and that when the distinguished writers and radio talkers call this "a war of ideologies "they are talking nonsense.

Bolshevism, I admit, did at one time seem to contain the promise of a system of constructive ideas. Twenty years ago, when I had the privilege of talking to Lenin, I found that fine, valiant, and subtle intelligence entangled in the vast beard of Karl Marx, and doing its best to struggle out of that huge fuzz to real constructiveness. But he was learning the job from the ground up! He was reading Chiozza Money's "Electrification of Holland," and he was full of a scheme for the electrification of Russia—which rather overlooked the difference in the distances between centers in the two countries and the consequent cost in copper cables. I have described the talk I had with him in "Russia in the Shadows," and in that book you will find I foretold clearly the devastating danger of Marxist planlessness—planlessness and dogmatism. "Come again," said Lenin, "in ten years' time."

Six years ago I did go again to see what was happening in Russia, and then I had the privilege of talking to Stalin. That talk also is on record. I wanted to know the structure of the new society he was producing. What was its character, its spirit, its working organization? I had just come from America. The New Deal was being crippled in America for want of a competent civil service. What was Russia doing? I hoped rather than expected to find Russia one vast civil service falling into order. I found nothing of the sort. I found in Russia no development of any securely ordered society whatever, no system in which a man could do his job without fear, in which he knew where he stood, in which one man could trust another and speak fearlessly to him; no society in which there was any real developing social structure. In certain material particulars Russia had progressed with the rest of the world, but not nearly so fast as the rest of the world, and chiefly by importing American notions, tractors, and so forth. The only organization that had developed was the secret police and personal espionage. Russia was no more a new social order in 1934 than it had been in 1920. It was less so. It was plainly relapsing into autocracy.

Sir Nevile Henderson has told how he went to Germany to find a Germany with which this country could deal. And what sort of report did he bring back? Nothing but gossip about personalities—how he shot with Göring and gossiped with Goebbels, gossip and nothing else—and why? Because manifestly there was no National Socialist state there for him to deal with, nothing but forceful groups and individuals, incalculable because there was neither law nor ideal to control them. So far from any state or new order having triumphed over the individual, the truth manifest in his revelations is that groups and individuals had triumphed over any system whatever, and that National Socialism, like the totalitarian state, and like, I am afraid, Bolshevism at the present time, was just theoretical eyewash for a purely individualistic control.

The truth is not that the state has suppressed the individual in Germany but that forcible and entirely irresponsible individuals have captured the state. Trotsky, in his published denunciations of Stalin, bears witness to the same thing in Russia. He presents the government of Russia as Henderson presents the government of Germany, as entirely a handful of individuals, running amok in a steadily disintegrating community. That, I suggest, is the essential difficulty of our situation. There is nothing there to make peace with. You cannot make peace with disorder. Disaster, gang tyrannies, a collapse into a brigand world; that is what we fight against! And now let us ask ourselves what we are fighting for.

WHAT ARE WE FIGHTING FOR?

I ask now, what reality have we on our side, we who are fighting against these gangs of individuals who are professing to be new social systems? Are we so very different? What is this Western civilization of ours for which we are asked to take every conceivable risk, for which we are asked to make every possible sacrifice? There again we find people giving the most completely contradictory accounts of what we stand for. Surely we have to clear these contradictions out of the way? One account must be right and the rest wrong.

If you will read a booklet called "The British Case" (a government publication I commend to your most earnest study) you will learn that we are fighting not simply for the British Empire throughout the world but for the Christian religion. We are fighting a religious war for Catholicism. From this appalling document you will be able to judge how much our present government cares for the hardships of the Jews in the concentration camps or the restoration of slavery in Central Europe. The greater part of the British Empire, you will realize, is still, from the point of view of Lord Halifax and his associates, no more than "the lesser breeds within the law." Do we English as a main objective in this war really want to shove our religion down the throats of all mankind? This canting stuff is far below even the liberal British imperialism of the nineteenth century.

Yet we fight, and we fight with a sense of being right. What is it, then, that we fight for? I think most of us will be in agreement that we are fighting for something very much greater than any empire—something far beyond the cramped ideas of that dismal pamphlet, something we may all agree in speaking of as democratic civilization. We feel that we have a reality in that, a reality that justifies our appeal to world opinion. Manifestly, since we are all in this conflict, willy-nilly, it is of fundamental importance that we should have a clear idea of what this democratic civilization is. Have we got such an idea defined? If not, then if we are to have clear-headed cooperation, we must go on to that definition now.

You will encounter the most diverse statements about this democratic civilization of ours. And the curious thing is that all these diverse ideas have a certain plausibility. One man will say that democratic civilization is an expansion of medieval Christendom; another will present it as a natural development of the Graeco-Roman culture; Marxists will declare we are living in the last stages of the capitalist system; and others will talk of the peculiar geographical advantages of Britain or of Europe and the peculiar energy of the Northern peoples which gave our Western civilization the leadership of the world. I suggest to you that all these ideas have factors of truth in them, but that none of them is the whole truth; that the reality of our Western civilization is a vast complex of traditions, usages, rules, laws, dominations, and devices which at the opening of this present century did in effect dominate the whole world. It was, I suggest, a vast growth, a happy concatenation of accidents, containing no guaranty of its permanence. And now it has ceased to dominate the world.

One aspect of this dominant Western civilization of the nineteenth century was the universal validity of the gold sovereign. I would call your particular attention to that. When the history of our times comes to be written, I think historians will be disposed to call it the Gold Standard Age, or the Age of Investments. Prosperous people distributed their savings and felt sure of their dividends, levied their tribute, in fact, from China to Peru. With a passport and a letter of credit they could go in comparative freedom and safety all over the world. Throughout that phase, in spite of much social injustice and slums, sweating, exploitation, there was a working order in the world that gave a fortunate minority, but a considerable and increasing minority, security and a fairly hopeful life. There was real progress, and ample justification for optimism.

I won't attempt to analyze the forces that created this transient world domination, this Golden Age, of the investor. The repeated discovery of new gold deposits had a lot to do with it. But toward the end of the Victorian era something happened. That phase passed its climax. What happened? I suggest that what happened was that the huge complex of Westernized civilization began to fall to pieces through the operation of forces I will next consider, and also I suggest that nothing has yet appeared to restore or replace that complex. If so, then we are not faced with a conflict of two types of state or anything of that sort; we are in the presence of one single world system which is breaking down, and nothing whatever has appeared yet to set against this collapsing order.

And here I come to something still more vital and fundamental, about which I think all men of good-will ought to come to a common understanding. Either you have to declare what I am now going to say is misstated or altogether untrue or I do not see how you can avoid making it the basis of your interpretation of our difficulties. I encounter an extraordinary inability in earnest, peace-seeking people to incorporate this reality in their always amiable and earnest proposals. I do all I can to keep it before them. I write it in capital letters, I put it to them gently, and they smile and disregard it; I put it to them insultingly, and they seem pained by my manners and pass on. I cannot persuade them to treat it as the primary fact in our world problem. They are so saturated in an old-fashioned conception of history that they are impervious to new ideas. Why, I ask, will people go on discussing the riddle of peace in historical terms that are superseded?

The bedrock realities upon which all our ideas of social and political policy must now rest are, I assert, as follows: *A complete biological revolution has happened to our species. There has in the past half-century been a complete reversal of the conditions under which human beings have to live. A tremendous development of invention and discovery has swung us round, in less than half a century, from need to possible abundance, and from remoteness to unavoidable contact.*

One most obvious result of that development has been to bring all the people of the world together upon each other's doorsteps. This is spoken of generally as the abolition of distance, and this abolition of distance is something that has made every national sovereign state in the world too small for contemporary conditions. Let me repeat these words—they are too small for contemporary conditions. But there they are! There has also been an incredible increase in power and productive capacity. It is now a simple statement of fact that we could have a world of universal prosperity if we had peace. That was not true half a century ago. There has been a tremendous release of energy, and the present political, social, and economic organization of the world gives no scope for its utilization except in destructive violence and war.

It is not only mechanical energy that is set free but human energy of a most urgently restless type, in the form of great numbers of restless unemployed young men. These supply the driving force for the hooligan, the Nazi, Fascist, Communist, the I. R. A. movements that are everywhere tearing our social order to pieces, and until we find a way out of this incessant revolt and conflict that will turn this human energy into creative channels, matters will go on from bad to worse. We have to adapt ourselves to these new conditions or perish.

WE FIGHT FOR A NEW WORLD ORDER

This is the gist of the human problem. For consider: what we call war today is not war as history has known it. It is a different thing. Its destructive effect is immeasurably greater. It is now a truism that if we do not end war, war will end us.

Nor is the competitive hunt for profit and dividends the same tolerable process that it was in the past. I find that few people realize how much of our business exploitation today is a wastage of resources that can never be replaced. Few people realize the destructiveness of business competition nowadays. We are not only burning up our coal and our oil, and sweating and degrading the workers who are employed for that service, but we are rapidly stripping our planet of its forests, and so turning a wholesome, mitigated rainfall into an alternation of droughts and soil-destroying torrents. We are exterminating hundreds of precious and interesting species that can never be replaced and turning millions of acres of grassland into dusty deserts. All this is ascertainable fact. Unregulated competitive business, because of the new teeth and claws that invention and discovery have given it, is doing this.

We have power and more power, and everywhere it is being used to knock our world to pieces. That is why it is now urgent to replace not only our national sovereign states but also our competitive and wasteful economic exploitations by a more highly organized method. To achieve a progressive world organization as speedily as possible, before extinction overtakes us, is therefore the primary problem, about which Mr. Everyman—you and I—has to get his mind clear now. Everything rests on our ability to solve that. Unless we are clear about that, not merely world peace but the survival of our species in its present form is just futile aspiration.

We have to achieve the reorganization of the world as one continually progressive political, social, economic, and educational community, and embark upon the realization of the abundance and ever-fuller life for man that are now obtainable. Am I right in that? Or have you some other end in mind about which I know nothing? If so, will you tell me what that end is? Can you set up the universal peace and plenty that are now clearly possible on earth in any other way?

THE REAL "REVOLUTION"

Let me ask you now what the setting-up of one sovereign peace in the world and one general economic control means. I ask you not to be afraid of the word "revolution." Speak English. Don't think of revolution as an affair of street barricades, of heads on pikes, and of beautiful ladies in tumbrils going to the guillotine. Our "Glorious Revolution" in 1688 had none of these ingredients, and the revolution that established the Hanoverian Succession was practically bloodless. You can have a revolution without massacre or violence. But anyhow, I submit that organized world peace and welfare mean such a revolution in human life as will dwarf all previous revolutions to comparative insignificance. They mean such a universal scrapping of time-honored institutions as mankind has never faced hitherto.

Consider: man has always been a war-making animal. Our sovereign national governments arose as war-making organizations, and now we are proposing to set up one single *Pax* in the world. That is quite a fundamental change of front for humanity. How can we do that without either completely amalgamating all existing governments or reducing them to the position of ceremonial memories like Halloween or the Ancient Society of the Druids? I put it to you with the utmost deference that anyone who runs about now demanding permanent world peace and who is not prepared to scrap his own government and amalgamate the general control of political and economic life into a world-wide system is either muddle-headed or insincere, or both. This means the end of the British Empire quite as much as the end of German imperialism. You have to face it.

In other words, I am saying that if we really want world peace and world welfare, then we are world-revolutionary socialists, and for my part I cannot see how we can escape the chain of reasoning along which I have been led to this conclusion.

THE TRIPLE CHOICE

So I reason that, at the present time, there is a choice of three roles for everyone. Convinced by such considerations as I have put before you, you may decide more or less honestly to be a revolutionary. That means the utmost self-obliteration of which you are capable in a good cause. You will find that idea worked out very clearly by a great Russian psychologist, a former colleague of Pavlov, Chakhotin, in a book called "The Rape of the Masses." You should read that book. Become a conscious, devoted revolutionary. That is the first alternative. Or you may try to dodge about in the convulsion in human affairs ahead of us, buy gold bars, for example, and bury them, cheat or wangle advantages, or resort to political gangsterism and barefaced robbery. Or, thirdly, you will join what will probably be the great majority of mankind in the days ahead. You will submit, you will bolt, you will evade facts until they overtake you. You will join those that form always the great majority in a decadent species, the fugitives and victims.

That is the triple choice before you: *either a revolutionary, or a gangster-trickster, or a victim.* Fight, cheat, or yield. Your pride and conscience must decide.

The Battle of Tin

BY EDSEL KELLY

BEHIND the scenes in Washington a struggle is being waged over a phase of Western Hemisphere defense which is as vital as it is obscure—the construction and control of plants for smelting tin in the United States. Neither Bolivia—our only easily accessible source of tin ore—nor the United States has at present any tin-smelting facilities. The ore has to be shipped to England for smelting and then reexported. This line of supply has been endangered by the war, as have also our considerable imports of tin from Malaya and the Dutch East Indies. A German victory, with subsequent seizure of the English smelters, would give the Nazis a monopoly of this metal, which is indispensable in the production of light bulbs, tin-plate, brass, gun-bronze, and other copper alloys. Equally important, it would make Bolivia, where tin is king, a virtual colony of Germany's—a colony, moreover, of the highest strategic importance in Nazi plans for the conquest of Latin America. How the tin industry has been allowed to develop in a way so dangerous for the United States is an absorbing story of monopoly capital, particularly of one monopoly-capitalist, Simon Patiño.

The United States consumes 60 per cent of the world's tin output, or between 75,000 and 85,000 tons annually. At the beginning of this year it had on hand only a three weeks' supply, although a reserve amounting to 75,000 tons above normal requirements had been ordered from Malaya. Up to the present only about 6,000 tons of this have been delivered.

Whether the United States can assure itself of an adequate tin supply depends upon its willingness and ability to break the tin monopoly. This monopoly was organized in the early days of the depression. When the bottom dropped out of the tin market in 1931, leaders of the industry formed an International Tin Committee, with the backing of the chief tin-producing states. Between 80 and 90 per cent of the world's tin output came under the control of this committee, which fixed rigid quotas for the export of tin from each country. The formation of this cartel seemingly consolidated the position of the British Empire in tin production, since 45 per cent of the world's tin comes from British possessions and 75 per cent is smelted in the Straits Settlements and in England. In reality, however, it delivered a large degree of control over the industry into the hands of Simon Patiño.

Patiño was born some seventy-five years ago as a *cholo,* or half-caste, the son of a poor Indian woman of Cochabamba, Bolivia. His career is a fascinating story on the rags-to-riches formula. When he was about twenty Patiño moved to the mining town of Oruro and found work in a store owned by a German. He married the daughter of a peddler, and remained an obscure clerk for some twenty years. His rise to power began in 1906, when he accepted title to an untested tin mine which later turned out to be fabulously rich. Able and ruthless, Patiño soon rose to the top of the expanding tin industry. Gradually he bought up one mine after another. By 1910 he had moved to Paris and established financial connections all over the world. He was then and is now most closely associated with British high finance, but he knows and admires both Hitler and Mussolini, and he played a leading part in financing Franco's victory. One of Patiño's daughters is married to the Marqués del Merito, a leading Spanish financier; his son married Cristina Bourbon, a niece of Alfonso XIII. For the past sixteen years Patiño has lived in France, where he owns several estates. His tax-exempt status as Bolivian Minister in Paris is said to have saved him some 20,000,000 francs a year. In 1924 he planned a magnificent homecoming to Bolivia and built three estates near Cochabamba at an estimated cost of $10,000,000. But when he moved in and applied for membership in the Cochabamba Social Club, he was blackballed. To the Bolivian aristocrats he was still a *cholo*. He left and never returned.

Patiño controls more than half the tin output of his native country and has large interests in Malayan, Nigerian, and Netherlands Indies fields. But what gives him his real power is his control over Williams, Harvey, Ltd., the largest smelting company in Great Britain. His stake in the existing setup in the industry is much too great for him to look with anything but a jaundiced eye upon the possible establishment of smelters in the United States. Meanwhile the story that Bolivian ores could be smelted only at great cost unless mixed with Malayan ore has been effectively disproved by the Vulcan Detinning Corporation, which set up an experimental smelter at the request of the government and has been turning out 100 tons of tin a month.

The handful of American firms which have the technical qualifications and the equipment to build and operate large tin smelters have been very cautious about tangling with the Patiño cartel. Even the bait of a government guaranty of profits has not tempted them. The State Department, looking at the international implications of the problem, wants the smelters to be government-owned. The tin specialists on the National Defense Commission, however, lean toward an arrangement with the National Lead Company, with which Patiño is closely connected. Two of these specialists are former employees of National Lead; another was formerly a Williams, Harvey salesman.

Negotiations among the State Department, RFC Administrator Jesse Jones, the Bolivian government, and Bolivian producers have been dragging on for months. Besides Patiño, who recently arrived from France, the "big three" of Bolivian tin include Mauricio Hochschild and Carlos Victor Aramayo. Hochschild, of German origin, is an Argentine citizen who has built up large interests in Bolivian tin during the past ten years. In 1936, 28.9 per cent of Bolivian tin exports came from his mines as against 51 per cent from Patiño's. He would welcome any step that would break Patiño's grip on the international ore market. Aramayo, a former Minister to Great Britain, is the owner of the third-largest mining corporation in Bolivia. He also is eager to get out of the cartel, as are the numerous smaller independent mine owners. As a result of the negotiations an agreement has just been concluded by the Metal Reserve Company, a subsidiary of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, with Hochschild, Aramayo, and some lesser producers. The Metal Reserve Company has agreed to buy tin concentrates sufficient to smelt about 18,000 tons of tin annually for five years. It will either build a smelting plant of its own or contract with a private concern to smelt and refine the ore.

It is highly significant that Patiño is not a party to this agreement. Whether he was actually edged out or stayed out voluntarily is a matter for speculation. It is probable that he will try to get in on the building of the smelters, for he must see the necessity for alternative processing plants in case Britain falls. For the moment the new arrangement will in no way impair British interests. The Patiño mines are still under contract to Great Britain for ten years. Besides, the Metal Reserves Company has agreed to release to the British, if they want it, an additional 6,000 tons of Bolivian tin a year.

Meanwhile the Bolivian Nazis have not been idle. A Bolivian fifth column is putting pressure on the government to sabotage the Washington negotiations. If victorious, Germany will go to any length to wrest control of the Bolivian tin industry from the United States. Patiño, whose leanings toward the Axis are well known, is an important factor in the German calculations. His chief supporters in Bolivia belong to Nazi circles—pro-Nazi army officers and influential Nazi agents. He is hated by the Bolivian masses, and any deal made with him by the United States would add fuel to the feeling against American imperialism.

Ever since Patiño rose to power, Bolivia has been, in effect, a "company town," its economic and political development retarded by the overwhelming importance of tin. Living in Europe, with an income many times as large as the Bolivian national budget, Patiño has virtually ruled the country as an absentee landlord. So long as its tin can be smelted only in England, the country is dependent on Patiño, who has the power to dictate how much tin it is to export and therefore how much of other things it can import. Thinly populated as it is, it must import 75 per cent of its food supplies. Such dependence on one product is bad for any country and disastrous for a small one. If a substitute for tin is ever found, or if the demand for tin drops after the war, Bolivia will face a serious situation. A market in the United States, however, would give the country a fairly large degree of economic independence and enable the government to regulate the industry according to the country's needs.

Last year, shortly before his death, German Busch, the Bolivian dictator, attempted a bold move against Patiño. He issued a decree establishing state control of tin exports. But to make this decree effective smelters had to be established either in the United States or in Bolivia. Busch was unable to do either. His decree remained a dead letter, but it has never been repealed.

The establishment of an American tin industry may not only solve a crucial problem of hemisphere defense but deliver Bolivia from feudal bondage.

Quid pro Quiz

BY GEORGE JOEL

THE quiz program is rapidly becoming the most popular form of radio entertainment. Four years ago there was only one commercially sponsored program of this kind. Now there are forty going out over the air waves each week to a listening audience estimated at 16,000,000.

It was back in the days of the crystal sets, when stations were casting about for some form of cheap entertainment to fill the gaps between commercially sponsored programs, that the quiz was first thought of. The response from listeners was immediate and favorable, but the buyers of radio time were not convinced until 1936, when the "Professor Quiz" program, an old-fashioned question-and-answer bee, skyrocketed into popularity. Now you can't spend more than an hour at your dials at any time of the day or evening without hearing an information-elicitor questioning some person from the audience whom he has lured before the microphone.

The popularity of a radio program is realistically measured by the response it brings from the radio audience. By this test the radio quiz gets a high mark. Each week NBC and CBS receive a minimum of 450,000 questions. This figure has been constant, despite the fact that each week not more than 750 reach the air. The "Information Please" program alone evokes a weekly average of 80,000 questions, and "Professor Quiz," who makes up his own, claims a weekly mail of 75,000 letters. This avalanche of question-asking is not inspired by a desire for knowledge, since every question must be accompanied by the answer and a wrapping of the sponsor's product. A more mundane reason is to be found in the cash awards.

The quiz program has won the warm regard of the sponsor. He has at last found a form of entertainment using talent which is free, docile, and inexhaustible. Stage stars, comics of reputation, motion-picture players, variety artists demand high fees. A first-class show using this type of talent costs $10,000 a week, and often a good deal more, while the average quiz show—talent, production, and prizes—can be kept under $5,000. Of all the quiz programs now on the air only two can be considered high-priced—the highbrow "Information Please" and the lowbrow "Kay Kyser's Kollege of Musical Knowledge," both sponsored by the same cigarette company. "Information Please," which earned $4,500 a week under the sponsorship of a soda-pop manufacturer, will receive $8,500 from the cigarette company. Kay Kyser, one of the high-priced band leaders, does even better than that, but he is sold as a personality rather than as a quiz show.

Other quiz shows are cheap to produce because the talent bill is so low. The only large salaries paid go to the master of ceremonies. The audience is the cast, and if a member is asked a question and answers it correctly, he receives from $1 to $75. The money is paid on the spot and invariably, for some reason I cannot fathom, in silver dollars. In the usual broadcast the prize money amounts to about $250, but in the "Dr. I. Q." show $1,000 is offered each week. Of this, however, never more than $750 is awarded.

Quiz programs can be divided roughly into three classes: One uses a permanent staff of experts augmented by invited guests. In this group are "Information Please," "So You Think You Know Music," "Sports Quiz," "Beat the Band," and the "Quiz Kids." Forming a more numerous class are programs using the question-bee idea—"Dr. I. Q.," "Professor Quiz," "Take It or Leave It." In these the master of ceremonies picks a person out of the studio audience, asks him a poser, and pays him a certain sum if he answers it. "What's My Name?" is a biographical quiz in which the salient facts about a famous personage are given and the contestant guesses who it is. "Name Three" and "Ask It Basket" are similar. The third type of program has a quiz master and uses competing teams. "Battle of the Sexes" and "True or False" are examples.

Success is chiefly dependent on two factors—the cooperation of the audience in the radio studio and the skill and personality of the quiz master. The rather superior Ted Cott of "So You Think You Know Music" and the sophisticated and smooth Clifton Fadiman of "Information Please" are among the more popular of the gentlemen who ask the questions. All try to extract as many correct answers as possible from the volunteer contestants. After all, the customer is always right.

From a tabulation of the results of these quizzes the radio chains estimate that the American public has an average mark of 65 per cent. But after I had myself scored two hundred programs over a period of two months, I decided the average mark was nearer 45 per cent—this on the basis of liberal marking with allowances for "mike" fright, and with partial answers scored as correct. Considering the types of questions

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asked, one must conclude that we are a race of intellectual midgets. Any fourteen-year-old with a grammar-school education should have no trouble in making a score of at least 80 per cent. The performance of the "Quiz Kids" proves this point. These youngsters, ranging in age from eight to fifteen, rarely miss more than three questions an evening, and the questions are much more difficult than those asked in the adult shows.

Here are samples of the questions asked on the various programs and the money received for the correct answers: "What is a filet?" The lady did not know and missed a prize of $16. A man got $8 for knowing how many *ll's* in Wendell Willkie. An offer of $23 for bounding the state of Texas was not collected. The sum of $60 was offered to the one of eight contestants who could name the first Republican President of the United States. Nobody said Abraham Lincoln, but two promptly came up with Woodrow Wilson. For answering "Who is the little old lady of Threadneedle Street?" $34 was paid. The prize for the most uninformed gentleman went to a young man who, one week after McNary was nominated, couldn't name the Republican candidate for Vice-President. A $23 prize went uncollected because a man could not give the pledge to the flag, but another gentleman walked off with $19 because he could spell "tarpaulin," and a lady put $21 in her pocket by defining the word "percolate."

The people who participate in these quiz shows come from all sections of the country and from every social and economic class. They are asked to name their profession, education, background, and, if young, their age before being asked a question. I discovered that the correctness of the answers elicited from the various groups had little or no relation to their economic or geographical background. What little difference there was seemed to be in favor of salesmen, who apparently think faster on their feet than professional workers. In one of the programs, "The Battle of the Sexes," a team of men is pitted against a team of women each week. On nearly 8,000 questions the men were ahead by fifteen points.

Radio broadcasting prides itself on being non-partisan, which perhaps accounts for the uncontroversial nature of the questions asked. Religion, politics, and social questions are ruled out. Current events provide favorite subjects, with American history, geography, sports, and popular music following in order. Science and literature are seldom touched on and art never.

The quiz program should open a fresh field of investigation for the psychologist and educator. No one can doubt that the person who listens at ease while someone else struggles for an answer has a warm and superior feeling, or that his ego gets a fillip when he nods his head in approval of the answer given. But what is the effect on the person who has been branded an ignoramus over the national networks?

Within the Gates

THAT STAUNCH DEFENDER of small nations, Adolf Hitler, by some trick of verbal legerdemain has convinced a large number of Ukrainian nationalists throughout the world that the hope of an independent Ukraine rests upon a complete victory of National Socialism in its war upon democracy. Despite overwhelming evidence to the contrary, they believe Hitler will support their movement to recreate a new Ukraine from territories now held by Russia, Rumania, and Hungary. These believers in independence via Nazism are banded together in two international organizations, the Organization for the Rebirth of the Ukraine and the Hetman Organization. The international headquarters of both are in Berlin, and their leaders enjoy the approval of the Nazis. Many of their members are undoubtedly inspired by a passionate desire for a reborn Ukraine; they would perhaps resign if they realized that these affiliations exist. But the fact remains that both organizations operate in various countries as Nazi propaganda agencies.

The Organization for the Rebirth of the Ukraine, generally known as the O. D. W. U., has about a hundred branches in the United States. National headquarters are at 149 Second Avenue, New York City, but actual leadership is provided largely by liaison agents who shuttle back and forth between the United States and the *Provid,* or governing body, in Berlin. At least six such agents have been active here and in Canada during recent years. Like all Nazi organizations, the O. D. W. U. maintains an effective press. Its official voice, the *Ukraine,* is edited by Vladimir Dushnyck, who before coming to the United States five years ago was detained in Belgium for suspected espionage activities. Before the war the Ukrainian Press Service, with offices at the national headquarters of the O. D. W. U., carried this caption on its releases: "Hitler sympathizes with the Slovaks, Poles, Magyars, and Ukrainians."

Professor Alexander Granovsky, entomologist at the University of Minnesota, is national president of the O. D. W. U., but its most influential member is Monsignor Ivan Buchko of the Ukrainian Catholic Parish, 22 East Seventh Street, New York City. Monsignor Buchko left Poland at the outbreak of the war and went to South America, but Argentina and Uruguay gave him a cold welcome, and Brazil had to arrest him before he could be "persuaded" to move on. He, more than any other person, has been responsible for bringing together the Organization for the Rebirth of the Ukraine and the Hetman Organization.

The Hetman Organization is a bit more conservative than the O. D. W. U.—originally it was monarchist rather than fascist—but it is no less under the Nazi thumb. Its international leader, the "Hetman," is General Skoropadsky, who in 1918 was appointed by the Kaiser to rule that part of the Ukraine which had been seized by the German army. The strength of the organization in the United States is concentrated largely in industrial cities in the Middle West, particularly Detroit and Chicago. An influential member of the Detroit unit, John Koos, is assistant to Harry Bennett, whose strong-arm methods as head of the Ford Service Department have been brought to light by reports of the National Labor Relations Board. And speaking of Ford, when the Hetman's son, Danylo Skoropadsky, traveled in the United States two years ago, he was welcomed as a guest by Henry Ford. It is understandable that Mr. Ford should sympathize with the Hetman Organization, for it is both an enemy of trade unionism and a carrier of the bacillus of anti-Semitism.

During the past year both of these organizations have declared their devotion to democracy, but few are fooled, least of all the various pro-democratic Ukrainian associations. Three weeks ago the directors of four such societies met in New York City and voted to eliminate the O. D. W. U. and the Hetman Organization from their group activities. Delegates to a recent congress of Ukrainian organizations denounced the O. D. W. U. president, Professor Granovsky, as a "Hitler stooge."

NOT THE LEAST IMPORTANT result of the elections is the assurance that Representative Hamilton Fish will not become chairman of either the powerful Rules Committee or the Foreign Affairs Committee. As ranking Republican member of both bodies, he could have chosen either chair in the event of a Republican majority in the House. In either capacity he might have done a great deal to sabotage the President's domestic and foreign policies.

Less than a month before the German army moved into Poland Mr. Fish announced to the press in Berlin that he considered Hitler's claims to be "just" and that he favored revision of the Versailles treaty in the east. When France fell hardly a year later, he still could not find it in his heart to blame Germany. In a recent nation-wide broadcast he said: "I believe history will relate, and in the near future, that President Roosevelt and Ambassador Bullitt were largely responsible for prodding, goading, and pushing France into war." As a guest of Ambassador Horenouchi on Japan Day, June 29, at the World's Fair, he publicly justified the "China incident." "The Japanese," he said, "have proclaimed a Monroe Doctrine for East Asia. . . . We have adhered closely to our own Monroe Doctrine for 120 years, and feeling as strongly as we do about the Western Hemisphere, we cannot object to Japan holding the same views. What is sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander."

Mr. Fish's views appear more alarming in the light of his collaboration with persons and groups whose loyalties are divided or foreign. As principal speaker at a German Day rally in Madison Square Garden on October 2, 1938, he attacked Administration policies because they had "embittered our relations with Japan, Italy, and Germany." A swastika decorated the speakers' platform, and when "Deutschland über Alles" was played, a large proportion of the 20,000 persons in the audience gave the Nazi salute. In September of this year he addressed a meeting of the Steuben Society, which was trying to raise $100,000 to finance an anti-British propaganda campaign. Although Mr. Fish has denied any sympathy for the German-American Bund, the Non-Partisan Committee to Defeat Hamilton Fish has in its possession a photograph of Kuhn and Fish inspecting a map together. By a strange coincidence, no doubt, the German consul general in New York, Hans Borchers, rents his home from an estate which is administered by Hamilton Fish.

In the Wind

THE DEFENSE PROGRAM will be the target of muckrakers any day now. A number of rumors are in the air to the effect that industry is placing a high price on patriotism. One of the industries involved is aluminum.

BEFORE ELECTION DAY the Scripps-Howard artist, Talburt, drew a cartoon showing F. D. R. trying unsuccessfully to slide into third base; it was captioned, "Out at Third." As returns came in on election night, Roy Howard decided not to take any chances with slow-witted subordinates and solemnly wired all member papers of the chain to omit the cartoon.

DOROTHY THOMPSON faces the loss of a lucrative radio contract because of her preelection attacks on the "fear" campaign waged by advertising agencies. Without naming names, she revealed the threat at a luncheon of the movie division of the Democratic National Committee.

MORRIS ERNST enjoys bringing together people of clashing viewpoints; as a result one of the strangest of modern alliances was forged. For it was at a dinner at Mr. Ernst's home that Wendell L. Willkie met John L. Lewis for the first time. Incidentally, Mr. Ernst delivered an eloquent attack on Lewis when the labor leader announced his support of his fellow-dinner guest.

LEADING NEW DEALERS who heard the broadcast from Willkie headquarters on election night were pretty alarmed by the sounds. Listening in at Hyde Park, they noted—as did a lot of other people—that the hysteria was reminiscent of the excitement in pre-civil-war Spain after the Popular Front electoral victory.

EPIGRAM DEPARTMENT: "The trouble with the profit system the last dozen years is not that it hasn't worked but that there just haven't been profits."—*Business Week*, November 2.

LONDON'S *New Statesman and Nation* reports this conversation heard in a "foreign embassy": " 'As petrol begins to get short, they'll have to come to an arrangement.' 'Let the R. A. F. do the bombing of London and the *Luftwaffe* of Berlin,' suggested one emissary. 'But could they trust Hitler to keep his part of the bargain?' asked the other."

SITUATIONS WANTED ad in the Chicago *Daily News:* "U. S. soldier just released. Has few worries other than his unemployment situation. Wants a good job with fair pay and easy hours; knows very little of any value but is young and has his youth to offer. Can box, swim, shoot, eat, sleep, and enjoy life. Address VS, 76."

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind—either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. A prize of $5 will be awarded each month for the best item.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

A Native at Large

BY JONATHAN DANIELS

AND now they say unity. Everybody is for it. It began to come in on the wires with the election returns. Before people went to bed that night Jim Farley, who was supposed to be creator of division at Chicago, spoke in a fine, healing eloquence for the Democrats about the wounds of the Republicans. Mr. Willkie spoke for himself the next day when he told us that everybody should, as he would, work for the unity of the American people. Beyond such speakers, almost every editorial writer who put pen to paper used the word and its synonyms in half his sentences.

We need it. And there are certainly no signs that we shall lack it. Indeed, the election itself and the majority the President received, despite the hazard of the third-term tradition, indicate that the greatest part of America was eager in its approval of his policies. The just as patriotic Republicans and others who voted against him are making it clear through such spokesmen as Mr. Willkie and Alf Landon that they are right there, too, behind the President now in his leadership of the nation.

But as one man who walked over the dead leaves and the acorns cracked on the concrete into the filling station to stand in line to cast his third vote for Roosevelt, I would like to put it down that I am almost as much afraid of unity as in favor of it.

This campaign behind us was the grandest evidence of both American strength and American safety. The third-term tradition may have been calmly overturned by Americans exercising freely their democratic right to do it, but the equally ancient and even more vital tradition of vituperative freedom was preserved. Mr. Willkie may regret some of the hard things he said about his opponent; I certainly do not regret his right to say them. While we were knocking political heads we were being unquestionably and traditionally American. If we put anger, we also put vitality into the old unity of a people with faith in the creativeness of controversy.

Now the emphasis is on quietness, good sportsmanship, on Americans standing together against a disturbing world. Such an emphasis is undoubtedly essential. But nothing said in the whole campaign was more important than what Senator McNary said when he congratulated Roosevelt without waiting for Willkie to do so. When Mr. Willkie went to bed that night, Senator McNary had already sent his congratulations and the expected expression about unity. More important still, in his telegram from Salem, Oregon, was his promise to try to provide a worthy and vigilant opposition. As much as America felt it needed Roosevelt, it needs such an opposition also.

The value of McNary's statement, however—I thought as I read it at a news desk when it came in—runs beyond the Congress. What I am afraid of in this urging of unity is far from Congress, back in the little towns, and the big ones too. Justice Frankfurter did not mean to set the police and the patriots on Jehovah's Witnesses when he wrote in his decision that they had to salute the flag. President Roosevelt does not want a unity which means a distant misuse of people who happen to disagree with him even about defense. But nothing is ever quite so dangerous to civil liberties as a patterned patriotism on the loose, no matter how high and pure the aims and motives of those who shape it.

Not all the so-called patriotic pushing around of unpopular people with unpopular ideas in recent months has got into the newspapers. Many such cases were little incidents not worth space on the wires filled with the oratory of candidates and their friends. Some of them probably did not come to public knowledge even in the communities in which they occurred. Furthermore, Democrats were too busy hating Republicans and Republicans too strenuously engaged in disliking the Democrats to spare much time to people who disagreed with some foreign or domestic policies which might get a place now under a new label of unity. Cussing the government in these last weeks has seemed, as it was, a traditional American exercise of a native art. I hope the unified Democrats and Republicans will permit it to continue. But when I hear some patriots talk about unity, I am not sure.

Undoubtedly, there is a task in unity which belongs to both the people and the President. But this certainly does not mean, even in this emergency, that the American people should become a body of yes citizens. There will be serious questions still on which they seriously disagree. Safety depends upon such disagreement. So does democracy. Indeed, the right to disagreement is what democracy is. Now is opportunity for America to show its good strength in the magnanimous leadership of a magnificent people. And that cannot mean Americans huddling together in fear of freedom.

We need unity, but if it is to be worth anything it must have at least as much tolerance and courage in it as division had.

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

The Late Pine Top Smith

BY PRESTON NEWMAN

I hear they've got a name for the way you played piano
Pine Top, are you listening?
. . . the way your big black fingers walked across the keys
Pine Top, are you listening?

(My daddy earned his livin with a horn
An my momma sung the blues when I was born
If you'll let my body lay
An gimme room to play
I'll keep that rhythm goin when I'm gone.)

I hear they like your stuff the same as white man's music
Pine Top, are you listening?
. . . the drive you put behind those offbeats up the treble
Pine Top, are you listening?

(My woman must of chiseled on the rent
For the gun she give that light-complected gent
I slipped down on my knees
Coughed my blood across the keys
But I struck one b-flat chord before I went.)

O you nigger
You jazz-band nigger with a bass-fiddle heart
What's the rhythm down there? How does it go?
Beat it out
. . . beat it out, Pine Top.

An Example for Critics

ROGER FRY: A BIOGRAPHY. By Virginia Woolf. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $3.50.

LAST LECTURES. By Roger Fry. With an Introduction by Kenneth Clark. The Macmillan Company. $5.

"IT WAS impossible," said Yeats, "to talk for five minutes to Roger Fry without finding out that he was honest," and Mrs. Woolf has now documented this judgment. Her biography, though Fry himself suggested she write it "to put into practice [her] theories of the biographer's craft," is the most impersonal and unstylized book she has yet written, demonstrating no theory or thesis except the obvious lesson in sincerity and passionate loyalty to his personal and critical responsibilities which Fry's career exemplified. The life presented had a pathos never referred to in his projects or writings. It was confined from birth by circumstances capable of obstructing beyond its repeated professional disappointments the life-work Fry chose for himself, and Mrs. Woolf, as a member of the Cambridge-Bloomsbury circle in which he found his best friends and supporters, is well equipped to evoke its conditions and struggle. It is not inappropriate that he emerges with something of the somber yet tenacious heroism of an early Forster character—the tough vivacity of spirit, persisting even in defeat, of Ricky Elliott in "The Longest Journey."

Born of well-to-do Quaker parents, stubbornly Philistine in their prejudice against art, Fry survived the "positively suffocating" effects of that "Nomian atmosphere" and the fake-Etonian brutality of Mr. Sneyd-Kynnersley's school to find his first spiritual home in the liberal-humanist brotherhood of Cambridge, where Lowes Dickinson, Wedd, McTaggart, and other Apostles became his lifelong friends. Courageously renouncing his scientific studies and his parents' ambitions—without ever losing his sense of guilt in disappointing their hopes—he faced the precarious career of painter wholly lacking in natural precocity and spontaneous talent, and handicapped by a sentimental pedantry of style of which fifty years of labor with the brush were unable to rid him. He entered the world of art when the nineties presented the most distracting conditions possible—the vested turpitude of the Royal Academy, the tame regimen of the Slade School, pseudo-French manners in decadence, and an all-pervading stupor in popular taste. He skirted with combined excitement and Quaker distaste the lures of fashionable exoticism, domestic vulgarity, and Symonds's perverse scholarship, and was soon propelled into journalism, where his honesty made enemies who obstructed his claims to honors and preferment throughout his life. Any critic who came out, in 1900, with the opinion that Alma-Tadema's tableaux were "made of highly scented soap" or that the prestige of the Royal Academy resembled that of a state theater which, endowed to produce classic drama, "pocketed its annual grant and proceeded to have thousand-night runs of 'Charley's Aunt,'" was due to raise an even louder howl than usual among the public and its potentates, and to forestall every appointment to a Slade professorship or National Gallery directorship to which his distinction soon entitled him. In 1896 he married a brilliant fellow-artist whom a disease of the skull deprived of reason and kept in asylum for almost forty years. In 1905 he accepted a curatorship at the Metropolitan Museum in New York, and his four-year adventures there, parrying the Medician Führership of Pierpont Morgan, make a blood-curdling episode in the long drama of integrity versus power. The batterings his spirit and courage had weathered, acting on his native rigor and enthusiasm of temperament, bred "his profound tolerance and also his intolerance—his instant response to whatever he found genuine, his resentment of what seemed to him false," and when, with the first Post-Impressionist exhibition in London in 1910, Fry stepped into his first great public notoriety, he found also his full strength as a critic and fighter.

He met in Cézanne and the great Post-Impressionists the first real test of his powers of defense and exposition, a spur to his researches in primitive and classic art, and the direct inspiration of his future projects—the Omega workshops, a new method of critical analysis, his lectures, his books, his study of abstraction in plastic art and poetry (Mallarmé), his later motives as a painter, and his brilliant service to a new generation of craftsmen and interpreters. "In so far as taste can be changed by one man," says Kenneth Clark, "it was changed by Roger Fry," but he won a greater triumph. He showed how "detachment can survive in a world of violence," and it was by such detachment—of vision, of critical honesty, of scrupulous reasoning, skepticism, and appreciation—that he arrived at the mastery which gives him his eminence in the minute company of authentic art critics who have written in English.

His authority there is defined by his deliberate and temperamental limitations. Fry's Quaker inheritance was resisted and escaped, but its moral austerity and passion for purity in motive and conduct were carried over almost intact to his critical labors. It led him to exaggerate aesthetic detachment as a *conscious* virtue. Aesthetic judgment becomes, ironically, a mask for moral judgment in his work, and what Clark calls "an austerity that made him quick, sometimes too quick, to resist superficial charms" always made it difficult for him to decide just when, and under what conditions of isolation or specific social and practical usage, the greatest freedom of the artist begins to operate, or when the mastery of abstract form rests on willed intention (as in the greatest Greek and modern sculpture) and when on the impulse and instinctive sublimation of content (as in primitive Negro art). Fry's endowment consisted in a double gift: in a realistic approach to psychological and accidental factors as they operate in art and in an exhaustible energy of sensibility. He insisted that "we want every scrap of knowledge we can glean from archaeology, from political and social history, and from the study of documents"; he was enormously stimulated by modern psychology in studying plastic values and imagery; but his greatest research went to the analysis of "pure art," of vision as "an expression and a stimulus of the imaginative life, which is separated from actual life by the absence of responsive action" and by "the greater purity and freedom of its emotion." For this sensibility he admitted no substitute, least of all in what he most abhorred—the systematic aesthetics of modern historians or psychologists like Strzygowski, Lipps, and Wölfflin. His efforts in general theory thus threaten to lapse into another of his abominations, the impressionistic solipsism which his moral rigor protested when he found it in Symonds and the men of the nineties. He never knew genuine philosophic discipline, and the poverty of his processes and terminology appears when he approaches that territory. But his patient mastery of critical and analytical sensibility—his cleansing freshness of insight, his scrupulous sympathy, his vivid sense of formal relations—was controlled by another discipline, that of a passionate and almost perfectly liberated reasoning faculty, which he set in equal opposition to convention and to instinct. "He believed in reason," said E. M. Forster in a comment written on Fry's death in 1934 which now takes on a special force:

> Since the war an increasing number of people have come to feel [that belief in reason is based upon a misconception which we should correct], and are taking refuge in authority or in intuition. Authority attracts our dictators and our serfs, because it seems to promise a stable society. Intuition attracts those who wish to be spiritual without any bother, because it promises a heaven where the intuitions of others can be ignored. Now Roger Fry rejected authority, mistrusted intuition. . . . He had, in this respect, the unworldliness of his Quaker forebears, and he could always shake an opinion out of its husk and hold it up to the light of reason, where it often shriveled to nothing at all. If you said to him, "This must be right, all the experts say so" . . . he would reply in effect, "Well, I wonder. Let's see." He would see and would make you see. You would come away realizing that an opinion may be influentially backed and yet be tripe. . . . Intuition he did not reject. He knew that it is part of our equipment, and that sensitiveness which he valued in himself and in others is connected with it. But he also knew that it can make dancing dervishes of us all, and that the man who believes a thing is true because he feels it in his bones is not really very far removed from the man who believes it on the authority of a policeman's truncheon. So he was suspicious of intuition, subjecting it, as it were, to a fumigating process, and not allowing it into his life until it was well aired.

However this may hint of Fry's defect in creative power and the inhibiting excess of his resistance to tradition, it would be difficult to specify more plainly the morality of criticism, particularly at this moment of strain and violence. And it is not surprising that a man who practiced that morality as Fry did had to wait until he was sixty-seven to achieve a Cambridge professorship and to find time for his last and greatest project—a complete and corrective survey of art history. That work, characteristically refreshing and sharp-sighted, was cut short by death at the end of the lectures on Greek art, and now Virginia Woolf, with a self-effacing sympathy instructed by Fry's own model of enthusiasm and modesty, has portrayed the integrity of character by which Fry's work was accomplished and by which that morality may be profitably studied by anyone seriously concerned with its future prosperity. MORTON DAUWEN ZABEL

Soldiers for a People's War

NEW WAYS OF WAR. By Tom Wintringham. Penguin Books. 25 cents.

"TODAY, it is the duty of all citizens of a democracy," writes Tom Wintringham, "to understand this business of fighting, for a people's war." If we accept this thesis, his little book is worth the attention of the citizens of this country even though it is addressed primarily to Britons. For the American army, like the British, suffers from inbred professionalism and tends to cling to outworn traditions. It is therefore important, at a time when our army is being rapidly expanded, that an informed public opinion should be brought to bear on the problem of how to make it truly effective in the defense of democracy.

The first half of this book analyzes the nature of modern war and shows to how great an extent it demands from the soldier the qualities of intelligence, independence, and initiative. *Blitzkrieg* is a natural development of the infiltration and defense-in-depth tactics which the Germans worked out toward the end of the last war in an effort to break the deadlock of the trenches. It cannot be withstood by static masses of troops but must be met by a defense line with the maximum of elasticity, a line which can give when necessary

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without losing its ability to snap back for the counter-attack which is essential to sound defense. In this kind of warfare large bodies of men cannot be held in close order, all doing the same things at the same time under the command of a senior officer. Small units will be frequently on their own with only general instructions, and hence junior officers, non-coms, and even privates must be trained to take responsibility and to adapt their tactics to circumstances.

The spirit of the Light Brigade—"Theirs but to do and die, theirs not to reason why"—is definitely out of place in modern warfare, but it still pervades the British army, together with an emphasis on cavalry charges, bayonet fighting, and close-order drill. Tom Wintringham believes that soldiers should be told not merely what to do but why they are doing it. He advocates the minimum of drill necessary for rapid and orderly movement and condemns the barrack-square grind designed to produce obedient automatons. Better physical and tactical training is provided by football and by Boy Scout games which teach the participants how to take cover.

The author of these heresies, let it be understood, is no armchair theorist. He went through the Great War in the British army and the R. A. F., and he commanded the British battalion of the International Brigade in Spain, where he enjoyed a preview of *Blitzkrieg*. He is now head of a school for the intensive training of the British Home Guard, and it is to the members of this body that the second half of this book is addressed. It tells how to make hand grenades and how to use them, how to convert a shotgun into a lethal weapon, how to dig a trench and defend a house.

Finally a brief and eloquent chapter discusses how to mobilize Britain's full resources for its struggle and how to raise the morale of the nation to its maximum. This program reaches well beyond the accomplishments of the Churchill government, but British democracy, faced with disaster, is regaining its vitality, and ideas which seem radical today may be enforced by popular demand in the not distant future.

KEITH HUTCHISON

Lost Plays

AMERICA'S LOST PLAYS. Volume I: "Forbidden Fruit, and Other Plays." By Dion Boucicault. Edited by Allardyce Nicoll and F. Theodore Cloak. Volume II: "False Shame and Thirty Years." Two Plays by William Dunlap. Edited by Oral Sumner Coad. Volume III: "Glaucus and Other Plays." By George Henry Boker. Edited with Introduction and Notes by Sculley Bradley. Princeton University Press. $5 Each Volume.

THESE are the first fruits of an elaborate publishing venture undertaken with the aid of the Rockefeller Foundation and carried out "under the auspices of" the Dramatists' Guild of the Authors' League of America. Barrett H. Clark is general editor, and there is an imposing "advisory board" as well as a special editor or group of editors for each individual volume. Ultimately there will be twenty volumes containing one hundred plays chosen from the work of dramatists ranging chronologically from William Dunlap to David Belasco. The present volumes are carefully edited and handsomely printed.

Apparently a "lost play" is, by definition, any unpublished play the manuscript of which has more or less fallen out of ight. The editors have, however, been so assiduous that according to Mr. Clark's General Preface they have located not nly the hundred manuscripts they propose to publish but our hundred others, and are sure that many more could be ound. There are, Mr. Clark adds, fifty unpublished plays by Boucicault in a private collection; more than a hundred by Harrigan elsewhere; and, in still another collection, more han two thousand manuscripts, mostly unpublished, includng most of the characteristic plays seen on the stages of this ountry between 1880 and 1900. Historians of social and olitical events have been known to express the fear that the ccumulation of material was threatening to make the writing f history impossible, and historians of literature may well eel some uneasiness also. The fact remains, nevertheless, hat it is difficult to know where to stop, and the present ollection certainly promises to add materially to our knowldge of the American drama.

The two hitherto unpublished plays by Dunlap are, repectively, an adaptation from Kotzebue and a fairly close ranslation from the French of Prosper Goubaux and Victor ucange; the three from Boker are a comedy, a melodrama, nd an unperformed verse tragedy; the six from Boucicault re even more various, as befits the character of a writer to hom the pomp of historical tragedy, spectacular melodrama, ildly naughty farce, and noble Irish sentiment were equally ongenial. With the dubious exception of Boker's tragedy, one of the plays is worthy of survival on literary merit, but e chief aim of the series is, in Mr. Clark's words, "to bring gether an exhibition . . . of curious and illuminating criteria f public taste"; and from this standpoint the Boucicault olume is probably the most interesting. From "Forbidden ruit," a lively and not unlaughable farce, one may observe hat constituted reprehensibly "Continental" frivolity in 880, when William Winter complained that the piece trailed the banner of the noble Wallack tradition in the utter." "Dot," a dramatization of "The Cricket on the earth," contains some fine specimens of the nobility of ntiment then common in humble breasts. "If I were you, d rather be the widow of Ned's memory than Queen of ngland, and I'd give no man the right to take his last kiss ff my lips, his lock of hair out of my breast, his image from y heart, and his own beautiful, dear, dear letters from under y pillow. Them's my sentiments."

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

ifar on Diaghilev

ERGE DIAGHILEV: HIS LIFE, HIS WORK, HIS LEGEND. By Serge Lifar. G. P. Putnam's Sons. $5.

THEATRICAL memoirs generally interest only those of us who care passionately for the theater. A great actor dancer or singer puts out a book once to the ten times of surgeon, or the hundred times of a soldier; and rarest of eatrical books is the life of an impresario, the man whose sition is always ambiguous, even during his own lifetime, e man who takes credit for everything that his artists ecute, and usually, the man whose artists grudge him even

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To New Orleans goes Louis Budenz to report first hand for DAILY WORKER readers the proceedings of the A. F. L. Convention. DAILY WORKER dispatches from the convention in New Orleans will contain the clearest evaluation of all developments, as seen "through the eyes of labor."

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With questions of independent farmer-labor action assuming such importance in American life, the DAILY WORKER is sending Harold Preece, midwest correspondent, to Denver to cover the Farmers Union Convention. He will bring DAILY WORKER readers an accurate picture of developments among organized farmers.

Daily Worker
Gov't Heads Give Okay On War Contracts for Violators of Labor Act

a moiety of gratitude. The case of Diaghilev is the most extreme to be found. Such was the nature of his work and personality that even now, eleven years after his death, it is nearly impossible to say what he did or did not do. Even his foxiest detractors are forced to admit that he created an atmosphere of possibility in painting, music, and the dance, through the agency of his Russian Ballet, which had not been seen before and has not been seen since.

Those who care about the Russian Ballet will read Lifar's book in spite of any or all reviews. Few others will buy a five-dollar book which is a monumental agglomeration of factual misinformation, repetitious quotes from well-known books now in print, startling omissions, and maddening technical errors. But the book does also contain information that can be found nowhere else, and a running commentary by a protege of the great man which, though it is by turns waspish, hysterical, unreliable, is also on occasion extremely penetrating and even touching.

Diaghilev managed to endow the various talents he brought together with an intense aura of immediate importance. His emphasis on a new score, a new painter, a new dancer was irresistible. He could dictate acceptance even by the manipulation of opposition, as in the case of the first surrealists. His gifts were essentially political rather than artistic, and for music rather than for dancing. It was accidental that he found the ballet on his hands. He would have preferred opera; he felt frustrated by having produced so little opera in his life. Above all, he had the wonderful advantage of a conscience free from the fettering ethics of "nice" people in the theater. He was not a nice man. He ordered one set of costumes for "Le Boutique Fantasque" from Bakst and at the same time another from the young Derain. He could barely afford to pay for either. Of course Bakst left him, "betrayed." Swearing eternal gratitude to one dancer for a "triumph" during an entr'acte, he saw to it that his successor was kept out of the wings at least until the performance was over. Lifar suffered from all the changes in Diaghilev's temperature, from boiling to freezing. He transmits a good deal of what it must have been like.

Lifar himself was a boy with remarkable personal beauty who enjoyed the advantage of having a series of works composed for him by fine choreographers who were always aware of his limitations. These were serious, as he came late to dancing. In his best years Lifar was like the small diamonds in expensive settings sent to Cartier's every spring to be renewed. Now he is a megalomaniac of a rather simple order. His prose style, in Russian, may easily have been influenced as he says, by Dostoevski, but in translation it sounds like *True Confessions.* With something like staggering insolence, he never once mentions Arnold Haskell's "Diaghilev," published four years ago, though Haskell did all the ground work. One should not expect either scholarship, taste, kindness, modesty, honesty, or completeness from a *premier danseur étoile;* one may expect temperament, anecdotes, irritation, and naivete. One gets them in this book.

Scarcely a page is without some peculiar rendition of a proper name. The anonymous and very bad translation on at least four occasions completely distorts the original meaning. It would be useless to make a list of typographical errors—Anktan for Anquetin, Ronche for Rouché, Gondara for

Gandara, for example—but one series of really funny mistakes may be mentioned. On a page showing portraits of composers connected with the Ballet Russe we have a picture of Poulenc labeled Claude Debussy, and a picture of Darius Milhaud labeled G. Auric; on another, portraits labeled Pavlova and Kshessinska are reversed.

LINCOLN KIRSTEIN

The Philosophy of Peirce

CHARLES PEIRCE'S EMPIRICISM. By Justus Buchler. With a Foreword by Professor Ernest Nagel. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $3.50.

AS TIME goes by and the material to be found in "The Collected Papers" of Charles Sanders Peirce is explored and interpreted, the stature of the man grows larger and larger. Not very well known in his own day, he has gradually come to be recognized as one of the dominating figures of American philosophy. Toward the assimilation of Peirce's thought Dr. Buchler's book is an important contribution, and not only because it is the first book-length study to be published. Scholarly, perspicuous, cautious in ts judgments of perplexing material, sticking close to the ask of exploring a self-assigned area, this study is, neverheless, illuminating and exciting, because at the same time hat it clarifies its subject matter through exposition and criticism it makes explicit its incidence on contemporary problems.

Dr. Buchler's choice of Peirce's empiricism for study was made on the belief that what is not empirical in his hought is of secondary importance. This thesis is only indicated, not defended, but a large number of his readers will approve of the selection on the conviction that there s urgent need in our day for an adequate empirical philosophy. From Peirce we can learn two things without which empiricism must needs fail: the conditions which govern meaningful communication, and the fact that truth is essenially a public affair, dependent on procedures of verification which can be made explicit and criticized. To learn this is o learn what is the difference between purely speculative activity, lacking anchorage in the objective world, on the one hand, and those habits of mind on the other which have produced results in the exact sciences. It is also to put ourselves in a position to use these habits effectively in other disciplines than those in which they were brought to heir present perfection.

It is well known that William James credited Peirce with he original development of pragmatism. But the contribuions which Peirce made to the movement have not always been properly appreciated. Dr. Buchler emphasizes the fact hat for Peirce pragmatism, as he once put it, was fundamentally "a proposition of logic," a device whose function was to determine the meaning of terms; and in the rough his doctrine will be recognized as very similar to the operaionalism which Bridgman developed a little over ten years go. Peirce, who looked on the dilution of thought with distrust, was often worried at the way in which James "transmogrified" his method into a general philosophic cheme, for though he thought that some of the extensions

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made by James and the other pragmatists were legitimate, some he thought positively were not. Dr. Buchler does not attempt an exhaustive comparison between Peirce and James. But he does go into their conceptions of the function and nature of pragmatism. And by throwing light on these basic issues he leaves us considerably advanced toward a judicious resolution of the controversy. Dr. Buchler inclines to the view that though for James pragmatism was a genuine and living conviction, it was not, as in Peirce's case, "a conviction born of considerable intellectual labor."

Peirce's intimate familiarity with the procedures of the laboratory, his creative interest in logic, and his profound analysis of what traditional philosophers had attempted to pass off as knowledge led him to the conviction that our best knowledge is likely to remain always vulnerable, must always be fallible. This is not the same, however, as a skepticism based on an analysis which any reflective person must at some time or other perform on the grounds of knowledge from a psychological standpoint. It is rather a profound and original examination of the alleged indubitable cognitive elements or sources on which philosophers have sought to rear their claims to dogmatism. These foundations he found worm-eaten with unwarrantable assumptions. But when he turned to the sciences he saw that they did not start from absolutely error-free foundations. The scientist starts with whatever knowledge he may happen to have at hand, and originally science started from common sense. The scientist trusts his results because the techniques by means of which he achieves them are public and subject to criticism and improvement as they are successively applied. These insights, referred to as "fallibilism" and "common-sensism," innocent though they may look, are powerful weapons capable of piercing through the heaviest dialectical armor to the heart of dogmatism. But mark that they do not leave us in skepticism, for we are not condemned to utter know-nothingness simply because our beliefs are always open to improvement. Not only are verified opinions more or less stable, but the trust we once put in conclusions may now be transferred to a method that emerges from its struggle with error better fitted to secure stable conclusions than before.

We are not today altogether unfamiliar with these doctrines. One need not have read much of Dewey to realize that fallibilism and common-sensism are of the essence of his philosophy. But while Dewey, the positivists, and some others may have already made us familiar with the important insights of Peirce's thought, Dr. Buchler's study does not thereby lose its value. For in philosophy what is of greatest importance is not the conclusions at which we may arrive, important as these no doubt are, but the manner of arriving at them. This is something of which the study of Peirce should easily convince us. And it is in his critical elucidation of the techniques by means of which Peirce arrived at his conclusions that the chief merit of Dr. Buchler's work lies. Since to be ignorant of Peirce is to be ignorant of one of the most profound and original minds that this country has produced, this book, though by no means an elementary introduction, should find its way into the hands of all those interested in the intellectual history of America, whether they are professional students of philosophy or not.

ELISEO VIVAS

IN BRIEF

RODE WITH STONEWALL. By Henry Kyd Douglas. Edited by Fletcher M. Green. University of North Carolina Press. $3.

One reason why the American Civil War fascinates students of military hisory and writers of romance alike is the act that, to a greater extent than any omparable conflict in history, it was ought mainly by amateurs. At least, most of those who took part in it started s amateurs, and some of the highest ank stayed that way. Others learned their grim profession quickly enough ut never stiffened into the military mold. This was true of Henry Kyd Douglas, who at twenty joined the Army f Virginia as a private and at twentyve was a colonel commanding the last rigade to lay down its arms at Appomattox. He served on Stonewall Jackson's staff in both the Valley and the Peninsula campaigns, and his memoirs nclude many informal sidelights on the haracter and methods of the great general. The book ends with an illuminatng account of the trial of Mrs. Surratt nd Booth's co-conspirators, at which he author was a witness. Written orignally immediately after the war and revised thoroughly by Colonel Douglas a few years before his death in 1903, this work deserved to see the light long ago.

ON THE LONG TIDE. By Laura Krey. Houghton Mifflin Company. $2.75.

ix hundred pages of romance, glamour, nd action ought to make this historical ovel about the founding of Texas a atural for the movies. The hero is a ll handsome devil whose cousin "Jeff" urns out to be Thomas Jefferson, whose est friends are Lafitte the pirate, tephen Austin, and Sam Houston, and who practically took Texas from the Mexicans single-handed. The author is convinced that the War of 1812 was ought to keep the British from impressng our seamen, that a few Northern natics caused the Civil War, and that Mexicans are either foolish little yellow eople or murderous fiends. Why read when you can see it with Gable?

DUTCH INTERIOR. By Frank O'Connor. Alfred A. Knopf. $2.50.

he title of this book refers to its genre ather than to its locale, which is Ireland. In a series of scenes selected from he private lives of a single group of people but stretching over a period of many years, Mr. O'Connor paints a realistic composite picture of the Irish temperament and of life in a modern Irish city. These vignettes naturally recall "Dubliners," but they are warmer, more full-bodied than Joyce's work.

FOR US THE LIVING. By Bruce Lancaster. Frederick A. Stokes. $2.75.

A robust, frontier-flavored novel about young Abe Lincoln and the people among whom he grew up in Kentucky and Indiana in the 1820's; ends with Lincoln's decision to run for the Illinois Legislature again after his initial defeat.

TIME FOR A QUICK ONE. By Margaret Fishback. Harcourt, Brace. $2.

In a time of general calamity for comic poets Miss Fishback struggles valiantly to extract the fine fervor of the peaceable thirties from her traditional material: the glories of living in Manhattan as contrasted with rustic torture; spring attacking Murray Hill; the general madness of Christmas cards, Sunday driving, female fashions, and so on. It can't be done, and her few attempts at serious verse—on the war, gas masks for babies, and living in the land of the free and the home of the brave—don't improve matters.

ART

Murals in the Future

WHAT is to become of the movement in mural painting encouraged by the Fine Arts Section of the Federal Works Agency? The question was raised by Forbes Watson at the symposium connected with the exhibition of the National Society of Mural Painters current at the Whitney Museum of Art. At the back of the speaker's mind lay the inevitability of the coming conflict between the rearmament program and art projects like the Administration's; and his answer to the question was—the fate of the movement rests in the muralists' very hands. No one but themselves can persuade the public of the value of their efforts and performances.

Well and good, one said to oneself; yet precisely how are they going to manage to persuade the public? Does a favorable ground exist? The craze for mural painting that descended on us less than ten years since, the craze encouraged by the New Deal—did it in the first place have a wide foundation in something like a desire for collective expression in art? Or was it superficial and the reflex of the brilliant success in fresco-painting of the Mexicans? And, whether profound or superficial, may it not well have run its course? The valuable achievements which flowed from it in post offices and other public edifices cannot be many; and there are few Romans today. Romans are persons who remain patient during the many days it takes to build Rome: in less figurative language, during the time consumed by even the fittest artists in acquiring by process of trial and error the technique of a new medium.

Besides, one thought disconsolately as one wandered about the rooms, just how many personalities are there among the muralists able by an intrinsic weight to encourage further public support? Not many, according to the antediluvian exhibition of the National Society of Mural Painters. Whether the show is or is not representative of the movement as a whole, certainly it evinces the persistence of a dull ideal. The standard of craftsmanship among these 150 decorators is anything but high. Maxwell Starr alone among them seems to have a sense of the look of a wall. Their color is prevalently sour—above all, though they have abandoned the allegorical subjects of the older school, there is little or no fresh feeling of life. This want is perceptible in the triteness of the drama in the mass of the subject matter—itself ranging from historical subjects of the Washington Crossing the Delaware type to Walkowitz-like fantasies of workers resting; from pictures of Negroes in cotton fields to Bentonian corruscations of lust in the form of reflections on the vulgarity of nightclub life. Almost a sole exception is J. M. Newell's conception of the Underground Railway.

And still it would be shameful if the administration lost its initiative and sacrificed the mural movement. A start has been made: everyone has seen at least one fresco that was worth possessing. It cannot cost vast sums to keep a half-dozen sentient craftsmen in walls and paints and stepladders and let them freely continue their experiment of expressing with realistic motives a feeling of life in decorative terms. The result may be that most useful essence, beauty: which is to say the truth in its human form. Not merely the agreement between the object and our conception of it, but between the object and a conception born perhaps of humor but certainly of love. The agreement in which man alone embraces his own being and becomes himself.

PAUL ROSENFELD

RECORDS

THE expansiveness one hears in Ernest Bloch's Piano Quintet may be regarded by some as being less truly contemporary than the exasperated irritation that seems to be embodied in Mark Brunswick's Sonata for solo viola; but it produced a more satisfying piece of music. These two works were heard at the second New Friends of Music concert—the one played by the excellent Marcel Dick, the other superbly done by the Budapest Quartet with Sanroma. And at the next concert there was Bela Bartok's new Sonata for two pianos and percussion instruments, which kept Bartok and Ditta Pasztory Bartok and Messrs. Goodman and Denecke busy at the pianos and percussion instruments for thirty minutes without letting me hear anything that justified their being kept busy at all.

Dorothy Maynor's recital gave evidence of increased control of her voice—in the fact, for example, that there wasn't the change in color in almost every note of the scale that can be heard on last year's records. From her exquisite phrasing of Schuman's "Du bist wie eine Blume," her helter-skelter delivery of Schubert's "Ungeduld," her impressively dramatic treatment of Franz's "Im Herbst," and—most successful of all—her singing of Bizet's "Adieu de l'hotesse Arabe" I would conclude that her fine musical instincts have yet to develop into a deeply rooted and matured musicianship, and are aided meanwhile by a lively dramatic imagination and great personal charm, of both of which, in fact, there is a little too much exhibited to the eye right now. And at this concert her work suffered from the mincing, mannered piano accompaniments of Arpad Sandor.

Another work of Bartok, "Contrasts" for violin, clarinet, and piano, recorded for Columbia by Szigeti, Benny Goodman, and Bartok himself (Set X-178, $2.50), makes no more sense to me than the Sonata. Columbia's outstanding November set is the one that Stravinsky and the New York Philharmonic made of the usual concert excerpts from "Petrouchka"—as against the entire ballet that Stokowski recorded for Victor. They comprise the Russian Dance, the music of Petrouchka's room, and most of the concluding carnival scene, superbly played, and recorded with a hard brilliance that Stravinsky probably does not mind (Set X-177, $2.50).

At the head of Victor's November list I would put the set of Mozart's Clarinet Concerto K. 622 (Set 708, $4), which has given me my first hearing of a work that would be heard constantly if conductors did not regard concertos as mere exhibition pieces for soloists (the Clarinet Concerto is to be played at last by the New York Philharmonic only because Benny Goodman's box-office value caused him to be engaged as soloist). The work has the late-in-life calm of that extraordinary first movement of the Piano Concerto K. 595; but whereas in the Piano Concerto we get, with the calm, intimations of the agony that preceded it, in the Clarinet Concerto the calm is that of a lovely, radiant lyricism. Occasional oversharp nuances aside, the solo part is beautifully phrased by Reginald Kell, in a sensitive orchestral framework provided by the London Philharmonic under Sargent.

Columbia's long-promised series of reissues of hot jazz classics has got under way at last, with no less than four albums and a large number of single discs. One of the albums is devoted to Bix Beiderbecke, and mostly to some of the performances he recorded under his own name with small groups. These are largely collective improvisations by the group playing at full blast from the first note to the last—which means Beiderbecke playing powerfully and fairly close to the tune, but always with that unique sensitiveness of inflection, and not always clearly heard. The superb "Jazz Me Blues" and "Sorry" have been available on Vocalion 3042 and 3149; now, in the Columbia album (C-29, $2.50), we get a few more that are good—"Goose Pimples" and "Royal Garden Blues" (35664), "Thou Swell" (35665), and "Ol' Man River" (35666)—as well as "Louisiana" (35665), in which Beiderbecke does nothing comparable with his wonderfully sensitive solo bit in the Whiteman performance on Victor 25369, and "Wa-Da-Da" (35666), which is uninteresting. On the fourth record (35667) is part of the Whiteman performance of "Sweet Sue," with Beiderbecke's sensitive solo; and I would say his piano-playing was not sufficiently interesting for the reverse side to be given to "For No Reason At All in C."

The Louis Armstrong album (C-28, $2.50) offers couplings of the superb "Potato Head Blues" with the uninteresting "Heebie Jeebies" (36660); "Squeeze Me" with the previously unissued "S. O. L. Blues," both fine (35661); "Save It Pretty Mama" and "No One Else But You," also very fine (35662); and the remarkable "Knockin' a Jug" with the previously unissued "Twelfth Street Rag," which I don't care much about (35663). "Potato Head Blues," I might add, is available with the equally good "Put 'Em Down Blues" on Commodore's U. H. C. A. 59-60; and "Knockin' a Jug" with the superb "I Can't Give You Anything but Love" on 35-36.

The rest of these reissues, together with recent jazz records, next time.

B. H. HAGGIN

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Letters to the Editors

The National Guard Needs Streamlining

Dear Sirs: The recent maneuvers of 5,000 national guardsmen at Sparta, Wisconsin, in which guardsmen from even Middle Western states went hrough three weeks of intensive drill, isclosed an appalling lack of efficiency n the part of the officers in charge. ieutenant General Stanley Ford of the econd United States Army, who was in ommand of the encampment, admitted s much several days before the men broke camp, when he called in the offiers and bluntly told them that they had one their job poorly.

I resigned from the Wisconsin National Guard in September, being a maried man with dependents, and there-ore I feel free to point out some of he glaring instances of inefficiency in he management of the Sparta camp.

Observers agree that in supplying dequate food for the men, executing orders, and providing proper training or the men the officers bungled their ob. Not once did more than a handful of boys, outside those in the hospital, eceive any fresh milk or cream, On the econd day of camp, my company of ninety men was given nine eggs for breakfast. Other companies had the ame experience many times. The coffee was so bad that many men refused to drink it. Investigation disclosed that the government had paid around six or even cents a pound for it.

The slowness of the officers in carrying out orders was amazing. I should explain here that the officers on the various staffs were principally reserve officers, who had not been through the weekly drill that the regular guardsmen and officers participate in during the year. These reserve officers do a lot of military work by correspondence, and only once in several years go to camp or actual military training. The following incident will illustrate the slowness with which they moved.

The mock war, high light of the encampment, was called off by army offi-cers at noon on Monday, August 27. There was a driving rain at the time, and my regiment was in a woods some seven miles from the base camp. Instead of ordering the men back to camp immediately to get them out of the rain, the officers in charge allowed six hours to elapse before giving the order to move.

On the first day of the mock war the men marched from one in the afternoon to one the next morning with heavy packs on their backs—without a meal. The reason was that the trucks containing the mess kitchens did not get to their destination till seven hours after the appointed time. On another occasion, after a long daytime march, my regiment was ordered to pitch tents in woods where some regular-army soldiers had camped the night before. When the boys had virtually completed pitching their tents, the order came to move to another location because the woods weren't clean. The officers in charge had just got around to inspecting the place.

But the most serious defect of this encampment was the kind of training offered. In the whole three weeks the men spent one solitary day in rifle target practice. Most of the time was devoted to marching, with some reconnoitering through woods and brush. Yet in real war nowadays the soldiers do little marching; they ride in trucks. I should say in passing that plenty of time was devoted to teaching the men to fix their cots just so.

Very few of the latest weapons of war were available. National guardsmen are supposed to have the Garand rifle, but only a handful of the boys had them. Tanks, trench mortars, light machine-guns, and howitzers were conspicuous by their absence.

I spoke one day with the captain of a nearby unit, and together we went over the difficulties that the guardsmen had been up against in the encampment. Our criticisms boiled down to the following:

The reserve officers and many of the Guard officers are obviously inefficient and do not fit in with the scheme to streamline the National Guard as a necessary unit in defense.

More weapons of war are needed, and more practice in their use.

The commissariat department of the National Guard needs a thorough overhauling.

Officers should spend less time in their headquarters and more in the field with their men.

DAVID VELIE

Monroe, Wis., November 1

Labor Must Act

Dear Sirs: I have noted with some surprise your editorial reaction to the defection of John Lewis from the ranks of Roosevelt supporters. I say "surprise" because it has been from the columns of *The Nation* that in recent weeks I have gathered the impression that labor has every reason to be dismayed over the defeats it has sustained in the administration of the defense program. I realize that the necessity for speed has been a trump card in the hands of the industrialists, and that not every setback for labor should be regarded as expressing the will of the President; yet the question arises, would this labor-supported Roosevelt Administration have allowed to pass unpunished the use of the same trump card for obstructionist purposes by labor? And there are other matters for which the President is more directly responsible, such as the one pointed out in your issue of November 2—the recommendation of strike-breaker John J. Dempsey for the United States Maritime Commission.

As one ponders these repeated affronts to the working people, one feels that here a labor leader has a problem to which he should not optimistically close his eyes. To me recently the labor leader's task has seemed such a difficult one, his responsibility to secure some real evidences of good faith such an important one, that a mere dwelling on some of the inane things Lewis said seemed too easy and unqualified a reading of the whole matter. I should have expected *The Nation* to give us a more thoughtful analysis of why Lewis did what he did, and I should still like *The Nation* to give us its own constructive suggestions as to what labor could do to make itself felt politically in such crises as the present one, under the two-party American system.

Hasn't labor, in indorsing Roosevelt despite all the snubs recently received, put itself in the same position as the Labor Party in England, which joined the war government expecting to get concessions from it afterward instead of exacting them before? This party now finds itself, for example, asking fellow-workers all over the world to aid a Britain which continues to intern many known anti-fascists, a Britain whose leading editorial voice can continue to intone such sentiments as "General Franco is above all a man of character" (London *Times* of November 1, quoted in London broadcast of WABC, New York). With labor in this country in an even weaker political position than it is in England, isn't it about time for labor leaders to do something?

IRMA B. FONTANA

New York, November 4

Mr. Villard's Contribution

Dear Sirs: After reading Mr. Villard's letter to the New York *Times* which you reprinted on November 2, I reread his recent book "Within Germany." He wrote there: "I feel certain Germany will not win this war. Freedom, human decency, and dignity forbid it. Humanity and justice and morality forbid it." And of the contemplated destruction of London by Hitler, he said: "Destroy this city? Well may the Germans pause, for this that looms so somber and so vast is not England's alone. This is the heritage of all who say that men shall be free. For him who lays violent hands upon it there will be forgiveness never."

Noble thoughts these, nobly put. And now look upon the Mr. Villard who wrote the letter against Roosevelt to the New York *Times.*

As a reason for attacking the President he says, "Mr. Roosevelt ties us to one side in the struggle," thereby confronting us "with the awful choice of peace or war"; and he follows this up with a warning that "entering the war will mean the death of our own democracy." Simply interpreted, his words mean: let London be destroyed, let this citadel of freedom be overrun by Nazi hordes, let the swastika fly over England, let human decency and morality and justice be crushed by Hitler's barbarism—all this is no concern of the United States, and we must keep out of the struggle. That, in essence, is Mr. Villard's contribution to the very grave situation confronting the world.

H. LANDSBERG

New York, November 6

For the Cortelyou Plan

Dear Sirs: W. P. Cortelyou's plan for referendums by postcard (The Nation of October 26) is to my way of thinking a very constructive suggestion. In fact, I should style it "A Plan to Further and Improve Our American Brand of Democracy."

An appalling number of our citizens, in every walk of life, now say, "I don't take much interest in politics. What's the use?" A compelling reason for such lack of interest is the fact that while persons in political positions are supposed to be the servants of the people, under current conditions the ordinary citizen enjoys the exercise of his sovereign right only for a few minutes of one day every two or four years. With the Cortelyou plan in operation every citizen would spring into action as one who was called on to exercise judgment on all public questions. The resulting sense of responsibility, the assurance of sovereignty, would create a democratic solidarity that would guarantee our impregnability against any foreign foe.

To make the Cortelyou plan perfect, I should have on those yes and no cards a line for a simply expressed reason for the voter's decision. This would still further enhance the consciousness of sovereignty—now one of our greatest needs.

JOHN S. GOGIN

Walhalla, N. D., November 6

Socratic Anarchism

Dear Sirs: It seems to me that respect for our legislators requires us to assume that the heavy penalties of the conscription act for refusal to register were aimed at evaders, dodgers, slackers, and not at such men as the Union Seminary students, whom you describe as "honest and earnest young Christian pacifists." They took their stand in the open, choosing—as they conceived the situation—to obey God rather than men. For such an inspiring demonstration of independence and courage and loyalty to conscience we should all be grateful.

It may be the federal attorney's duty to take formal action against them, but I shall be very much surprised if they receive other than merely nominal punishment. A liberal and reasonable interpretation of the law makes their offense merely formal. For by identifying themselves to the registrars and giving their grounds for refusing to register, they virtually registered. That is to say, they gave the government all the information it needed inasmuch as they are exempt from military service anyway.

They took the one way that was open to them of effectively bearing their witness against conscription and the collective homicide for which conscription is a preparation. Was it "a form of libertarianism perilously close to anarchism"? And what is wrong with that Socratic type of anarchism? I call it admirable.

HENRY W. PINKHAM

Newton Center, Mass., October 18

South American Air Mail

Dear Sirs: There has been much talk abut the improvement of our relations with South America. The Havana conference was very successful. Since then, American destroyers have visited several harbors in Latin America, and the government in Washington has extended credit to various states. It seems that some effort is really being made to counteract German influence in the Western Hemisphere.

If we are to deal with South America, however, the air-mail postage must be reduced. As is well known, an ordinary letter takes from two to three weeks to reach Rio de Janeiro or Buenos Aires, and therefore almost all business correspondence has to be done by air mail. But air mail costs 40 cents the half ounce to Brazil and 50 cents to the Argentine.

Today Germany offers cheaper prices and better credit terms than the United States. To challenge the Nazis successfully, we shall not only have to export on a cheaper scale, but also have to reduce our air-mail rates and encourage as much business correspondence as possible.

FRED ROSENAN

Philadelphia, November 8

CONTRIBUTORS

H. G. WELLS, the well-known English author, is now lecturing in this country. His latest book, "Babes in the Darkling Wood," appeared a few weeks ago.

EDSEL KELLY is the pseudonym of a prominent South American writer and lecturer.

GEORGE JOEL is an editor of the Dial Press.

MORTON DAUWEN ZABEL is the author of "Literary Opinion in America."

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The Shape of Things

THE PROLONGED SILENCE OF THE ITALIAN High Command about operations in the Greek war is good proof of the setback which Mussolini's legions have suffered. Il Duce's speech on Monday provided further confirmation, for while it derided British and Greek reports of victories, it was in effect a pep talk designed to spur the Italian people to greater efforts and to prepare them for "more sacrifices." Striking as the Greek success in pushing back the invaders has been, it is obvious that the campaign has only just begun. We must expect the most strenuous attempts by Italy to retrieve its prestige, and we cannot doubt that it will soon receive aid from its Axis partner which will tilt the scales still more heavily against the Greeks. Such aid is probably being discussed in the current military and diplomatic conversations between Germany and Italy. From the German point of view the Italian defeat has its advantages, for it enables Hitler to charge Mussolini a high price for coming to the rescue. Perhaps he will insist that the German High Command assume general direction of the Italian armed forces. Almost certainly he will demand a limitation of Italian influence in the Balkans. The question remains as to how German assistance is to be provided. There is no great difficulty about sending aerial reinforcements, but the Adriatic route has become hazardous for troopships. It would not be surprising, therefore, to find pressure being put on Yugoslavia to permit the passage of German forces into Albania. The return of Serrano Suñer to Berlin suggests that an attack on Gibraltar is being planned with the object of reducing British naval pressure in the Aegean.

*

MOLOTOV HAS RETURNED TO MOSCOW, BUT no official light has been thrown on the scope, purpose, or outcome of his conversations with Hitler. The sole Berlin communiqué says that the talks "led to agreement of both parties on all questions of importance that are of interest to Germany and the Soviet Union." The first Moscow comment in *Red Star,* the army newspaper, is equally uninformative, stating merely that the "friendly exchange of opinions . . . will make for further strengthening and developing of Soviet-German relations." Only events will show whether the Russian Premier was persuaded or bullied into making positive commitments or whether he was able to escape with general protestations of good-will and promises to refer specific proposals to Stalin. The fact that the imposing retinue of experts who accompanied him to Berlin all went home again suggests the absence of a concrete agreement requiring detailed technical discussions. A new economic alliance or a treaty involving military cooperation could hardly be completed without prolonged consultations between the experts on both sides. The impression that whatever understanding was reached was of a fairly generalized nature is strengthened by the comments of "informed quarters" in Berlin. These declare that Russia, convinced that the British Empire is doomed, is definitely ranging itself on the side of the Berlin-Rome-Tokyo Axis—originally incorporated as the anti-Comintern Pact. As a reward it is being allotted a "sphere of domination" between Japan's Far Eastern zone and Europe and Africa, which Hitler and Mussolini are reserving for themselves. But these inspired sources fail to touch on the delicate question of the boundaries between these clashing spheres. Nor do they take into account recent Soviet press comments indicating awareness of the continued vitality of Britain.

*

THE DEADLY BRITISH AIR ATTACK ON THE Italian fleet in Taranto harbor may prove to be one of the decisive actions of the war. It completes the British navy's dominance in the Mediterranean, which is badly cramping Italian operations and is probably the main cause of Graziani's inactivity in Egypt. Even the narrow waters of the Straits of Otranto between Italy and Albania are no longer a secure route for Mussolini's transports, and it is not going to be easy to reinforce the army which the Greeks have manhandled. Of wider significance is the possibility that Taranto will enable the British to strengthen their naval forces elsewhere. Premier Churchill

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in his speech of November 5 spoke bluntly of the strain to which the merchant fleet is being subjected by German submarines and bombers. In addition, at least one German raider is again at large, and its attack on a large convoy in mid-Atlantic dramatized the necessity of catching it at the earliest possible moment. Thanks to the epic gallantry of the armed liner Jervis Bay, the only escort which could be spared, a large part of the convoy escaped. But this and other recent incidents have shown how thinly the British navy has had to spread its forces in its effort to safeguard the continuous flow of vital supplies from overseas.

*

BY THE TIME THIS ISSUE MAKES ITS appearance, the C. I. O. convention will be half over and the A. F. of L. convention well under way. We will know whether John L. Lewis has succumbed to the theory of the indispensable man, whether the Federation officials mean business when they talk of ridding their unions of thugs, racketeers, and other parasites on the labor movement, and, above all, whether new hope appears on the horizon for a united labor movement. It is true that too high a price, involving a threat to industrial unionism, can be paid for healing the breach between the two trade-union bodies, but there is by now abundant evidence that no such exorbitant price has been asked by the Federation officials. On the contrary, they appear willing to pay through the nose for their past mistakes in order to put an end to a schism which has seriously sapped their strength. The advantages of unity would be too obvious to cite were it not for the success with which its opponents have obscured the issue. Unity would give labor a far stronger bargaining position in the national defense program, as well as in private industry, by increasing its pressure power and by preventing the playing off of one body against the other. Unity would be advantageous to the defense program itself by confronting the government with a single and coherent policy on the part of organized labor and by eliminating jurisdictional disputes. Unity would be a boon to consumers, who have patiently born the insanities of inter-union battling, and to rank-and-file unionists, to whom new elections, involved in a merger, would bring some chance to break the grip of intrenched machines.

*

THE DECISION TO SEND HENRY A. WALLACE, Vice-President-elect, to represent the United States at the inauguration of General Avila Camacho as President of Mexico was a happy one indeed. Mr. Wallace has long been vitally interested in Latin America and has come to represent the best aspects of the New Deal's Good Neighbor policy. The sending of as important a personage as the newly elected Vice-President is bound to make an excellent impression in Mexico and offset in no small degree the dubious role played by the American government in the recent controversy over the oil and other properties taken over by the Mexican government. The very decisiveness of the gesture should lay at rest any possibility of an uprising by General Almazán, the defeated candidate for the Mexican presidency. The Administration's recognition of Camacho should shut off any further pro-Almazán activity on the part of the American oil interests. Reports from Mexico City insist that the designation of Wallace as our representative at the inauguration is tied up with a general agreement whereby the United States will be permitted to use a number of air and naval bases in Mexico in return for a generous loan to facilitate the development of these bases. Washington has denied that any agreement on bases has been reached. We hope that the denial is merely a way of saying that final details have not yet been agreed upon. But if no arrangement has been concluded, there is every reason to believe that Mr. Wallace's trip should facilitate one.

*

THE POSITION OF MARTINIQUE IS STILL obscure and far from satisfactory. Following a "call" by United States Rear Admiral John W. Greenslade on the French High Commissioner, Admiral Georges Robert, the latter issued a communiqué saying that as a result of their conversations there had been "a consolidation of good relations." At the same time it was learned that the Treasury had permitted the release of French credits for the benefit of the French West Indian islands, which are reported to be extremely short of supplies. A recent American visitor to Martinique writing in the New York *Post* reports that intensive preparations are being made to strengthen the island's defenses against attack either by Britain or the United States. Marines considered to be insufficiently faithful to Vichy have been sent to Casablanca, and the civilian population, which would welcome American protection, is disarmed and cowed. The 110 American-made war planes remain on the island and are said to be in first-class condition. At present there are few pilots, but the German freighter Helgoland, which sneaked out of Barranquilla, Colombia, recently, was known to have on board a large party of German aviators. Were they to reach Martinique, the island would be equipped for offensive as well as defensive operations. It is reported that the State Department has more than once sought the return of these American planes. The Vichy government has refused on the ground that Berlin would not permit it. But at the same time the French Ambassador here is constantly protesting that Vichy is not controlled by the Nazis and is perfectly free in respect to its American colonies. We think the State Department should ask M. Henry-Haye to stick to one or the other of these obviously conflicting positions.

THE ANGLO-AMERICAN GROUPS SEEKING TO appease Japan won a major victory last week when an agreement was signed among Tokyo, the Standard-Vacuum Oil Company, and a subsidiary of the British Shell Oil Company to supply most of Japan's oil requirements from the Dutch East Indies. The arrangement calls for an increase in Japan's oil purchases from the Netherlands Indies from the present 494,000 tons to 1,800,000 tons annually. According to the account in the New York *Herald Tribune,* American "oil authorities familiar with the details of the transaction" declare that it has "solved a very delicate situation in the East" . . . and "offset the severance of much of the supplies to Japan from the United States." The "delicate situation" would appear to be Japan's lack of oil, which prevents that country from loosing its full might against China and from engaging in new adventures in the South Seas. It is argued that now that Japan has all the oil it requires it will not need to seize the Dutch East Indies. The falsity of this argument has been revealed in Japan itself, where the military clique is openly urging immediate action against the East Indies, not only as a means of obtaining the rich resources of those islands but as a means of fulfilling Japan's sacred destiny. If Japan is to act, it obviously must act before the United States and Great Britain reach an agreement on naval bases which would prevent Japan from gaining a foothold in the South Seas. It seems incredible that the American and British government could have sanctioned the deal, as the oil interests claim. But if this is the case, it is high time for the American people—who are overwhelmingly in favor of an oil embargo against Japan—to have some voice in their country's Far Eastern policy.

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THE CAPTURE OF LIBREVILLE, CAPITAL OF Gabon, by General de Gaulle's "Free French" forces removes the whole of French Equatorial Africa from Vichy control and gives Britain and its allies a wide corridor across Central Africa. As a result the Allies now touch the southern edge of Libya, but this is not likely to have any great strategic importance since there are more than five hundred miles of desert between them and Graziani's army. It may prove possible, however, to stir up the Libyan tribesmen, who have not forgotten Italian methods of "pacification." But the most important results of General de Gaulle's coup are the reestablishment of his prestige and the provision of additional bases for the protection of the route to South Africa. According to Vichy, the garrison at Libreville defended the town vigorously and suffered heavy casualties, but the "Free French" communiqués declare that losses were small on both sides. The fact that there was any bloodshed at all indicates the abandonment by de Gaulle of his promise not to take part in a war between Frenchmen. For this he can hardly be blamed considering the extent to which Vichy has become a German pocket government and the severe measures which are being taken against his followers in France and the "loyal" colonies.

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THE LONG-DRAWN-OUT BATTLE OVER THE personnel of the National Labor Relations Board has just been resolved by the appointment of Dr. Harry A. Millis to succeed J. Warren Madden. Mr. Madden, who leaves behind him an excellent record as chairman of the board, is a victim of political circumstances. There is small doubt that his reappointment would have been rejected by the Senate. Moreover, the strong animosity of the A. F. of L. toward him, coupled with the extravagant support he received from John L. Lewis, made him an obvious stumbling-block in the Administration's plans for labor unity. Whether or not the President should have tried to overcome these considerations, we hope the regrettable passing of Mr. Madden will not be used to create a hostile, and harmful, prejudgment of Dr. Millis. The new board member has a long and honorable record as a labor authority. His experience has been in the field of arbitration rather than administration, but it may be recalled that neither Madden nor his colleague Edwin S. Smith laid claim to any appreciable administrative experience before making their distinguished contributions to the work of the Labor Board.

Aid to China Is Aid to Britain

REPORTS from London state definitely that the United States, Great Britain, and Australia have agreed in principle on defense cooperation in the Pacific, including the use of the Singapore base and probably of some Australian base as well. Although these reports cannot be confirmed in Washington, the absence of an unequivocal denial suggests that some announcement may soon be forthcoming.

A few months ago many American observers were urging that the United States move its battle fleet into the Atlantic, either as potential aid to Britain or as a protection to the United States in case of a British defeat. With the passing of the danger of an immediate invasion of Britain that argument no longer has even partial validity. On the contrary, it has now become clear that the maintenance of our fleet in the Pacific as a bulwark of a strong Far Eastern policy is not only highly important to our own defense but essential to the successful defense of Great Britain.

Since the signing of the tripartite agreement among the Axis powers, the British Empire has been in jeopardy on three widely separated fronts: the English Channel, the Mediterranean, and the Far East. Attention has thus far been centered primarily on the Battle of Britain. But Britain is now reasonably safe as long as it can continue to get men and supplies from other parts of the empire and the non-belligerent states. The chief threat to the empire at present is the threat to its vital life-line through the Suez Canal to the East. For the moment Greece's successful defense has helped Britain and greatly strengthened its Near Eastern defenses. But if the Axis succeeds in obtaining control of Greece, the life-line will be in serious danger. Even today it appears that despite Britain's recent great naval victory Italy is able to move its troops across the Mediterranean at night without difficulty. If Italian troops can be moved, there seems no reason why German soldiers cannot also be transported to Africa, where they would confront numerically inferior British defenders. Should a drive against Suez be successful, the Axis powers would be in an impregnable position. They would be able to obtain all the oil they needed, and they could get considerable quantities of grain and cotton from Africa. With its life-line cut, the British Empire would face dismemberment. Australia, New Zealand, and India would be isolated, relatively easy prey for Japan with Axis help. The East Indies, with their strategic raw materials, would be even more helpless. Even active intervention in the war by the United States might not, at this stage, be sufficient to prevent the rich British, Dutch, and French empires in the Pacific from passing into Axis hands.

In order to maintain its supremacy in the Mediterranean and safeguard Suez, Britain has weakened its Far Eastern defenses by transferring naval units from the Far East and troops from Australia, New Zealand, and India. Needed troops have also been withdrawn from the defense of the British Isles. Much larger forces are required. Most of these must come from Australia, New Zealand, and Canada by way of the Indian Ocean. But Japan's recent evacuation of important territory in South China and concentration of its forces on the islands of Hainan and Formosa can only be interpreted as preparation for further adventures in the South Seas. There are reports of a Japanese ultimatum to French Indo-China which, if accepted, would give Japan an important and needed naval base at Saigon, almost halfway to the East Indies. Faced by this immediate threat, the British dominions will be compelled to keep back forces for home defense, and there is danger that the immense resources of India may be cut off by a Japanese naval blockade.

Prompt action by the United States in sending naval reinforcements to the Philippines and at least a small contingent to the vicinity of the Singapore base would forestall this threat. For it is clear that there can be no attack on the East Indies if a strong American naval unit is in a position to cut off the Japanese expeditionary force from its base. Increased aid for China by the United States can also play a large part in checkmating Japan's aggressive intentions in the South Seas. But without at least potential naval support we could not be certain that our shipments to China would reach their destination.

If Japan can be checked, the dominions, together with India, can in all probability take care of the Axis threat to Suez. And a strengthening of the British defenses in that vital zone offers the best hope of persuading Turkey to throw its resources into the Mediterranean struggle. The cost of all of this to the United States, it will be noted, is negligible as compared with what might be involved if Britain's life-line were severed. Quite apart from the fate of Britain, it is clearly to our interest to preserve China and prevent Japan from making further incursions in the South Seas which would threaten our vital supplies of tin, rubber, antimony, and tungsten. That such a policy is also of utmost importance to Britain is our good fortune in this day when choices are usually between evils.

Relief Chiseler No. 1

WE CANNOT understand the jubilation with which the conservative press greeted the decision of the Supreme Court in the Republic Steel case. The only reasonable explanation seems to be that hatred of the Labor Board among those who speak for employers is so great that any defeat of it in the courts is an occasion for rejoicing, no matter what was at stake. For we would think that the principles which a paper like the New York *Times* has been supporting in regard to fiscal policy would lead it to deplore the decision of the majority, rather than to welcome it. The conservative press has stressed the importance of balancing the budget, the wickedness of those who take relief from the government without having a right to it. Chief Justice Hughes and the majority do not impair labor's rights by their decision. The workers of Republic Steel retain their right to collect from Tom Girdler every penny of wages lost during their discharge for union activities. The loser in this case is the Treasury. The board had ruled not only that Girdler must reimburse his workers but also that he must repay to government work-relief agencies the amounts they paid out to wrongfully discharged Republic workers. The court says that Republic need not repay the government. In the words of the Black-Douglas dissent, the majority would grant "an offending employer the opportunity of shifting to government relief agencies the burden of supporting his wrongfully discharged employees." The court thus permits Girdler, not to violate the Wagner Act, but to chisel on relief.

The majority is open to criticism only when it seems to go beyond the facts and necessities of the case to step off the bench and into the current controversy over whether Wagner Act violators should be given government contracts. Where the court wishes to evade troublesome questions, as in the Negro case discussed by Mr. Stone in his letter from Washington this week, it declares itself the prisoner of the rule that no decision shall go beyond the points necessary to settle the particular case before it. But in the Labor Board case the majority seems to have been bursting with a desire to put a word in on the debate over the Labor Board and defense contracts. The act provides that the board may order reimbursement for back pay in cases of wrongful discharge. The worker is reimbursed only for the money he actually lost. His earnings from private industry and any money from relief is deducted from the pay he would have received during the period of discharge. The employer need only pay the difference. The board may have been wrong legally to require the employer to reimburse relief agencies for the amounts they paid these workers. But the majority is hardly precise when it takes advantage of this to say that Congress did not intend to allow the board "a virtually unlimited discretion to devise punitive measures." The discretion, as the minority points out, is strictly limited by the amount of back pay involved and the clear terms of the back-pay provision.

While the anti-labor press was making the most of the Republic Steel decision, it buried or dismissed without notice the opinion delivered by Justice Douglas for a unanimous bench in the Serrick case. This was one of those collusive-bargaining cases in which labor unions, usually the A. F. of L. but once the C. I. O. Mine Workers' Union, "organized" with the aid of the employer and his foremen in company-union style. The vigor of the board in dealing with this practice has virtually ended it, but the animosity evoked by the board's attitude is the chief reason for the A. F. of L.'s opposition to Madden's reappointment as chairman. The A. F. of L. made an issue of the Serrick case, and a resolution passed by it in 1938 denounced the "flimsy pretense" on which the board had invalidated the closed-shop contract entered into by the Machinists' Union and the Serrick Corporation. The Serrick Corporation, unsuccessful in blocking a C. I. O. organizing drive with a company union, turned the company union into an A. F. of L. local, one of the chief organizers of the company union becoming head of the A. F. of L. local. The "pretenses" on which the board threw out the resultant closed-shop contract do not seem to have been entirely "flimsy," for they were impressive enough to convince every member of the court that the Serrick case was not free collective bargaining but company unionism with an A. F. of L. label. The court upholds the board, but Madden nevertheless must walk the plank to appease the A. F. of L.

Appeasing Franco

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

THE appeasement front moves just one step ahead of the military front. If you want to know what country will next take up an active role in the Axis drive, choose the country that is currently receiving diplomatic concessions or economic favors from the anti-Axis powers. Today the appeasement front is in Spain.

The British Ambassador to Spain, Sir Samuel Hoare, and the British Ambassador to the United States, Lord Lothian, have been conferring with each other in Madrid; Sir Samuel and the American Ambassador, Mr. Wedell, have been holding conversations with Foreign Minister Serrano Suñer, head of the Phalangist Party, the activities of which in the Americas are well described on another page of this issue; members of the British and American embassy staffs in Madrid have been working in close cooperation on plans to ease Spain's economic situation; talk about a $100,000,000 wheat loan continues in Washington; London is arranging for a credit to Spain of £2,000,000. And, perhaps the most ominous sign of all, a brief item from London hints at a move to expel Dr. Juan Negrín, Prime Minister of Republican Spain, who took refuge in England when France fell. A Madrid dispatch to the New York *Times*, describing some of these developments, suggests that they "will mark an important step toward reorienting Spain's economy in the democratic orbit."

The pattern is an old one, worn thin with misuse. Apparently it will be repeated until the last drop of blackmail has been extracted from Allied diplomacy. Neither experience nor the frankest warnings have had a deterrent effect. Britain should have learned from every bitter lesson—from its betrayal of Ethiopia, under the guidance of the same Hoare, to its final, futile attempt to buy Italy. It should have learned from the open boasts of Nazi and Fascist spokesmen. But it has not learned, and neither, it seems, has the United States. At Baltimore only a few days before the election the President denounced appeasement as a weapon placed by the democracies in the hands of the dictators. That clear-cut repudiation helped to send Mr. Roosevelt back to the White House. Has he forgotten it so soon?

On the occasion of Serrano Suñer's visit to Berlin and Rome in September the Italian press described the situation very clearly: "Spain is with the Axis and no attempt at seduction will succeed in diverting her from her historic destiny." The Italians spoke from experience; they had already enjoyed the morbid satisfaction of encouraging and then betraying the diplomatic advances of the Allies. Ever since the outbreak of the war Italy had let itself be courted by the French and British governments, and from time to time had given the impression that it was not entirely unresponsive. As a result the blockade pressed less heavily on Italy than on other much better-disposed neutrals; all sorts of concessions and exceptions were granted; unpleasant comments on Italy were rigidly excluded from the French press, which was not allowed to reply even when the *Popolo d'Italia* and the other Fascist papers accused the Allies of carrying on a war of piracy instead of a war of courageous struggle. (Mussolini has been able to demonstrate in the Greek mountains how a "war of warriors and not of merchant-minded people" should be fought.) As late as the end of last May, just a week before Italy entered the war, Premier Reynaud declared that there was no serious obstacle to an understanding between France and Italy. Later it was revealed that the French Ambassador at Rome had on several occasions hinted that France was ready to yield to the Italian demand for Nice, Corsica, and Djibouti.

With more restraint and greater anxiety, the same game was played in London. Events have demonstrated the degree of its success.

And now Spain. Franco has belonged to the Axis from the moment the Axis intervened to support the rebellion. Certain clerical and other traditionalist elements in the Franco ranks have, it is true, resented Axis domination and have hoped to recover the more archaic forms of reactionary control that antedated the New Tyranny. But the Phalangists have completely outmaneuvered their conservative opponents; each change in the Cabinet has more firmly intrenched the pro-Axis party; and today the groups which would like to respond to Britain's appeal are a helpless and captive minority. It is to Serrano Suñer, not to the church or the landlords, that efforts at appeasement must be directed.

Can Phalangist Spain be bought away from the Axis by wheat or credits? The answer should be clear without new proof. But new proof has been offered in the visits of Suñer to Italy and Germany, in the meeting of Hitler and Franco at Irun, in the insolent anti-British and anti-American tone of the Phalangist press. New proof has been provided by the presence in Spain of thousands of German agents of all the familiar varieties; every American who has traveled through Spain on his way home from France has seen countless German officers openly parading the streets of Bilbao and Barcelona and Madrid. And the final and most sickening evidence of the intimacy between the dictators is the traffic in anti-fascist Spaniards. A trustworthy report from Marseilles, dated October 19, states that 432 Republican refugees in France have already been delivered to Franco by the Gestapo; of these several of the most prominent have been executed. But while Republican leaders go to their death, the envoys of the remaining great democracies sit in Madrid devising means of placating and rescuing the Franco regime.

Some persons, wise enough to realize that Franco cannot be detached from the Axis, have argued rather plausibly that a little aid—just enough to feed the Spanish people but not enough to provide a surplus for Hitler—may serve at least to postpone the day when Spain will enter the war. Active support of the Axis would invoke the full rigors of the blockade, and the people would starve unless Hitler and Mussolini chose to fed them. For this reason, the argument runs, Franco resisted Hitler's urgings to open Spain to Axis forces as a base of attack on Gibraltar. But this view is valid only if one assumes Franco's basic independence. Nobody knows what was said by Hitler and Franco at Irun or what is being decided, as this issue goes to press, by Franco and Ciano and Ribbentrop meeting in Berlin. To me it seems far more plausible that the Axis powers have agreed to a policy which permits Spain to get credits and import food, and have hesitated to force Spain to a state of desperation which might even lead to the over-

CONTENTS

THE SHAPE OF THINGS 489
EDITORIALS:
AID TO CHINA IS AID TO BRITAIN 491
RELIEF CHISELER NO. 1 492
APPEASING JAPAN by Freda Kirchwey 493
THE RAT AND RES JUDICATA by I. F. Stone 495
THE INDIVISIBLE WAR by Ralph Bates 496
FRANCO IN THE CARIBBEAN by H. Rutledge Southworth and Willard R. Espy 500
SOMETHING WILL GET DONE by Julian Huxley 503
EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS by Keith Hutchison 504
IN THE WIND 505
A NATIVE AT LARGE by Jonathan Daniels 506
BOOKS AND THE ARTS:
TROJAN HORSE DOCTOR by James A. Wechsler 507
WILLIAMS THE CONQUEROR by Paul Rosenfeld 507
IMPASSIONED NICENESS by John Peale Bishop 508
TORY THROUGH AND THROUGH by Louis B. Salomon 509
THE FORTY-FIVE DAYS by Rustem Vambery 510
EXPLORING BY BOOKS by Jerome Mellquist 510
IN BRIEF 512
DRAMA: DECLINE AND FALL by Joseph Wood Krutch 512
FILMS by Franz Hoellering 513
RECORDS by B. H. Haggin 514

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throw of Franco. If Spain falls into chaos and rebellion, it is Hitler who will suffer, not Britain. Spain will be useful to Hitler only in the degree to which it is restored, fed, given some reason, however meager, for supporting the present regime. Every move to help Franco increases his prestige and his hold over the Spanish people. Every move to help Franco is taken as a gesture of weakness and uncertainty on the part of Britain. Never in the dismal record of appeasement has a bribe had any other effect than to create contempt for the nation that offered it and to stiffen the back of the nation that accepted it.

The Rat and Res Judicata

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, November 15

THOSE who read "Native Son" may want to supplement it with the decision of the Supreme Court last week in Hansberry *vs.* Lee. I can promise them no scene so unforgettable as that in which the rat attacks Bigger. Justice Stone's opinion may appear to be no more than a formidably technical discussion of the doctrine of *res judicata.* But "Native Son" and Hansberry *vs.* Lee both grew out of Chicago's black belt, where Negroes, Chicago's most poorly paid workers, living 70,000 to the square mile, pay the highest rent.

This may seem an odd moment in the world's history to discuss the housing troubles of Chicago's Negroes, but I am not sure that their difficulties are entirely irrelevant to the great struggle before us. The weak points in our democratic armor are those in which we are untrue to ourselves, and this is certainly one of them. Rents in the black belt, higher per cubic foot than along the exclusive Michigan lake front, are high because space for black men is limited. Space is limited because so-called restrictive covenants covering 80 per cent of the property in Chicago bind the owners not to rent or sell to Negroes. These covenants are the walls of Chicago's black ghetto, and they have their counterparts in almost every city in our country. Hansberry *vs.* Lee indicates the lengths to which the courts of a great Northern state were prepared to go to uphold these covenants; it also demonstrates how far the United States Supreme Court must still go before it overturns them.

For the layman the questions raised by the case are simple enough. Does one American have the same right as another to live where he pleases? Is every American equal in the eyes of the law? Will the courts enforce covenants that place some Americans in the status of an inferior race? These questions deserve the same unequivocal answer in the courts that we are accustomed to give them in patriotic oratory. Unfortunately, these are not the answers supplied by our constitutional law. We have yet to establish the rule that contracts involving racial discrimination are contrary to public policy. The Illinois courts decline to recognize the principle despite the presence on their statute books of a Civil Rights Act which forbids discrimination against Negroes in public places. In the Hansberry case the Illinois courts showed themselves equally agile in evading evidence that favored a Negro. Hansberry, who is colored, bought a home in Woodlawn, a white island in the black belt of Chicago. Other property owners brought suit to take the property away from him on the ground that it had been sold to him in violation of a restrictive covenant. Hansberry pointed out that the covenant, by its own terms, was not to become effective unless owners of 95 per cent of the frontage in Woodlawn signed it. He proved that only 54 per cent had signed, and that the covenant was therefore invalid, but the court ingeniously managed to avoid a ruling in favor of the Negro.

Several years earlier a friendly suit had been arranged between two white property owners to test the validity of the covenant. Both sides agreed in advance—stipulated is the legal term for it—that the agreement did have the required 95 per cent. The court which later tried the Hansberry case in Illinois admitted that the stipulation in this earlier suit was "false and fraudulent." It nevertheless held that this earlier decision made the case *res judicata,* that is, a closed question no longer open to litigation in the courts. Hansberry appealed to the United States Supreme Court on the ground that this ruling denied him the fair trial guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment. He also argued that the covenant, even if it had had the required number of signatures, would be unenforcible under the Fourteenth Amendment because it was discriminatory. The court, by deciding the case on the first point in Hansberry's favor, did not have to decide the second. The decision thus invalidates one particular restrictive covenant in Chicago but leaves restrictive agreements as valid as they were before.

This result may seem strikingly inadequate in view of the composition of the present court. Justice Stone is a great and good man, and a true friend of the Negro. The Chief Justice, in his present as in his previous term on the bench, has distinguished himself as a champion of the black man's rights. The attitude of Justice Frankfurter, as of the other New Deal appointees, toward the Negro requires no testimonial. It need only be noted that no member of the court has shown himself more eager to fight for the rights of the colored man than Justice Black. From this court one would normally have expected not a sterile disquisition on *res judicata* but a factual study, in the Brandeis tradition, of the effects of racial discrimination in bad housing, bad health, bad morals, and bad feeling. It is explained that the court did not write that kind of decision because the way in which this case came before it did not permit consideration of these broader questions. The significant point, perhaps, is that while this decision will seem a meager victory to the Negro, it appears to the court as a daring and novel interference with the authority of state tribunals. The United States Supreme Court, as it was constituted in the 20's, would probably have affirmed the action of the Illinois courts. That the decision in Hansberry *vs.* Lee should represent progress in the recognition of Negro rights is the best evidence of how poorly established those rights still are.

The court in this case was as much the prisoner of its past as Chicago's black folk are of their white neighbors' prejudices. The Fourteenth Amendment has been held a bar against discrimination by the state but not by private persons. The court has forbidden any Southern state to keep a Negro out of the Democratic primaries. But it permits a Democratic state committee to enforce the same barrier on the theory that a political party, like the Racquet Club, is a private association that can exclude whom it pleases. Similarly the court has ruled in the past that the Fourteenth Amendment forbids a state or city government to establish a Negro ghetto. But it also held in a famous District of Columbia case that property owners may reach the same result by covenant among themselves.

The loophole by which the Supreme Court could have escaped its past in that case is that these restrictive covenants can only be enforced in the courts. The courts are an agency of the state and therefore subject to the Fourteenth Amendment. This is a loophole which the present court may yet utilize, for it cannot permit our basic law to remain in the state in which Hansberry *vs.* Lee leaves it without inviting painful comparisons. These restrictive covenants are our Nürnberg laws, used as often against the Jew as against the Negro. To the latter they are more than a social annoyance.

The Indivisible War

BY RALPH BATES

THE present state of the world—the outbreak of the war and the course it has taken—is the consequence of the failure of European efforts to amend society in the direction of socialism. And in a certain sense it is ironically true that it is the result of the Russian Revolution and, more particularly, of the fact that the Soviet Union became a great military power. For when the Weimar republic failed to alleviate the economic crisis of the late twenties and early thirties and so brought the Nazi Party to power, the only system of alliances that could have held the new German expansionism in check, or have defeated it in battle, was that proposed under the name of collective security. The British Conservative Party, however, mindful only of its own interests, refused alliance with the Soviet Union, whose security and admission to Western Europe it feared, and as a result Germany was able to make war under conditions totally different from those of 1914-18. The nature of the new German state, its huge potential of repression, gives to a German victory an entirely new accent. It is no longer merely a question of the transference of imperial territories but of the establishment of a regime in Europe quite capable of putting an effective end to all liberal and socialist movements, whether revolutionary or reformist.

At this date a detailed account of the consecutive crises which led up to the war would be merely tiresome. The essential fact is that the British and French empires were incapable of taking adequate measures of defense because, in the objective conditions, to have done so would have threatened their very existence. The paradox is striking, but easily comprehended. For example, during the Spanish war the most appropriate course for Britain would have been to give active assistance to the Spanish government, and so to check Italian designs in the Mediterranean. But that would have been an encouragement of precisely those democratic and socialist movements which threaten imperialism itself.

One may think of Europe as a great machine, throbbing with energy, straining to set itself in motion, but checked by a powerful brake. Such was its structure that, if the brake were removed, the machine would race remorselessly onward toward the tragic annihilation of European liberties. The brake, represented by Soviet military power, was removed, and for that the common people of Europe have no responsibility. The removal of the brake did not merely plunge the world into war; it revealed the macabre logic that underlay European social history. The final tragedy has only been avoided by the application of another brake, unhappily far more costly, that of British resistance. The Russian withdrawal into neutrality, which was bound in the circumstances to be one of benevolence toward Germany, sealed the fate of France; and not only of the French empire but, temporarily, of the French Revolution, which only the endurance of Britain can once more set in motion.

In the intellectual excitement provoked by the fall of France the military factors are being ignored, by radical thinkers as well as by startled conservatives. A reading of classical German theory suggests that the real direction of German strategy was always against France. That this was so was recognized clearly by those who, like the present writer, always insisted that the Anti-Comintern Pact was aimed, not at the U. S. S. R., but at the Anglo-French imperial system. That pact and its supporting propaganda were intended to encourage the British and French imperialists in the belief that war between Moscow and Berlin was inevitable. The German General Staff, it is true, had always prudently considered the possibility of war on two or, more correctly, three fronts. However, the accession to power of the Nazi Party eventually suppressed the diversity of strategic intentions and made possible a foreign policy aimed at limiting the oncoming war to one front. It is, I think, a total error to suppose that the old caution of the Schlieffen school, still regnant in the Reichswehr, was destroyed by the Nazis. On the contrary, the absolute coincidence of strategic preparation and diplomatic effort made possible by Hitler was the condition of German success in this war.

Totalitarian militarization, far from driving Germany into a general hysteria of expansionism, has enabled the Third Reich to instrument the fundamental ideas of Schlieffen, the classical theorist, without, however, adopting his operative proposals. That plan was built upon three main concepts, only two of which are interesting for our purposes—the necessity for a short war and the westward direction of the military blow. It was fear of Russia, the belief that no strategic decision could be quickly reached in the east, that dictated the westward move. The war of 1914-18 proved that the possibility of success in the west, where the most glittering prizes are to be won, was conditional upon purely defensive resistance, or no active deployment at all, on the eastern frontier. There are plenty of references in German propaganda to the conquest of the Ukraine, but the whole history of 1936-39 shows that the western objective was the real one. The conquest of Austria, which reduced Italy to subordination and made the Axis a reality, inescapably settled the strategic issue. For Italy had little to gain by taking part in a war against the Soviet Union. Russian territories would never have been within its permanent control had it obtained them. It is in the Mediterranean and in Africa that Italy's imperial interests lie, and since Italian assistance was necessary to Hitler, the assault upon the Western powers was inescapable. The Abyssinian campaign and the intervention in Spain were conclusive proof that the German effort was a westward one.

The extraordinary, almost incredible refusal of Britain and France to defend their empires in Spain—incredible only if we forget the nature of the British Conservative Party—carried with it another consequence. Czechoslovakia was surrendered, and by that colossal blunder France was severed from its allies among the Succession States. The Kremlin could not fail to understand that the Allies were now too weak to be useful partners, and that the westward blow was now certain. It now merely needed to arrange a final insurance and that was forthcoming when the Polish guaranty was given. The resultant Russo-German pact directed the entire weight of the German army against France. That must never be forgotten when we make the customary radical analysis of the French collapse.

The unpreparedness of the French army was well known to Berlin and presumably to Moscow. The political divisions within France, not only between the two wings of the capitalist parties but inside the demoralized working-class movement, were major causes of the ignominious collapse. But even had a firm will to resist emerged in France, it is hard to see how the result could have been other than defeat, less catastrophic, certainly, but none the less defeat. I do not see how it can be believed that with a large part of the French army immobilized by the Italian threat, with mechanized forces comparatively lacking, and with fortifications between Sedan and the coast non-existent, the result could have been different once the Soviet-German pact had been signed.

To suggest, as some have done, that the Allied mistake lay in not launching a great offensive immediately upon the outbreak of the war is preposterous. With what could it have been launched, and where? That the French army could have broken the German Westwall is not credible. An advance through Luxembourg or Belgium was impossible without sacrifice of the potential assistance of neutral countries. No doubt the Allied advance, when it came, repeated the blunders of 1914 in going forward in the wrong direction, but the mere possession of determined combativity does not of itself give stragetic insight. France was doomed by its previous appeasement, but the signature on its death warrant was in the handwriting of Stalin.

The military disparity was accentuated by the disastrous blow at French morale which the pact of August 23 represented. That pact, and the change of line it occasioned in the French Communist Party, could, since that party was a major influence, have only one consequence. The sudden withdrawal of Communist support for the war gave the French reactionary leaders exactly the opportunity for which they had long been waiting. The suppression of the Communist Party, while it was inevitable, was a serious blow in itself, in that it helped to prevent the creation of a new type of resistance to Hitler and to the betrayers of France. Yet the period of confusion which observably followed the change of line, of itself, apart from political repressions, sapped all the energies of the working class. It separated the Communists from the other organizations, which were themselves demoralized by the reversal, and it dismayed the Communist masses. In the objective situation it was not even a falling back upon the classical, but invalid, "defeatist" position of revolutionary parties, whatever the befuddled subtlety in the reckoning.

The collapse of France brought with it the direst political and military consequences. It made possible the completion of the German system of interior communications; it turned British sea power back upon itself and to a great extent immobilized British land forces, so that they can now be of little help to Greece. The loss of the French navy not only imperiled the British Empire, the maintenance of which is not of itself of interest to Socialists, but brought the establishment of fascist hegemony in Europe well within the bounds of probability. It enabled the Axis more rapidly to extend its Balkan left wing, thus pinning the peoples of that region beneath governments even more reactionary than the preceding ones. By disturbing once again the precarious balance between the Spanish traditionalists and the Phalanx, it strengthened Iberian fascism and dragged Spain to the brink of war upon the side of the most active of its mortal enemies. Such a wave of reaction has followed every Axis victory, diplomatic or military.

In this case reaction was visible throughout the world. The Mexican Revolution, already encountering such grave difficulties that some movement to the right was unavoidable, necessarily responds to the Washington policy of hemisphere defense. Financial restraints had previously hindered the application of the agrarian reform. The proposed allocation of 600,000,000 pesos for national defense cannot facilitate the reform, whose halt tends to drive a wedge between the Mexican trade-union movement and the government. And that at the present moment throws the revolution itself into jeopardy, particularly since the Communists, responding to the pact of August 23, 1939, are demanding such extravagant advances that they are falling foul of the President-elect whom they, and the trade-union leadership under their control, did most to introduce to the organized working classes. The Japanese governing classes, redirecting their expansionism toward the French and Dutch possessions now without de facto ownership, brace themselves for the effort by abolishing the remaining trade unions and creating, as part of the fascist New Structure, a labor front. The Japanese puppet administration of Wang Chen-wei permits the reorganization of the old Shanghai Trades Council and directs it against the British and French capitalists exclusively, in the interests of Japanese imperialism. The Axis receives the adherence of Tokyo and, by exerting the pressure made available by the Eastern and Balkan disturbance of forces, attempts to persuade the Soviet Union to abandon China. New conflicts, directly related to the outbreak of the war but accentuated by Soviet neutrality, divide the American labor movement. No great penetration is necessary to see the connection between the American policy of the left-wing trade unions and their characterization of the war as imperialist. No country escapes: the living standards of the Soviet working classes themselves have been seriously lowered by the increased preparedness demanded since the disappearance of the only important anti-Axis army on the Continent.

This wave of reaction will doubtless continue for some time, and the only factor preventing its violent acceleration is the British effort. How paramount that resistance is will be seen if we examine some of the popular optimisms or indifferences, which are, I believe, mostly the compensatory products of a lethal frivolity.

Most of those who say that the Axis powers will be unable to organize their new imperialism are proceeding from false assumptions. They are thinking in terms of liberal capitalist economy, not of a dictatorial economy. They are thinking of exchanges governed by the volumes of credit, gold, and currency available to merchants within sovereign states. That capitalism can ever be finally organized upon an international basis is not to be believed, but that no system capable of reducing the centrifugal strains that Europe has shown is within achievement is a liberal delusion.

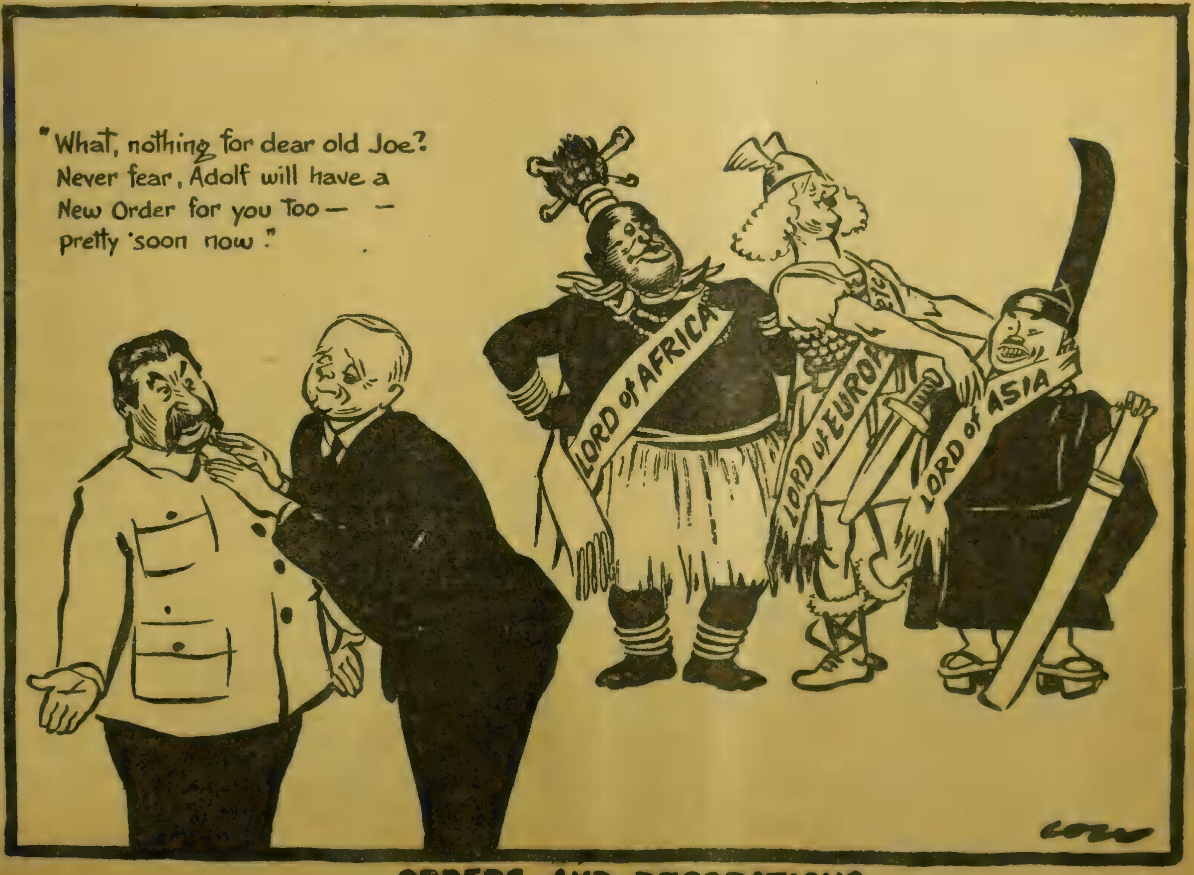
Among the optimists of the "wait till the war is over" school, yet another error is current, that of a too ready assumption that not even uniformly reactionary governments in the major European states would enable Hitler to weld them into a fairly stable system. Such people point to the fact that it was precisely the failure of Britain and France to cooperate which gave Hitler his opportunities. They draw attention to the evident truth that the incapacity of France to accept a position of subordination to either Britain or Germany, themselves more powerful and productive states, was one of the contributory causes of the present disaster. France, they say, at one time sought a rapprochement with Italy as counterfoil to the other two countries. Britain opposed this, but did not propose until too late that fusion of the French and British empires which might have detached Rome from Berlin. In short, they point to the history of the democratic disintegration as proof that a German hegemony in Europe will be similarly frustrated.

Two errors are apparent in such a argument. All the phenomena to which attention is drawn derive from the fact that the predominant capital-owning classes have hitherto been able to use the sovereignty of states to maintain their exclusive territorial privileges. The states, therefore, could not even cooperate to maintain these privileges inviolate. The Axis diplomacy has, of course, equally served the expansionist interests, which also have their origin in the failure to solve the problem of distribution; but there is no evidence that private interests have been able to dictate the day-to-day maneuvers, the consecutive steps, of Italo-German diplomacy. And it is upon timeliness and method that the Axis success has been based. In other words, while fascism is a system of political governance and an economic modality which permits private capitalists to make profits, it no more allows them to introduce contradictory policies or to dictate the direction of diplomatic thrusts than it concedes them the free investment of capital, the fixing of prices, or uncontrolled dealing in foreign exchanges.

The second error is not less fatal. The disintegration of the democratic bloc was due to the fact that the whole structure of Europe, considered as a system of real and potential alliances, had been determined by the concept of the balance of power, with which a centrally situated and highly productive power such as Germany can to a large extent dispense. The direct military menace which Germany, by means of bilateral neutrality pacts, was able to exhibit to each of its encircling opponents in turn, would be sufficient to prevent any possible grouping of poorly armed, if not disarmed, powers. Its armed partner, Italy, stands in such a relation of inferiority toward it that Rome has far less opportunity for divergence than Paris had in respect to London.

Finally, even if we make due allowances for the difficulties which the non-possession of sea power would create for the Axis countries in their efforts to incorporate their imperial conquests, the transference of empire is still possible. In that transference, even if it were attended by Soviet participation in certain regions, there would be no profit for the world. When an ice pack is shattered by an ice-breaker, it rarely builds up into a crystal palace.

And since we are, somewhat artificially, considering the effect of victories, it is true, I think, that a British victory, even without great amendment of government, offers great hope to the world. To grasp this, one must


"What, nothing for dear old Joe?
Never fear, Adolf will have a
New Order for you Too — —
pretty soon now."
LORD of AFRICA
LORD of EUROPE
LORD of ASIA
Low

ORDERS AND DECORATIONS

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bear in mind the relationship between the national independence of countries and the development of revolutionary and reformist movements within them. An Axis defeat would do more to release the energies of the Spanish people than any other single event. Spain would be restored, as it were, to its strategic vacuum, in which native forces would determine the course of events. The balance-of-power policy at least permitted a certain degree of freedom to the movements of dissent, for it was not a pursuit of repressive hegemony. In point of fact, a British victory very probably would not simply restore democracy but would unleash powerful revolutionary forces in Europe, forces which even a reactionary British government would have less power to restrain than it had in the past.

[*In his second article, to appear in our next issue, Mr. Bates will discuss the social strains in Europe as they affect the war.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

Franco in the Caribbean

BY H. RUTLEDGE SOUTHWORTH and WILLARD R. ESPY

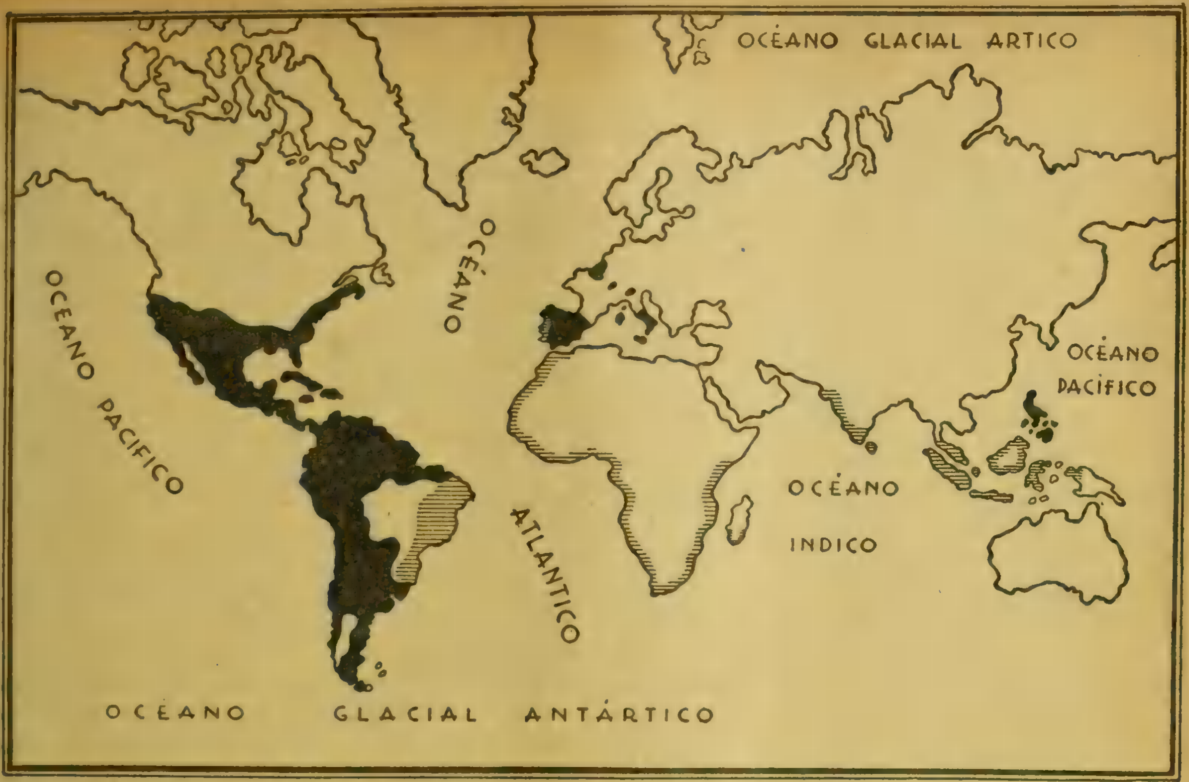
WE HAVE set our burglar alarms all over the Caribbean Sea. Warships flying the American flag are poking about green, steaming islands; new, lovely death gadgets are being hauled into position at new, lovely air and naval bases. Officers are looking under their beds at night for Adolf Hitler, for they know that the Caribbean is our Mediterranean, Puerto Rico our Gibraltar, and the Panama Canal a lifeline even more vital to us than the great Suez ditch is to Britain. But they will look in vain. Adolf Hitler's projected burglary in the Caribbean will not be heralded by gray cruisers, swastikaed bombers, and a German accent. In Latin America, as was the case in Europe, the alarms will be silenced and the windows unlocked by his local well-wishers, many of them lacking any organizational connection with him. The men paving the way for Hitler most effectively in Latin America are cut to the measure of their public. The organization they obey is the Spanish Phalanx, which operates with ease among a people whose language, religion, and upper-class culture are a purely Spanish product.

The aims of the Spanish Phalanx, being identical with the aims of Fascist Spain, include the recovery of Spain's lost colonies. Necessarily, therefore, the Phalanx is bitter against the United States. The Phalanx is the only legal political party in Spain; abroad it is the creature of the Madrid Foreign Ministry. Like its models, the German National Socialist Party and the Italian Fascist Party, it relies on an all-powerful and pitiless secret police force, which is headed by José Finat, Count of Mayalde. Phalanx leaders in other countries are appointed openly by Madrid and transferred by Madrid from one country to another.

Though the Phalanx abroad is composed principally of Spaniards, a citizen of a host country occasionally rises to a position of leadership. Circular 26 of the Phalanx Foreign Service, dated January 15, 1938, explained that "as a privilege truly exceptional, the political secretariat of the party can grant, after hearing the report of the Foreign Service, the rank of Foreign Militant to the subjects of another country who have . . . run grave risks or suffered great injuries for their direct participation in our national-syndicalist offensive." Shortly before the announcement of this decision the Foreign Service had in fact named an American citizen, a gay young Puerto Rican dilettante, Alfonso Miranda Esteve, provisional head of the organization in his island. At the time Esteve was a bankruptcy judge, a position which he held under the United States government. Later, a Spaniard, Alberto Durán, replaced him.

Cuba, with more than seventy chapters, is the fountainhead of Phalanx activities in the Caribbean. Persons inquiring for facts about the Phalanx in Colombia are referred by Franco diplomats to *Arriba España,* the official Phalanx publication at Havana. Phalanx agents responsible to Havana headquarters are to be found even in New York. From December, 1938, until last July the Phalanx was banned in Cuba, but it was legalized again almost at the exact moment that the Havana Conference of American Republics approved the uprooting of subversive organizations in the interest of hemisphere defense. The Spanish government on November 2 boldly appointed Cuba's Phalanx leader, Genaro Riestra, to be consul general in Havana, which is much as if the Nazis should name Fritz Kuhn consul general in New York. During the whole of its illegal period the Phalanx maintained pretentious headquarters in the exclusive Velado section of Havana. Uniformed members toting revolvers guarded the doors, and portraits of Franco, Hitler, and Mussolini lined the reception room. Cuban anti-fascists said it was an open secret that the Blue Shirts were undergoing constant military training behind monastery walls.

Cuba has some 4,000,000 inhabitants, of whom 174,000 are Spanish citizens and as many more are Spanish-born Cubans. Their families and relatives bring the Spanish colony to approximately 1,000,000 persons.



This map was added by the Phalanx to the 1938 (third) edition of "Defense de la Hispanidad," written by Ramiro de Maeztu, popularizer of the word Hispanidad, *a conception which includes all those who, regardless of race, live under Hispanic culture and religion and tradition. The reconquest of the lands of* Hispanidad *(shown in black) is the avowed purpose of the Phalanx. (The shaded area are lands once dominated by Portugal and likewise coveted by the Phalanx.)*

Probably not more than 50,000 of these are dues-paying members of the Spanish Phalanx; but the organization runs an innocents' club—a nominally humanitarian body called Auxilio Social, or Social Aid—to which 127,000 persons are pledged contributors. It has been competently estimated that more than 100,000 Spanish-connected indigents have received some measure of aid from this society—it served 132,881 meals in Havana in October—and are consequently under obligation to the Phalanx. Auxilio Social claims to be autonomous, but a party order of August 26, 1938, forbids it to collect funds save under the direct supervision of Phalanx officers.

The income of Auxilio Social in Cuba runs as high as $150,000 a month, much of it coming from the dozens of Spanish sick-benefit clubs on the island. Winning a foothold for the Phalanx in these mass organizations has been a major Auxilio Social achievement. Sympathizers with the Spanish republic, who would not come within smelling distance of the Phalanx as such, have contributed to the "welfare" body. A mailing list thus created has been bombarded with propaganda from the Spanish, German, and Italian legations until it forms a closely knit, disciplined organization fanatically opposed to any program for strengthening the connections between Cuba and the United States. How much Auxilio Social income goes to legitimate charity, how much to propaganda, and how much to repair war damages in Spain is anybody's guess. Last July a notice tacked to the wall of Phalanx headquarters announced that more than 11,000 pesetas had just been sent from poverty-stricken Cuba to Spain toward the construction of a mausoleum for José Antonio Primo de Rivera, Spanish Fascist martyr.

The Phalanx is intent on reminding Cubans of their Spanish heritage and of Franco's interest in their welfare: 112 Spanish children in Cuba are being educated by the Phalanx—and probably for the Phalanx. On August 18 last 92 persons arrived at Corunna, Spain, aboard the Marqués de Comillas on a trip sponsored by the Phalanx. The Marqués de Comillas and its sister-ship, the Magallanes, plying between Spain and New York via Cuba, are controlled by the Spanish government and drop Franco propaganda at Havana on every voyage. Last summer ten Phalanx agents paused between ships to compile with local aid a huge catalogue containing the names, birthplaces, finances, and politics of all Spaniards on the island. The data were required by the Franco government for a hideous blackmail racket based on a technique made notorious by the Nazis. Cuban anti-fascists are warned to change their politics if they don't want their relatives in Spain to suffer. Similar pressure on New

World business men and on men with property in the old country brings the Phalanx an agreeable flow of contributions.

Since its new legalization the Phalanx in Cuba has blossomed into fresh activity. In Puerto Rico, on the other hand, it is lying low for the duration of the present wave of anti-totalitarian sentiment in the United States. Puerto Rico, an island of 1,500,000 people, is a United States dependency on the eastern edge of the Caribbean. It is considered so important for the defense of the United States that in 1939 a new Military Department was established there, with headquarters at San Juan. Rear Admiral William D. Leahy, one of the navy's most highly respected strategists, became governor in September of that year. Work was started on super-modern air and naval bases costing $30,000,000, and the island was made supply base for all military and naval operations in the Caribbean. The navy's war games focused on Puerto Rico, and additional troops, chiefly anti-aircraft and artillery units, were rushed to the area. Yet the Phalanx remained so strong that Congressman J. Parnell Thomas of the Dies committee, after a hop-skip-and-jump tour of the Caribbean last summer, commented: "It is my personal opinion that if the National Socialist Party of Germany is attempting to make inroads in Puerto Rico it is through this organization."

The Phalanx in Puerto Rico is registered with our State Department as agent of a foreign principal. Miranda Esteve's covering letter names its essential purposes as aid to distressed Spaniards, creation of an "impartial" state of mind among Puerto Ricans toward Nationalist Spain, and development of a "bona fide commerce between National Spain and the United States of America." Its actual objective—return of Puerto Rico to Spanish ownership—of course goes unmentioned.

There are perhaps 5,000 Spanish subjects in Puerto Rico today, with their families. Most of them are Phalanx members, though the number publicly avowing their affiliations has fallen off as a result of the international situation. Phalanx headquarters are at San Juan, with local chapters at Ponce, Mayagüez, and Caguas. Though the island population is thoroughly disgruntled over Puerto Rico's role as a far from prosperous United States appendage, it is in the main sincerely democratic, and Congressman Thomas's estimate that for every Phalanx member there are ten sympathizers is open to some question. Nevertheless, despite its poverty, the island furnished sinews of war for the Franco rebels, in calm disregard of the American embargo. The truth of persistent reports that San Juan served as clearing-house for North American hand grenades and ammunition going to Franco under the label of "pottery—Czechoslovakia" cannot be absolutely established, but cash contributions totaling $600,000 were revealed by the following item in the Spanish newspaper *Faro de Vigo* for November 22, 1937:

> *Puerto Rico.*—From June 18, 1936, to November of the present year Puerto Rico has contributed the following donations to the cause of Nationalist Spain: $400,000 in cash; $100,000 to acquire an *avioneta* [airplane]; $2,000 for devastated towns; $2,000 toward the subscription to build the cruiser España; and $25,000 in medicines. This afternoon 4,870 kilograms of tobacco were received in Saragossa to be distributed among the soldiers fighting on the Aragon front. A new shipment of goods and $4,000 in cash is promised.
>
> The Hispanic societies [of Puerto Rico] have agreed voluntarily to raise $1,500 monthly. . . . The Spanish Chamber of San Juan, on the unanimous vote of its founders, has decided to send funds to Generalissimo Franco for the needs of the new Spain. This donation comes to more than $10,000.

The upper classes of Spanish and American society in Puerto Rico were 100 per cent pro-Franco during the war. The Casino Español, the Casa de España, and the Spanish Chamber of Commerce, the leading Spanish social and financial organizations in the island, were officially pro-Phalanx. As a "front" organization for the Phalanx, the Casino Español entertained Nazi officials, among them Commander Hain of the German schoolship Meteor, not to mention mysterious figures like Baron Maximilian von Loewenthal, a monocled Austrian ex-diplomat who edited the periodical *La Raza* in Costa Rica.

Spanish propaganda films shown in San Juan are all of German make. They were brought across the Atlantic by José de la Serna, son of the Spanish novelist Concha Espina, and brother of the editor, Victor de la Serna. José de la Serna is a known member of the Phalanx secret police.

More startling than the numbers or the activities of Phalanx members in Puerto Rico is the sympathy with which they have been regarded by certain sections of American officialdom. During the Spanish war Phalanx rallies were attended by General Winship, then governor of the island, Colonel Orbeta, a former major in the United States army and at last report still chief of the Puerto Rican police, and Colonel John W. Wright, at that time head of the United States armed forces in Puerto Rico. Wright freely showed his sympathy with the Phalanx during the Spanish civil war. In September, 1937, he blandly entertained Luciano López Ferrer, special ambassador of the Spanish rebels, at Ballajá, a United States military post. Photographs of this extraordinary fraternizing were printed regularly in *Puerto Rico Ilustrado*, a leading magazine of the island.

Repeated protests against this official tolerance of illegal Phalanx activities were submitted by Jacinto Ventosa, the Spanish Republic's vice-consul in Puerto Rico, but his letters were not acknowledged. Washington's local representatives may have thought that the State Department approved their attitude, since it allowed Dionisio Trigo y Marcos, brother-in-law of Police Chief Orbeta, to act as Franco's representative after December 9, 1936, in direct violation of Sections 233 and 235 of Title 22 of the United States Code. When Trigo's sons assaulted Ventosa in Pardo Bar, San Juan, Orbeta's police refused to arrest them. This blindness of American officialdom toward the fascist sympathies of Puerto Rico's fashionable society persists to this day. Only last month Governor Leahy pooh-poohed the menace by saying, "The Spanish Falangists are persons well known to the federal authorities, and their acts have always been carried out with the greatest respect for the laws of the American government."

The cordiality toward the Phalanx displayed by United States military and civil officials has its counterpart in the attitude of the Catholic church. The island is divided into two bishoprics, the northern one being directed by Monsignor Edwin V. Byrne and the southern by Monsignor Aloysius J. Willinger. Both men are Americans, and both dioceses are directly responsible to the Holy See. Monsignor Willinger had a Franco coat of arms upheld by angels painted on his chapel during the war, and both men made a habit of blessing Franco rallies, at which blue-shirted Phalanx members were the most conspicuous attendants. Many of the island's priests are Spanish and wear their Phalanx insignia over their cassocks. Working with German Redemptorist fathers, they distribute Fascist leaflets printed in the Third Reich or by the *Revista Católica* of El Paso, Texas.

In Cuba likewise some American officials and business firms have continued tacitly to support the Spanish Fascist movement even though the Spaniards themselves have admitted their identification with the Rome-Berlin-Tokyo axis. They are abetted by many of the wealthier Cubans, who were pro-German in the last war and are pro-Hitler now. Among these is ex-President Mario Menocal, whose support was the decisive factor in Colonel Fulgencio Batista's presidential victory last July. Other violent Franquistas are the brothers Rivero, one of whom publishes the *Diario de la Marina,* the most influential newspaper in Cuba, while the other is Cuban ambassador to the Vatican. The Riveros were reported recently to have bid unsuccessfully for New York's only Spanish-language newspaper, *La Prensa.* César Salaya de la Fuente, secretary-general of the recent pan-American conference, must be added to the list, together with Angel Campa, Secretary of State under President Federico Laredo Bru, whose term of office expired at the end of September. Under Laredo Bru's successor, Campa has achieved his ardent ambition to become ambassador to Madrid.

By itself Spanish imperialism would hardly be a grave threat to the United States; as a front for the German drive on Latin America it is not to be taken lightly. Only by the kind of economic cooperation which will raise the standard of living of the people—as opposed to imperialism—can this danger of Axis penetration be prevented.

Something Will Get Done

BY JULIAN HUXLEY

London, November 4

THIS morning I restrained myself with difficulty from childishly turning the bathroom taps on and off and repeatedly flushing the toilet. No, my mind is not giving way under the strain of the *Blitzkrieg!* It is just that we have been without running water for eight days, and to see it run again prompted the childish manifestations. Our water-main was smashed in a raid. So was the electric cable. Primitive conditions are fun when you are camping; but when you are trying to lead a normally efficient life in the complexity of modern civilization, they are not. No baths; water carried upstairs in pails, and having to be boiled for drinking; no central heating; hurricane lamps and guttering candles to write by in the evening—a week of this brings home very forcibly that the amenities of technological progress are not mere comfort, but the basis of decent and efficient living.

Life in London is now a brave and, on the whole, wonderfully successful struggle against discomfort and impaired efficiency. Journeys take longer because of detours to avoid damaged streets or time-bombs. Certain sections of the tubes suffer precautionary closure during raids—and there are generally two or three raids every day as well as one raid lasting almost all of every night. There is greater overcrowding during rush hours. Telephonic communication is erratic,

[*Censored*]

Letters and telegrams are considerably delayed. Many shops close during an alert, to the annoyance of those who have come out to do their shopping. Even with the new system of roof-spotters which makes it possible to treat the sirens merely as an alert, much working time is inevitably wasted in the basements of government and other offices.

The city's social life is, of course, almost entirely disrupted, and the evenings as well as the nights are mostly spent in shelters. This has an inhibiting effect even when reasonably comfortable private cellars are available. But when the hours of darkness are spent in a cramped Anderson shelter, on a tube platform, or in one of the big noisy and inevitably rather dirty public shelters, existence reverts to something primitive. Hobbes said that human life was "nasty, brutish, and short." These natural attempts to prevent its undue shortening certainly increase its nastiness and brutishness. It is indeed a poignant sight, and one that it is impossible to get hardened to in spite of its universality in London today, to see people trudging in broad daylight toward the tubes or other shelters laden with suitcases or loose bedding, and queuing up to await the time of opening.

The unexploded time-bombs are another source of dislocation.

[*Censored*]

The physical organism of London is scarred; various of its nerves are cut, various of its capillaries, veins, and lymphatics put out of action, its circulation slowed. The remarkable and indeed astonishing fact is how efficiently London manages to carry on with its really essential work and how rapidly the damage is being repaired. But there is no point in pretending that it is not an effort, and that the whole business is not definitely unpleasant and irritating. When it comes to the living components of the city, the six millions or so of human beings who still inhabit it, and the mode of their existence, the unpleasantness is greater.

A survey carried out a few weeks ago showed that whereas in peace time only about 3 per cent of Londoners habitually slept five hours or less a night, the number had then gone up to 40 per cent. Admittedly that was at the height of the disorganization, and much has since been done to make sleep in shelters more possible. But there must still be a very large curtailment of sleep.

Another recent survey carried out among people in public shelters after dark showed that almost three-quarters of them had nothing to do, apart from chatting or occasionally knitting. The leisure of a great metropolis has ceased, in large measure, to be occupied—although more favorably placed people are finding that they are getting more time for reading. By and large, life for Londoners today is divided into doing their work and killing time underground. Here again steps are being taken to overcome this: groups of people are organizing games, or sings, or reading circles; and without doubt the human spirit will devise some answer to the problem. But meanwhile one can only note it as a new and extraordinary social phenomenon.

One thing is certain. The bombing of London has brought to a head the popular feeling against war. At the moment that is submerged in the hundred immediate problems that must be tackled and the equally urgent resolve to win this particular war. But when the people come up from their shelters into the region of normal life, it will come up too. The cynic will remind us that people felt and talked in the same way during the last war, and yet nothing permanent was accomplished. The answer is that in the last war people did not really feel in the same way. The last war was bad enough; but this has become a denial of ordinary existence. This time something will get done.

Everybody's Business

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

That Inflation Myth

CONSIDERING that Wall Street gave Mr. Willkie about a 95 per cent majority, it observed a barely decent period of mourning for his defeat. During one session the market sold off moderately while imprudent speculators unloaded the stocks they had bought in anticipation of victory. Utilities, it was observed, were particularly depressed.

The next day the funeral was forgotten in an old-fashioned scramble to buy stocks which sent the averages shooting upward and produced the biggest turnover for many months. Since then, although the best prices have not held, the stock market has remained active and has shown signs of a definite forward movement. This behavior appears so unnatural to some commentators that they have been forced to seek a discreditable explanation. Seizing on Secretary Morgenthau's statement, two days after the election, that Congress would be asked to raise the statutory debt limit by $15 to $20 billion, they have raised the cry of inflation. The New Deal, they imply, is about to meet that nemesis whose imminent arrival has been foretold by conservative financiers at six-month intervals ever since 1933. Now, it is suggested, the huge defense expenditures, following seven years of unbalanced budgets, are really going to start us on the slippery slope of currency depreciation.

The only way to measure inflation is by comparison of prices, and if we study the course of prices since 1933 we see that the record of the New Deal in this respect is most creditable. When Mr. Roosevelt first took office, the country was in the grip of a severe deflation; prices were at bankrupt-sale levels, and everyone agreed that they should be higher. Between 1933 and 1936 the wholesale-price index of the Bureau of Labor Statistics rose from 65.9 to 80.8 (1926 equals 100), a corrective movement which it would be absurd to call inflation. Early in 1937 a further sharp rise occurred, partly owing to speculative buying for inventories. The Administration took steps to curtail credit supplies, and the President issued a warning that certain prices, that of copper in particular, were too high. These actions may have been over-drastic, for they heralded the 1938 recession, but as anti-inflation measures they were extremely effective. It is curious, therefore, that at least twice during the campaign Mr. Willkie should have attacked the President for his successful effort to check speculation in copper.

Since the end of 1937 prices have remained on a fairly even keel. There was a rather sharp spurt in the fall of 1939 after the outbreak of war, but government publicity and conscious restraint on the part of business men who remembered the 1937 débâcle prevented it from getting out of hand. The index figure for 1938 was 78.6, and that happens also to be the figure for the week ending October 26, the latest published in the Federal Reserve Bulletin. Considering war-time pressures and the extremely stimulating effects of the defense program on the economy, this is a record of remarkable stability. Moreover, it is well to remember, wholesale prices today are some 19 per cent lower than in 1929, which means that even though the Roosevelt dollar buys a smaller amount of gold than the Hoover dollar it is definitely worth more in terms of usable goods. It is therefore sheer nonsense to argue that the New Deal to date has produced even a tendency toward inflation.

But what of the future? Is it true that the defense program will increase incomes to the extent that the demand for goods will outstrip supply and thus force an inflationary rise in prices? That is what happened in 1917, but then the United States was attempting to raise and equip an army at a time when the country's productive capacity was fully employed. Today that is not true. We have a large margin of idle labor and idle machinery which, as purchasing power rises, can be put to work to swell the supply of goods. In 1917 our farmers were unable to meet the export demand for their products, but today the position is reversed. There are huge stocks of grains, fats, and cotton stored in the warehouses, sufficient to take care of any conceivable increase in domestic consumption. There may be, of course, special situations where, owing to concentrated demand from the defense industries, it will prove difficult for civilian industries to fill their requirements. Copper is a case in point, for it is estimated that domestic production of copper in the next twelve months will fall considerably short of consumption. But there are remedies at hand other than permitting a rise in price which would enable low-grade mines to reopen and enhance supplies. Latin American copper mines are far from fully employed, but at present imports from this source are excluded by a four-cent duty. If Congress suspended this duty, or even halved it, ample supplies of copper would become available, and it would not be hard to hold the price at its present level of twelve cents a pound.

To return to Mr. Morgenthau's proposal for an increase in the debt limit. This was really no revelation, since Congress has already appropriated $15 billion for defense purposes, and it is obvious that this sum cannot be wholly met from taxation. The present $45 billion statutory limit will take care of civilian borrowings during the present fiscal year, and in addition the Treasury is authorized to borrow $4 billion solely for national defense. But this authority is restricted to a five-year period and therefore can only be used to issue short-term bills and notes. Such securities, generally speaking, can only be sold to the banks, and since such bank loans have the effect of creating new deposits they may be said to have an inflationary tendency. The Secretary of the Treasury wants to be able to issue longer-term bonds which will appeal to insurance companies and the general investor and thus tend to drain off part of the huge pool of idle bank deposits. That is why he wants the special authorization for defense borrowing to be merged in a general extension of the debt limit. Thus the implications of his statement are anti-inflationary, since if his proposals are carried out, funds which are theoretically available for the purchase of consumable goods will be absorbed by the financing of the defense program.

Again, Mr. Morgenthau raised the question of a further increase in taxation, which is another method of restricting the purchasing power of rising incomes and thus discouraging that competition for goods which can start an inflationary spiral of prices. I hope, however, that this method will be used cautiously until our margin of idle productive capacity is considerably reduced. Further taxation which would tend to raise the cost of necessities should also be avoided, since this would lead inevitably and rightly to demands for a general rise in wages and thus provide leverage for a general rise in prices.

In the Wind

A FEW DAYS after election Senator Taft returned to Washington on the Congressional Limited. Throughout the journey he read a book, which he kept in front of his face, perhaps to hide his identity. But the way he held it enabled everybody to see the title, and a ripple of laughter spread through the car. He was reading "The Great Mistake," by Mary Roberts Rinehart.

ANNOUNCEMENT OF Mrs. Roosevelt's gift of $25 to the defendants in the Oklahoma criminal-syndicalism trial may have repercussions. She made the gift privately because she felt the cases deserved a full airing, and the defense committee made it public without her permission.

A HOUSTON, Texas, radio station recently carried this bulletin: "It is officially reported that Count Ciano, after bombing Salonika, flew to meet von Ribbentrop in the Sudetenland, where they will hunt peasants." Did they bomb pheasants?

THE OCTOBER issue of *Destiny* denounces the "evil propaganda" being directed against it by a number of newspapers, including one "which has no paid advertisements and is reported to have on its staff "liberals, reds, and Jews." *Destiny* is the official organ of the Anglo-Saxon Federation. W. J. Cameron, public-relations counsel for Henry Ford, is a former president of the federation and still has an active hand in its affairs. Mr. Cameron has vigorously denied charges of anti-Semitism leveled at the federation.

PROTESTS FROM labor groups over the alleged "packing" of draft boards with anti-labor personnel are increasing. Several changes have already been made in Los Angeles boards as a result of blasts from labor quarters.

THE DECISION to continue the Independent Committee for Roosevelt as a permanent body was made by Mayor LaGuardia, and, insiders say, Ed Flynn wasn't consulted. Incidentally, a key figure in the committee told intimates recently that the group hopes to raise enough money to buy some reactionary newspapers and convert them into progressive dailies.

SOCIAL JUSTICE'S newest target is Charlie Chaplin. It objects to "The Great Dictator" because it is aimed at Hitler and doesn't include Stalin; which proves you-know-what about Chaplin.

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind. A prize of $5 will be awarded each month for the best item.* —EDITORS THE NATION.]

A Native at Large

BY JONATHAN DANIELS

THAT story about the Southerner getting ready to vote for Roosevelt again but telling his visitor that "if you Yankees don't stop voting for him this country is going to hell" has grown a beard, but it is neither older nor less funny than the faith of Northern conservatives that they can continually count on Roosevelt opposition from the representatives of the Democratic South. Republican Senator-elect Ralph O. Brewster spoke that faith in a post-election interview the other day. Liberty was threatened, but he counted on the South to save it from F. D. R.

"We must anticipate measures to curb the freedom of the press," he said. "However, the Southern bloc in Congress, though supporting Roosevelt, will stand for preservation of liberties, including the press."

Mr. Brewster's report on the South was that of a man from Maine speaking in Los Angeles. The South came out of the election with less division than any other region in the country. Only two politicians in the South of any importance made a show of not voting for the President, and "Cotton Ed" Smith's South Carolina and the Texas of "Cactus Jack" Garner gave Roosevelt big majorities.

Neither of these old gentlemen is very important now even in the South. South Carolina will probably keep "Cotton Ed" in the Senate for the rest of his life. But Garner can stay at home in Uvalde not only on Election Day but forever after. I think that those whom Dorothy Thompson calls the Catilines of the extreme left and right are rarer in the South than elsewhere. There is an increasing silliness in the persistent romantic view of the South as a land of a fixed feudalism, of ladies and lords above a great mass of white and black slaves. We begin down at the bottom, but the number at the top is wonderfully rare. The South at its best is a middle-class land, and the middle class in the South is increasingly aware of its own relationship to the welfare of the black and white Southern poor. It is for the New Deal.

It is for liberty also, as much as any other section in America. It will fight as long as any region for a free press, though it anticipates no attack upon it. But in parts of the South it would do no harm if the press itself gave a little more evidence that it is free. In Tennessee, which went two to one for Roosevelt, half of the city papers, with more than half of the newspaper circulation in the state, fell into line for Willkie following the lead—or jerk—of absentee ownership in New York. Those papers are coming out of the campaign not only sharing the failure of a large part of the press elsewhere but also suffering from a continuing local understanding that what they said—and say—represents less indigenous opinion than distant control.

Northern conservatives need to remember two things. In important human respects the South is the have-not section in America. It is also the section which the census showed has had the greatest increase in population in America—the increase is young in a nation of more and more elderly people. Counting on conservatism from such a region is counting on the dumbness or the docility of the Southern people in support of a status quo in which a lot of them are hungry in a rich land.

But those who count on the South do not count on the Southern people. They depend instead on some shrewd and reactionary Southerners who by one or another variety of demagoguery have got Southern votes. There is, indeed, a good deal of evidence that reactionaries in the South have been skilful in getting the votes. Their skill has not been based merely on poll taxes and prejudices, both of which they freely use. Maybe it has been chiefly based on a sort of lethargy in an electorate which has never got much help out of politics and has sometimes been content with no more than a good show.

This election in the South was no mere traditional straight Democratic voting. It overturned the third-term tradition, on which Republicans said they based hope in the South. But the significant thing is that the Democrats voting the straight Democratic ticket for a third term were voting for the man they had demanded the right to vote for under no compulsion of custom. In virtually all the Southern states the rank and file of Democrats instructed their delegates to the Chicago convention to name Roosevelt last summer.

Senators talking big words may fool them again on votes in Washington. The business men who were for Willkie will slip back as quickly as they can into the Democratic councils in their states. But they and the country need to realize that the so-called conservatism of the South is cracking. The South is for liberty, but it was a Southerner not long ago who included in his definition of liberty the right to "eat regular." It is important. This South of youth and increase and difficulty, already overflowing in disturbing migrations, scarcely seems to be the hope of things as they are—or were. It moves, if slowly, with the push of people on its politics—and behind the politicians people are still power.

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

Trojan Horse Doctor

THE TROJAN HORSE IN AMERICA. By Martin Dies. Dodd, Mead and Company. $2.50.

ON THE publication date of this book Martin Dies solemnly announced that "thousands of saboteurs" were at work in Michigan factories. He named no names, submitted no proof, and hasn't mentioned the subject again; but the incident was typical of the one-man self-promotion campaign which Mr. Dies has waged since he assumed the role of democracy's dare-devil defender. There have been cheerful prophets who insisted that Dies was bound to discredit himself unless he lost his voice. They underestimated Mr. Dies and they misjudged the climate of opinion. There have been others who, in the light of European events, have begun to see virtue in Mr. Dies's persistence. They are wrong, too. Whatever the rhetoric, Mr. Dies is not on our team. It is a major misfortune that democracy's noisiest Paul Revere is no democrat at all.

This book reveals little that is new about anti-democratic groups in the United States. It is essentially a belated anti-New Deal campaign pamphlet, shielding the right wing while directing an indiscriminate bombardment against the left, and adding nothing but confusion to the difficult and complex task of democratic self-defense. As the *Herald Tribune's* reviewer has noted, Mr. Dies devotes 324 pages to exposure of real or imagined Communist activity; he dismisses the subject of Nazi and fascist groups in 42 breathless pages. In his elaboration of the red network he spares almost no New Dealer of prominence: Frank Murphy, Robert Jackson, Harold Ickes, J. Warren Madden, Sidney Hillman, David K. Niles, James B. Carey, President and Mrs. Roosevelt and a host of others are linked to Communist affairs, as is that reconstructed Republican John L. Lewis. The New Deal is pictured as virtually a Communist-front organization, and the final chapter is a stirring attack upon New Deal legislation.

But when Mr. Dies approaches the right, he does so with startling temperance and discrimination. He singles out for attack only those who have so blatantly given the Nazi salute in public that they could hardly be skipped. In 366 pages I was able to find just two references to Charles E. Coughlin, each one sentence long. Each merely states that Coughlin's *Social Justice* was among the literature found in Bund camps. Why has Mr. Dies consistently protected Coughlin? Nowhere is there any extended discussion of Coughlin's activities, and nowhere any reference to fascism's respectable apologists. One looks in vain for mention of Merwin K. Hart or Henry Ford or William R. Castle or James D. Mooney; journals like Patrick Scanlon's Brooklyn *Tablet* are overlooked. The Dies committee did a weak and woeful job of exploring right-wing groups. But even the committee's disclosures, frail as they were, are telescoped further by Mr. Dies as author.

Some of the things Mr. Dies says about the Communist Party's influence on avowedly independent groups are true. But truth must be read in context; and in the context of Mr. Dies's pages the facts are too often indistinguishable from the fraud to be useful. There is little that the Dies committee has shown about the Communist Party which the party, by its abrupt reversals of policy in pseudo-independent groups, has not disclosed about itself; but the question of what ought to be done about the facts must be swiftly removed from Mr. Dies's hands. For in his hands they become instruments for attack upon all decent democratic agencies. The purge that Mr. Dies proposes would begin in the White House. He sees "democracy" as much endangered by Consumers' Union as by the Communist Party, and his anti-union bias runs through his whole discussion of allegedly subversive unions.

Above all, Mr. Dies has once again blurred the real nature of the right-wing peril. He has urged us to gape at Bundsmen and overlook business men whose links with fascist groups are real and ominous; he has written at length of piddling Italian fascist fronts but sidestepped the whole area of pro-Mussolini financiers. These omissions are not the result of haste. Mr. Dies rewards his friends and punishes his enemies.

No one has yet devised a satisfactory formula for imposing legitimate restraints on anti-democratic groups without arousing the emotional equivalents of totalitarianism. But a prerequisite for that task is a clear vision of the problem. By attributing to the Communists a following of 2,000,000 and in a host of other ways, Mr. Dies has thrown sand in democratic eyes. Democratic self-defense is a balancing act in which, at each step, the consequences of repression must be weighed against the consequences of libertarianism; and judgments must be made with few absolutes as guides. The anti-democratic plague is no case for a horse doctor.

Mr. Dies's book strengthens my conviction that the full story of the Dies committee is yet to be told. The pattern of its activity is not the product of blundering and ineptness; it is part of a pre-fascist build-up for a crusade against liberal institutions. Mr. Dies's collaboration with the enemies of Republican Spain is well known, but the evidence is still fragmentary. One of Paul Y. Anderson's last columns was a plea for an investigation of the Dies committee. Martin Dies's book is new reason for such an inquiry.

JAMES A. WECHSLER

Williams the Conqueror

IN THE MONEY. By William Carlos Williams. New Directions. $2.50.

THE Friends of William Carlos Williams can now be certain of his approaching reception of a widespread recognition. This probably would have come to him long since but for the fact that the opportunism of the publishing world, while it may not extinguish a man of letters whose public, like Dr. Williams's, at best grows slowly through the years, does help to keep him in obscurity. True, because of its prevaling sexlessness the poetry of this half Anglo-Saxon, half French and Spanish-Jewish pediatrician might never have been popular. Still his prose is strong. Despite the singularity of the style, little of it is esoteric in character. That much of it achieves forces of perception and expression new to American literature could have been plain to many readers.

Plain and peculiarly satisfactory; since these intensities are the fruit of a sort of spiritual prolongation of the voyages of Columbus and the conquistadors. Williams's object steadily has been that still imperfectly charted new world, the essential America. On native character, affections, manners, especially on the minutiae of lower and middle-class existence, he has leveled an acute, warm, unvaryingly truthful feeling. Basic forces have been discovered by him near the core of things American: abundant cruelty but also miraculous toughness and power of growth. With a certain force of imagination he has visualized his discoveries in symbols derived from history but more frequently from the life and landscape of his special region, industrialized northern New Jersey, and seized them in a swift, lean style immediately connecting reality and the word and more than occasionally heroic.

What assures one that a wide sense of his importance is at hand is first of all the circumstance that Williams lately has found a publisher with the will to keep him before the world and the ability to do so. Secondly, it is the discerning praise bestowed on "White Mule" and the reimpression of "In the American Grain." Most assuring of all is the fact that by sheer dint of effort the author is continuing to enlarge his scope as proseman. His latest novel, "In the Money," indubitably is his best and one of his most comprehensive performances. A sequel to "White Mule" and like that fine book a scenic and dramatic, half-humorous narrative, it continues its massive characters and situations. The soft idealistic German, Joe Stecher, who loses his socialistic feelings in his relations with labor, figures prominently. So does Gurlie, his Norse wife, the lusty lady of more Hunnish than Norwegian stateliness. (Her harshness grates on the reader's sensibility as her name does on his ear and eye.) Again we meet the well-nigh Shakespearean personage, the baby girl Flossie, mysterious parallel of the spring and the landscape. Placed in 1900, the actions revealing these characters, through which they change and learn and visibly increase (even poor Gurlie's stunted being finally expands), are the events in Joe's battle to pass into the capitalist class at the instigation of his own growing individualism but also of Gurlie's unleashed selfishness and ambitions: these and the natural events in which their infant attains self-consciousness and the unnatural, hateful scene between Gurlie and her old mother that deals the baby its first mental blow. What again is intended is a measurement of the forces transforming the characters of immigrants and recapitulating the life of the race. The still incomplete series continued by "In the Money" promises to prove Williams's "The Making of Americans."

The story's faults may be the familiar ones. The tension occasionally weakens: from chapter five to chapter thirteen the continuity approaches the loose one of a chronicle. The frequency with which the dramatic method of the bare dialogue is exploited also fatigues at times. There still is a superfluity of medical moralizing. However, these faults a
obtrusive here than heretofore. By and large, th
varied scenes are cumulatively built up, fully conveyi
author's meanings. Pictorial touches oftentimes lend
phere to the stretching dialogues. The wonderfully tr
expressions of character and manners and speech ag
clude contrasts of city streets and countryside, but thi
represent fragments of the political as well as of the b
and domestic spheres; and the intuition in the realm
semi-conscious life of small children verges on the
digious.

Meanwhile, the driving style functions as an all-p
ing image of the author's general feeling. Perfectly it c
the tones of the drab, periodically brightening and sn
range of life under observation; and from time to
movingly develops a lyricism above its constant syn
stature.

PAUL ROSENFE

Impassioned Niceness

PATTERN OF A DAY. By Robert Hillyer. Alfre
Knopf. $2.

ROBERT HILLYER'S poems come to us covered
honors. "In Time of Mistrust" was delivered a
College of William and Mary for the one-hundredth a
versary of the founding of that learned society Phi
Kappa. "In a Quiet Country House at Night" was rea
Phi Beta Kappa poem at Goucher College. So much acad
attention is seldom paid to a poet who has not safely arri
Mr. Hillyer won the Pulitzer Prize for Poetry in 1934.
yet, in his present volume, he seems not so much lik
poet who has safely arrived as like a man who has n
departed from safety.

Mr. Hillyer says that his attitude toward the worl
modeled on that of Samuel Johnson.

By niceness impassioned,
His mood, like his tense,
Was fantasy fashioned
From strict common sense.

There are indeed points of resemblance. It has been said
Dr. Johnson that the virtue he had invariably before
imagination was his own; Mr. Hillyer is quite consisten
engaged with his own merits. His poems are often dida
in intent but so personal in their complacency and con
that it is improbable they will persuade anyone to follow
counsel. Common sense was good in the eighteenth cent
and ought to be in ours. But Dr. Johnson's poetic mann
were already somewhat antiquated in his own day; th
would scarcely carry over into ours, even though someo
with the facility in verse of Mr. Hillyer attempted—as he h
not—to revive them. He comes closer to our own age.
writes not as an Augustan poet but as one who intended
contribute to the Georgian anthologies. He combines a mo
or less conventional poetic idiom with a more or less carel
colloquialism. It is the mood, not the tense, of Dr. Johns
he aspires to.

The trouble with the common-sense attitude for a po
is that to adopt it is to ignore the tragic complications
life. In Mr. Hillyer's case, it is hard not to believe it h

eant ignoring life itself, unless we are to consider that man

With a checkbook before him
And schedules to bore him

at the center and core of being. He is serenely closed in is "temperate dominion," with not only his checkbook but s conscience before him and, like a good New Englander, ith both scrupulously in order. "I know," he says, "my mptations will never begin." He is aware of getting on in ars, but also of getting on nicely. His "Pattern of a Day" to die the academic death daily, between eight o'clock in e morning and midnight. Sometimes then, snow or storm ithout, doubts assail him and the sense of mortality. But not r long; for no doubt could long survive in the presence of ch complacency. Indifferent to everything but his private eace, he still, after midnight, has moments when he knows is a false peace. They are soon dismissed for the calm of eep. Surely this is the very reverse of Dr. Johnson, who as impassioned, but not always for nicety, who knew only ansient calm and none which for more than a moment could r him "lull the sense of woe." JOHN PEALE BISHOP

Tory Through and Through

LIVER WISWELL. By Kenneth Roberts. Doubleday, Doran and Company. $3.

IN A new novel of over eight hundred pages Kenneth Roberts tells a story of the Revolution with an almost unique hero: a Loyalist, or Tory, who not only starts out by mistrusting the Sam Adams mobs but, unlike most Tory heroes who later see the light, works against the rebels through eight long years of war and remains steadfastly unregenerate, finally settling in Canada like a good many other colonists who shared his political convictions. Even his own first-hand view of the criminally stupid mismanagement of the war's military campaigns by the British, in Boston, New York, and the western territories, fails to shake his faith in established law and order, or to reconcile him to the riotous excesses of the insurgent rabble, their brutal persecution of all dissenting minorities, their apparent scorn of reason and education and private property. Except for this unconventional but excellently sustained point of view, the story follows much the usual pattern, with plenty of stirring battles and intrigues and hairbreadth escapes, and, of course, a sweetheart in the opposing camp who waits, as all sweethearts should, until love has a chance to triumph over politics. But Mr. Roberts has done a real service in presenting adequately—for the first time, as far as I know—the case of a good many thousands of colonists like Oliver Wiswell, well-educated, thoughtful, public-spirited citizens who very sincerely and on quite plausible grounds regarded the uprising as a menace to the country they loved, and who made as many sacrifices in defense of their views as did any "patriot" on the other side. And from the point of view of good novel-writing, he deserves a medal for having resisted the temptation to let his hero succumb to a last-minute conversion and whoop it up repentantly but unconvincingly for a government which he had so long opposed. LOUIS B. SALOMON

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The Forty-five Days

CHRONOLOGY OF FAILURE: THE LAST DAYS OF THE FRENCH REPUBLIC. By Hamilton Fish Armstrong. The Macmillan Company. $1.50.

IF Napoleon did not exaggerate when he said that all history is but a fable agreed upon, this is still more true of "contemporary history," inasmuch as the adjective attaches dubiety to whatever truth there might be in the noun. During a war the account of events in belligerent countries invariably serves propaganda, and this makes it almost impossible to unravel the facts and their implications.

Pliny, recording the last days of Pompeii nineteen centuries ago, certainly had an easier task than that imposed by Mr. Armstrong upon himself—to relate conscientiously the events of those last days of the French Republic which four months ago shook the civilized part of the world. Yet this "chronology" of the disastrous forty-five days is not merely a scrupulously sifted account of what happened but, in spite of the gravity of the subject, a thriller pulsating with life. In addition to all available information the author made use of his personal observations, his acquaintance with the actors of the tragedy, and, above all, his admirable power of judgment in predicting the sequence of events.

At the time of the Battle of Guadalajara, when the dress rehearsal of the current Armageddon was still under way, Armstrong published a book entitled "We or They." Has Flandin, have the incurable Chamberlainites in this country ever read his ominous warning. I wonder? Are their successors, the investment-rescuing appeasers, the isolationists, the "pacifist comrades," are they going to read and to heed this one? Statesmen, as a rule, do not like to read books revealing disagreeable truths.

Although the immanent causes of the nervous breakdown of France at the first severe blow are yet to be probed, it appears from Armstrong's book that France was doomed before the war began. Among the many contributing factors the author lists first the lack of coordination between foreign and military policy. France undertook the expedition into Belgium without the prerequisites set by its own General Staff. Even after the Belgian resistance failed, the French high command did not modify its tactics. War material was insufficient, but the main point remains that "all the time the French were fighting the Germans they were fighting each other also." In this fight, after August, 1939, many men of the extreme left and the extreme right reached out their hands round the circle." This is how the French Lewises and Browders met the French Girdlers and Fords. Over here they have met thus far only in an electoral campaign. Would they join forces in case a "Battle of America" should be fought?

"What are the lessons for us?" This is the pertinent question Mr. Armstrong asks in the last chapter. After Fascists and Nazis had convinced the world of their spiritual supremacy by the use of castor oil, guns, and clubs, British and French statesmen were guilty of both failure of imagination and failure of will. This resulted in disastrous appeasement. Britain eventually stiffened, but France became a slave to the Nazis. The forty-eight-hours-a-week German workers enslaved the forty-hours-a-week French workers.

For all nations not yet enslaved there is a lesson in the French tragedy. Labor, to achieve its ends, must put off its just economic claims until respect for human dignity and civil liberties are restored. Until then both labor and capital will be but drudges in the bondage of a ruthless gang. Socialism cannot do without the weapon of freedom. Violence may be the midwife of every old society pregnant with a new one, but what violence alone brings forth will most likely be a still-birth. Freedom can only prevail if it is controlled by ethics, or, as F. A. Voigt has put it, absolute freedom is the prelude to absolute despotism; it becomes so tolerant that it tolerates even those who are ready to overthrow it. Whoever reads H. F. Armstrong's masterly book—and it should be a duty of every American statesman to read it—will realize how fateful may be the hesitation to discern what is at stake in the struggle which the author so clearly laid before us in "We or They."

RUSTEM VAMBERY

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Exploring by Books

ART OF THE FAR EAST. Under Direction of Dr. H. M. Zbinden. Introduction by René Grousset. 15 color reproductions; 10 pages of text. Iris Books, Oxford University Press. $2.75. *FRENCH CATHEDRAL WINDOWS.* Introduction by Marcel Aubert. 19 plates in 12 colors; 10 pages of text. Iris Books, Oxford University Press. $3. *ENGLISH WATER COLORS.* Introduction by Laurence Binyon. 12 plates in color; 6 pages of text. Iris Books, Oxford University Press. $2.50. *EL GRECO.* Edited by Ludwig Goldscheider. 232 plates in photogravure; 13 plates in color; 30 pages of text. Phaidon Press, Oxford. $3. *RUBENS, PAINTINGS AND DRAWINGS.* Introduction by R. A. M. Stevenson. 232 reproductions; 6 color plates; 7 folding plates; 302 pages. Phaidon Press, Oxford. $2.50. *MASTERPIECES OF EUROPEAN PAINTING IN AMERICA.* Edited by Hans Tietze. 317 reproductions; 14 pages of text. Phaidon Press, Oxford. $3. *AUGUSTE RODIN.* Introduction by Sommerville Story. 119 reproductions in monochrome photogravure; 26 pages of text. Phaidon Press, Oxford. $3. *MAILLOL.* Introduction by John Rewald. 160 reproductions; 26 pages of text. Paris: Hyperion Press. New York: Art Book Publications. $2.98.

IN THE matter of art books, as in a visit to another country, one may choose either an omnibus or a vehicle which makes, so to say, but a few limited stops. It all depends upon what one wishes to see. The omnibus need not be, as it often is, an eight-pound book of masterpieces, or imply the desire to look at everything and see nothing. The Oxford University Press has already abundantly demonstrated the contrary. Indeed, in such volumes, for example, as "The Impressionists" and "Art Without Epoch" it has shown that inclusiveness need not imply any vulgarity whatever.

To these and other meritorious publications of the Phaidon Press, Oxford recently added a new group of Iris books of more limited scope. They make only a few "stops," but at triple-starred items. They were supervised by a scholar and a man of taste, Dr. Hans Zbinden, of Berne, Switzerland, and have been handsomely produced. The most notable is "Art of the Far East." There are only fifteen plates. But what plates! Lotus flowers and Wordsworthian waterfalls, mountain tops cut off by mist, speckled birds of gorgeous plumage. Perhaps the finest of all is a fisherman asleep in a skiff. He lies there in a wonderful dream of old China, reeds bending beneath his boat and the moon smiling—every detail in place and the color perfectly controlled. Seldom does one see such quality of reproduction in an American art book so modestly priced.

"French Cathedral Windows" gives the pleasure of a trip to the great religious edifices of medieval France. It admirably recreates that "vibrating, shining, dancing, refracted light which is the glory of the stained-glass windows of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries." "English Water Colors" is somewhat less impressive. No doubt this is chargeable to the originals. For how can painting be interesting if no warming color breaks through the sky?

Returning again to the more compendious type of volume, Oxford gives us in the Phaidon "El Greco" the smoky caverns and fire-lit passages of a consummate religious painter. The black-and-white reproductions, particularly the handsome enlargements, make this the best book on Greco at the price. The "Rubens," however, is barely adequate, and the "Masterpieces of European Painting in America" is likewise one of Phaidon's less happy omnibus excursions.

Infinitely better is the "Auguste Rodin." It would have pleased the sculptor himself. Beginning with his Cato-like father (1860), it incorporates the more important of his works. Here the photography of sculpture is notable. Light flickers along the surfaces, bringing out the "bumps and hollows" until the feverish Rodin almost steps out of the pages. If a few more water colors had been included, the résumé of the artist's work would be complete.

Maillol, the foremost French sculptor since the death of Rodin, is presented for the first time in English in this book from the Hyperion Press. The patriarchal artist was himself in constant touch with the volume during production, and it is stamped by his feeling in the arrangement and choice of examples and in the emphasis upon development rather than chronology. Both its text and its reproductions of Maillol tapestries, water colors, paintings, woodcuts, and sculpture make it a deeply refreshing book.

All of these books have merit. But why does not Oxford take us on a trip or two into America? Why not, for example, an Iris Book to explore the beauties of our water colorists Winslow Homer, John Marin, Dodge MacKnight, and Charles Demuth? And why not a first-rate Phaidon to identify for all time the landmarks in the virtually uncharted American art of today?

JEROME MELLQUIST

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IN BRIEF

JOHN FOXE AND HIS BOOK. By J. F. Mozley. The Macmillan Company. $3.50.

A scholarly and very readable biography of the celebrated Protestant pamphleteer and author of "The Book of Martyrs." Mr. Mozley's aim is the frankly partisan one of establishing Foxe's accuracy and honesty, and defending him against his attackers, who have been legion. He succeeds so well that the reader, after seeing Maitland and his crew of vilifiers ripped into shreds, is perhaps left with too flattering a portrait of the eccentric martyrologist. Foxe himself offers a fertile field for study; a psychologist—which Mr. Mozley is not, and does not attempt to be—would find good pickings in a man who could describe countless hangings, torturings, and burnings of Protestant martyrs with infinite relish and attention to detail, and yet make himself known to his age as a strenuous opponent of corporal punishment for religious differences.

A DICTIONARY OF CLICHES. By Eric Partridge. The Macmillan Company. $2.

This book by the author of the monumental (cliché) "Dictionary of Slang and Unconventional English" should prove a delight to the scholarly reader and a terror to the writer of conscientious English. No phrase is safe from the suspicion of Mr. Partridge. "The Grapes of Wrath," "Rabelaisian humor," "casual remark," or "casual encounter," "indistinguishably mixed," "of course," are censorable with so many others that it is difficult to review his book without sinning. Idioms, hackneyed phrases, familiar quotations, tags from the classics, pretentious Gallicisms are arranged for easy reference with their definitions, sources, and dates of currency—a useful compilation, surely, though the author draws rather nice distinctions (cliché) between those which are superfluous—half of Bartlett would have to go overboard—and those still serviceable as ballast to the common man's speech.

DUSK OF DAWN. By W. E. B. DuBois. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $3.

Considerable beauty and sound decision are to be found in this autobiography of Mr. DuBois, the Negro educator and historian, but unfortunately it is so concerned with the general racial question that it provides but a dim portrait of that extraordinary man himself. He tells crisply of his boyhood, of his studies at Harvard and the universities of Paris and Berlin, of his fourteen years as professor of economics and history at Atlanta University, of his thirty-one years as director of publications and research for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, of his editorial association with the *Crisis* since 1909. Now at the age of seventy-two he is more than ever confident that the Negroes' primary need in America is self-segregation for economic defense. Soberly and explicitly he states and explains why "black folk are much superior to white" and "black folk are the salvation of mankind." His book is no petition; it is a personal bill of rights.

PORTRAIT OF THE ARTIST AS A YOUNG DOG. By Dylan Thomas. New Directions. $2.50.

A rare book. Mr. Thomas, a Welshman and one of the most gifted poets of the post-Auden generation, tells the story of his youth. As might be expected, this is no flat-footed recitation of events but a record of unfolding sensibility as seen through selected episodes. The book is acutely alive, frankly sensuous yet delicate, racy in its humor but showing also an exquisite spiritual earnestness. D. H. Lawrence would have liked Mr. Thomas. So would Rilke.

BLITZKRIEG. By S. L. A. Marshall. William Morrow and Co. $2.

Mr. Marshall, the military critic of the Detroit *News,* attempts to analyze the nature of *Blitzkrieg* and to advise Americans on how to prepare for it. Since this is a big order and the book is small, one would have expected the author to be succinct. Instead he wastes much space on patriotic fustian and editorial platitudes. Perhaps Mr. Marshall's mental forces are themselves in a dangerous state of inefficiency. One suspects that he lacks the knowledge which would have enabled him to stick to a detailed discussion of military tactics.

WHAT ARE MASTERPIECES. By Gertrude Stein. The Conference Press. $2.50.

Miss Stein's celebrated Oxford-Cambridge lectures of a decade or so ago—"Composition as Explanation," "An American and France," and "What Are Masterpieces"—are here printed for the first time, together with some poems, and illustrated by two drawings by Picabia. It is perhaps superfluous at this date to say that Miss Stein's writings not only are stimulating but actually mean something.

DRAMA

Decline and Fall

OF THE four new plays produced on Broadway during the last two weeks, three dealt with the movie colony in Hollywood and the other one with a summer theater. This lack of originality, epidemic though it appears, is not in itself sufficient to form the basis for far-reaching deductions, and neither, perhaps, is the additional fact that all four were pretty generally admitted to be trifling, feeble, and amateurish. Unfortunately, however, the level of activity and achievement reached during the two weeks just past is approximately what reviewers have this year come to expect. It is now near the middle of November; in the good old days the theatrical season was by this time in full swing; yet not a single new play of even passing interest has been produced so far, and, leaving the musicals aside, there is no doubt about the fact that the playgoer's best bet at the moment is—of all things—a revival of "Charley's Aunt."

These facts make for dismal reflections among those who, like myself, have boasted that the last two decades have been the most interesting in American dramatic history and that our playwrights have won for themselves an honorable place in literary annals. Add the fact that since 1929 the number of new productions per year has declined precipitously as well as almost continuously, and one begins to wonder whether our theater is entering that depression into which the European theater began to sink some fifteen years or more ago. It is obvious that in England the succeeding generation did not equal the work of Shaw, Galsworthy, and Barrie; Germany and France, except for two or three farces by Jacques Deval, ceased to produce importable work some years ago; and it has been some time since I have heard the most enthusiastic of pro-Russians talk much about the new drama of the Soviets. Even in the case of the Irish playwrights the succession from Synge to O'Casey to Paul Vincent Carroll involves a diminuendo, though the phenomenon is perhaps less marked here than elsewhere. One wonders if the impulse is exhausting itself in America also, if O'Neill and Howard and Behrman and Rice and the rest are to have no successors. Of the leading playwrights only two have produced new plays this year. Is it more than an accident that Maxwell Anderson's contribution should have been merely dull and the comedy by George Kaufman and Moss Hart uninventive and thin?

The trouble does not seem to lie in audiences. Several of the feeble new offerings have enjoyed better business than was reasonably to be expected. Neither—despite the dispute over terms recently engaged in between playwrights and producers on the one hand and would-be backers from Hollywood on the other—does the diminished rate of production seem to be explained by any unwillingness on the part of the entrepreneurs to risk their money. The general complaint seems to be that few promising scripts are coming to light, that it is the playwright who is failing rather than either the audience or the producer. By the time this appears the Theater Guild will have launched its revival of "Twelfth Night" with Maurice Evans and Helen Hayes. If the venture proves successful there will probably be other revivals to take their places alongside it and "Charley's Aunt."

As for possible reasons for the decline in playwriting, I have none to offer beyond the obvious one that the times are out of joint—if that is not, as I firmly believe that it is, a preposterously inadequate way of describing the situation. Everyone says to himself from time to time that the concerns of normal life seem for the moment inadmissible preoccupations, but it is not, I suspect, such conscious convictions which most affect literary productivity. Men cease to write plays not so much because they are consciously convinced that this is no time for playwriting as quite simply because, whatever their conscious convictions may be, their minds are elsewhere, and the man who proclaims the slogan "artistic business as usual" is almost as incapable of actually attending to that business as the one who is formally convinced that such business ought not now to be attended to. Not long ago a man of letters well known for his consistently epicurean attitude reaffirmed to me in private conversation his conviction that the more troubled the times the more obvious was the wisdom of the injunction "Eat, drink, and be merry." "But," he added ruefully, "the trouble is that I just don't feel like eating or drinking." Literature may flourish in tranquil times; it may also give expression to resolution and passion. Perhaps it cannot exist in an atmosphere of anxiety, bewilderment, and fearful anticipation.

To those who think that they can be merry, "Panama Hattie" (Forty-sixth Street Theater) may be recommended. Ethel Merman, delightful as ever, is the star, and the whole production has a good deal of both the pictorial brilliance and the vigorous animal spirits one has come to expect in Buddy De Sylva's productions of Cole Porter shows, though the influence of the war must account for the theme of De Sylva's book, which this time has to do with a hearty but pure sweetheart of the navy upon whom a little child exercises a refining influence and who finally foils a dastardly plot to blow up the Canal. Some competent judges prefer "Panama Hattie" to last year's "Du Barry Was a Lady." I do not, but we won't argue the point.

Of the four plays mentioned at the beginning of this piece the best is "Quiet Please" (Guild Theater). Perhaps it would be more accurate to say that it seems the best, and that the fact is due to the presence of Jane Wyatt, who manages to give warmth and charm to the stereotyped role of the movie star determined to prepare gander sauce for an erring husband. One or two scenes are well written. The incidental business intended to create an "inside the studios" atmosphere is clumsy and ineffectual.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

FILMS

"FANTASIA," the newest Walt Disney production, is a promising monstrosity and an experiment containing many lessons. There is enough in it to make up for the shocks one suffers. And to be shocked in these times of blood and tears by the handling of a problem of art is in itself an experience of temporary relief.

The essentially new and essentially problematic in "Fantasia" is the use of great music as accompaniment for Walt Disney cartoons. To be sure we are told that it is the other way around, and no doubt the intent was the opposite one, but the effects achieved are nevertheless Walt Disney plus Bach or Beethoven. And the audience applauded exactly where it would have applauded if the score had been composed by a Hollywood musician. Specific pictorial innovations of characteristic Walt Disney charm delighted most. Yet to have the Pastoral Symphony interrupted by applause for sugar-sweet centaurettes is painful.

The program tells us that Walt Disney and his staff, "faced with the tremendous problem of translating the music of 'Fantasia' [Bach, Beethoven, Dukas, Stravinsky, Ponchielli, Moussorgsky, Schubert] into pictures, simply listened and tried to capture the moods, movements, situations, colors, and characters which the music painted on the canvas of their imaginations." The result is, the program continues, "that kind of entertainment which has been described as 'seeing music and hearing pictures.' "

I belong to those who had no need of that kind of entertainment, being content with seeing pictures and hearing music. And I was never particularly concerned whether I had to hear, see (read), or smell in order to have a great experience. In "Fantasia" the paintings on the canvas of Walt Disney's and his staff's imagination did not help but most of the time disturbed my appreciation of the music they tried to make me "see." One of two reasons, or both of them, may be chiefly responsible: either these imaginations did not live up to Bach and Beethoven and Schubert, or the whole idea of adding pictures to music composed to be appreciated best with the eyes closed is fundamentally wrong. I am sure of the first reason, not so sure of the second. There is a short moment in "Fantasia" when picture and music fit admirably together, and the experience is heightened by the combination; this is the moment in "Night on Bald Mountain" when the Black God reaches down into the village (art direction by Key Nielsen). But generally the discrepancy between pictures and music is deplorable, especially between the Pastoral and the sweet Olympus of the scene, or between the "Rite of Spring" and its popular-science illustrations, or between the Ave Maria and the *Kitsch* landscapes. And no wonder! There just does not exist—not even in Hollywood and not even in Walt Disney's admirable company—a staff of geniuses. One would need a Michelangelo or a Breughel to "picture" the music of Beethoven.

Where the music itself deals with a more or less conventional story, like Dukas's "The Sorcerer's Apprentice" (Goethe's *Zauberlehrling*), there is of course no problem, and one can enjoy Disney at his known best. Mickey Mouse as apprentice is a natural, and more delightful than ever. The same holds for the picturing of such ballet music as

Ponchielli's "Dance of the Hours." Disney uses this score for an unforgettable parody, his dancers being elephants, rhinoceroses, and ostriches. Profoundly sound, too, is the visualization of the "Nutcracker Suite," music also written around a story. It does not matter that Disney's fantasy is different from that of the original Nutcracker tale. In certain details he achieves here the best effects he has ever achieved. The mushroom dancers will be loved all over the world —may the whole world soon be able to see them!

In technical respects the picture is of unsurpassed quality. New methods and tricks of all kinds had to be invented to produce the hundreds of new effects never seen before. In the color photography, in the lighting—everywhere one notices great progress.

"Fantasia," in spite of shortcomings partly due to the exploring character of the whole, partly to fundamental errors, is a work of promise. One day, one feels, Walt Disney and his people may produce a film which will truly combine all the different branches of art.

Leopold Stokowski, with the Philadelphia Orchestra, and Deems Taylor, functioning also as the film's commentator, are responsible for the musical aspects of the picture, with which Mr. Haggin will concern himself. I leave to him also discussion of the new technique, "Fantasound," especially designed for the recording and reproduction of "Fantasia."

FRANZ HOELLERING

RECORDS

THE concerto literature—and specifically the great series of Mozart concertos—recorded by Toscanini with great solo artists is something to dream about. But Toscanini, like other conductors, has not regarded this literature as part of what he should set before the public with the collaboration of the greatest artists available. Instead, like other conductors, he has treated the concerto as something to be taken with a soloist; and with soloists who have been chosen from celebrated performers for personal reasons—friends, relatives, friends' relatives, some good musicians, some not—he has taken, for the most part, the familiar works that soloists most often bring with them. Never once has he invited Szigeti, the greatest artist among violinists, or Schnabel, a towering figure among pianists, to collaborate with him; and aside from Mozart's K. 467 once for Iturbi and K. 595 once for Serkin, the works have been repeatedly Beethoven's Violin Concerto and Piano Concerto No. 5 and the concertos of Brahms. And now he has made a recording of the Beethoven Violin Concerto with the solo part played by Heifetz (Set 705, $5).

The fact that Beethoven wrote this work should not blind us to the fact that it is one of his less impressive achievements (I am not forgetting wonderful pages in the development section of the first movement; I am remembering other pages); and Heifetz's dazzling tone and technical ease should not blind us to the musical inadequacy of phrasing that is either silken and suave or swooning and mincing. In exciting contrast to this from the very first entrance of the violin is Szigeti's dynamic phrasing in the older Columbia set; moreover, while Toscanini's orchestral framework has the wonderful tonal and plastic qualities of his performances, Bruno Walter builds well around Szigeti's playing; and the Szigeti-Walter version offers a somewhat slower-paced, more deeply probing treatment of the work. The newer recording has greater fidelity and clarity, but also some of the woodenness of Toscanini's recent American recording; the older has, with sufficient fidelity and clarity, greater warmth and depth.

Stokowski's orchestral arrangement of Mussorgsky's "Pictures at an Exhibition" (Set 706, $4.50) comes with his customary statement about the greatness unfulfilled in the mere sketch for piano that Mussorgsky produced, and now brought to fulfillment in an orchestration with which, as always, Stokowski "aimed to preserve and express [the] Slavic character" of the work, as Ravel's "Gallic manner" did not. It is only to be expected that a man with so little musical understanding as not to perceive how completely Mussorgsky realized his intentions in his original piano version would produce the fussy and lush and lurid orchestral arrangement with which Stokowski falsifies these intentions and the essential character of the work far more than Ravel did. Stokowski also has cut out sections; and unless the work is for you only what it is for him —a collection of gorgeous-sounding, superbly recorded orchestral effects (the inevitable sound of a gong dying out occurs at the end of sides 7 and 8)—you will prefer the old Koussevitzky set.

Kerstin Thorborg's "Wagnerian Characterizations" (Set 707, $3.50) include Erda's Warning from "Das Rheingold" and two "bleeding chunks" (Tovey's characterization) of the Fricka-Wotan debate in "Die Walküre" (17221), Waltraute's Narrative from "Götterdämmerung" (17222), and "Ich sah das Kind" from "Parsifal" and Brangäne's Warning from "Tristan" (17223). The last of these is one of the great pages in Wagner; the "Parsifal" music I find tortuously arid; the others I cannot endure. Thorborg's tremolo clouds the first "Walküre" excerpt; but elsewhere her sumptuous voice and superb musicianship are exciting. The recording is good; but on the "Tristan" side, instead of the orchestra close at hand and the voice coming from a distance, we get the voice right up to the microphone and almost completely blanketing the orchestra.

Only the concluding six-voiced fugue from Bach's "Musikalisches Opfer" has been available until now, recorded by a string orchestra under Edwin Fischer. Now Victor gives us (Set 709, $6.50) the entire collection of fugues, canons, and trio sonata that Bach wrote to demonstrate to Frederick the Great his prodigious skill in contrapuntal manipulation. The technical skill that went into the writing of the work is evident to me; if emotion was also involved it has not been revealed yet by my few hearings of the set. Even the six-voiced fugue, which was and still is so impressive stated in the gravely sustained and rich sonorities of Fischer's strings, I find unimpressive in the almost blithely staccato performance by the little group of excellent woodwinds and strings that recorded it for this set. And elsewhere Yella Pessl continues to display her ability—unfortunately not unique—to make the harpsichord unattractive.

A fine single disc (17456, $1) offers beautiful singing by Tibbett of Handel's "Where'er you walk" from "Semele" and "Defend her! Heaven" from "Theodora." Another (17480, $1) offers one of Strauss's best songs, "Ruhe, meine Seele," and one of Schubert's lesser products, the "Wiegenlied" Opus 105 No. 2, sung by Helen Traubel with excellent musical taste and with her powerful voice unclouded by the tremolo that afflicts her musically undistinguished singing of Elsa's Dream from "Lohengrin" and Schubert's "Aufenthalt" on another single (16345, $1.)

B. H. HAGGIN

[Through an unfortunate error *The Nation* printed a brief review of William Saroyan's "My Name Is Aram" in the issue of November 2. The book will not be available until December 26.]

Letters to the Editors

Willkie and "The Nation"

Dear Sirs: In the present status of the liberal movement the article called Wendell Willkie Reneges in *The Nation* of November 2 calls for comment. I realize of course that *The Nation*, like any other magazine, must have been disappointed when the article in question was not available to it, and I can understand a feeling of irritation on Miss Kirchwey's part. On the other hand, the very word "liberalism" implies willingness to attempt to grasp the other person's viewpoint, and it is obvious that Miss Kirchwey's antagonism to Mr. Willkie made it impossible for her to make any attempt to give Mr. Willkie a break.

Mr. Willkie made hundreds of speeches in a few weeks, fifty in the last fifteen days of the campaign. Those who know him realize that he insisted on a personal supervision of everything that appeared over his name, which meant a tremendous burden upon him. Contrary to Miss Kirchwey's implication, Mr. Willkie never said that he composed all of every speech he delivered. That would be obviously impossible because of the limitations of time alone. Every important candidate has to have research men compile data for him. The important thing is that Mr. Willkie saw to it that what he said really represented the essence of his philosophy. If that philosophy did not satisfy Miss Kirchwey, that is of course her privilege, but there was no occasion for slurring a man simply because in one of the most vigorous campaigns in American history he did not find time for *The Nation.*

Miss Kirchwey should realize that in such a political campaign it was necessary for Mr. Willkie to get his philosophy across to a large number of independent thinkers. I have been a reader of *The Nation* for many years and found it an interesting magazine, but certainly no one would contend that it has a decisive influence on American thought. Mr. Willkie therefore faced the necessity of using mediums which have a bigger following with the American public and mediums with less initial bias against him.

If the Republican candidate's liberalism is a "delicate pent-house variety that Mr. Willkie dare not expose to analytical eyes or informed minds," I wonder what Miss Kirchwey would call a liberalism of which the strongest sponsors are Hague, Kelly, Flynn, Guffey, and the starry-eyed group following them. Many of us will take Mr. Willkie's variety. VIRGIL C. SULLIVAN

Rye, N. Y., November 12

[Mr. Sullivan conveniently overlooks the main point, that is, that Wendell Willkie's advisers thought *The Nation* of sufficient influence, whether or not "decisive," to take the initiative in arranging to have the Republican candidate express his views in its pages. He appears furthermore to disagree with his hero on the subject of ghost-writing, Mr. Willkie himself having explained: "I have never in my life delivered a speech which I haven't written myself and I am not going to change my habits now." Hague and Company followed what Mr. Sullivan calls the "starry-eyed group" rather than the other way round —and for reasons which we can hardly believe Mr. Sullivan is politically innocent enough not to understand.—EDITORS THE NATION.]

The "Christian Question"

Dear Sirs: Most periodicals appearing currently contain some reference to the "Jewish question." A great variety of persons "look at the Jewish question." Aside from the war and the New Deal, it seems to be the most looked-at object in the social landscape of the day. For a change it may be interesting for a Jew to look at the "Christian question."

While I am a Jew, I am an American above all things, and a fervid adherent of the principles of a democratic society. I have always lived in one of our large industrial cities, my family covering a span of five generations in America. I am senior executive of an old manufacturing establishment, and have been active all my adult life in the civic, cultural, and social affairs of my city. Many of my best friends are Christians, if I may reverse the usual formula, and I have never been hampered or inhibited in any of my activities or aspirations because I am a Jew; at least, not to my knowledge. I have even found myself in the position of impartial arbiter on a matter concerning a difference between two Christian groups. This prelude is merely to show that I am not a bruised spirit, and have no feeling of resentment impelling me to retaliation.

As a Jew I am compelled to look at a Christian world, and cannot avoid the question: "What have they done with it?" I see Christianity made up of innumerable groups and sects. I see the teachings and precepts of the Founder, the divine inspiration of Christianity, ignored and rejected by a vast number of those professing to be his followers. I see the supposed disciples of the Man of Peace waging relentless and cruel wars. I see cynical and bestial torturing of helpless minorities and defenseless nations by their Christian oppressors. I see men in priestly robes inciting to hatred and violence. I see the very foundations of civilization, established in a Christian world, weakened and perhaps crumbling under the assault of peoples who, for centuries, have been reared in the principles and belief of Christian ethics.

This Jew considers the "Christian question," and wonders if and how Christians will answer. N. S.

Cleveland, Ohio, November 13

A Problem in Democracy

Dear Sirs: In *The Nation* of November 9 appeared a letter by Robert R. Hume which revealed a misunderstanding of the provision for conscientious objectors under the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940.

The act provides that conscientious objectors, judged sincere, may perform non-combatant service with the armed forces or "work of national importance under civilian direction." They are not compelled to perform *any* military service.

General Lewis B. Hershey, who headed the Selective Service machinery in its formative stages, and Dr. Clarence Dykstra, the director, have viewed the problem of the conscientious objector with real sympathy and understanding They have been conscious that it was a problem in democracy and that its handling would mark the difference between the United States and the totalitarian nations.

Only about thirty-six boys felt compelled to refuse to register, but even these thirty-six are causing the government real concern inasmuch as all the officials handling the problem are anxious to interpret the law in the spirit in which Congress recognized the right of the individual conscience.

The "work of national importance" will be definitely civilian controlled, and there is no evidence that any government agency is attempting to place boys in a type of work which will permit, at a later date, a transfer to military control. Of course, in these days of total war it is difficult to establish any type of work which does not, directly or indirectly, mesh with the whole defense machinery. But after five months of close association with the problem I am convinced that such an attempt is honestly being made.

PAUL COMLY FRENCH,
Friends' War Problems Committee
Philadelphia, November 14

Naturalization for Hindus

Dear Sirs: On November 18 the United States District Court in San Francisco will hear my petition for naturalization. I am aware that, in accordance with a ruling of the United States Supreme Court in 1923 which declared Hindus ineligible to American citizenship, the District Court has no choice but to deny my petition, despite my personal qualifications. This denial, however, marks the opening of the entire question of the right of Hindus to citizenship.

Before 1923 Hindus were duly granted American citizenship under Section 2169 of the Revised Statutes, which provides that the Naturalization Act "shall apply to aliens being free white persons and to aliens of African nativity and to persons of African descent." In that year, however, Justice Sutherland, in delivering the opinion of the Supreme Court, held that, whatever the ethnologists might say, a high-caste Hindu of full Indian blood was not a white person within the meaning of the law. He wanted the words of the statute "to be interpreted in accordance with the understanding of the common man."

Interesting as was the Justice's decision, it was contrary to the conclusions of the ethnologists, opposed to the views of the common man, who, if he has a high-school education, knows that Hindus are members of the Caucasian race, and at variance with the facts, inasmuch as Hindus are subject to assimilation like the people from the Near East, Southern Europeans, and Mexicans.

The discrimination against Hindus in respect to naturalization is not only capricious and untenable but, as my attorney and I plan to bring to the attention of the people through court proceedings, also in violation of constitutional provisions. I intend to request the United States Supreme Court to reconsider its former decision, which has caused untold hardships to about 4,000 Hindus, one-fourth of whom are married to American citizens.

I am sure that *Nation* readers and the general public will lend their support to enable justice to prevail in this country, which now is the only secure citadel of liberty, democracy, and fair play in the world.

KHARAITI R. SAMRAS
Berkeley, Cal., November 12

Help Odell Waller!

Dear Sirs: On August 16, 1940, Odell Waller, young Negro share-cropper, drove with his mother, his uncle, and a friend, in a neighbor's truck, to collect the share owed him by Oscar Davis, his landlord. Waller and his wife and mother had been working for Davis on these terms: Waller supplied labor and fertilizer, while Davis furnished seed and tools. The Wallers were to have a half share in the corn and wheat and a quarter share in the tobacco. When the AAA cut down Davis's acreage, he allotted only one acre to the Wallers; so Odell went to Baltimore to work, leaving his wife and mother working for Davis.

Waller learned that his wife and mother had been evicted, were starving, and could collect nothing. He returned to Chatham to collect what was due him, carrying a gun in his pocket as permitted by Virginia law if a man believes his life to be endangered. (Davis more than once had refused to pay him and had threatened him.) Waller parked the truck and went to speak to Davis. A magnolia bush prevented the persons in the truck from seeing exactly what happened, but Mrs. Waller heard Davis cursing. He finally said to Waller, "You won't get a damn bit of it!" and reached for his right-hand pocket, whereupon Waller shot him.

Davis died two days later of a collapsed lung. Neither the lung nor the immediately surrounding area had been traumatized. Dr. Risher of Lynchburg testified that he could not say positively whether the lung collapsed as a result of the shooting.

Waller has been sentenced to die on December 27. Thomas H. Stone, his attorney, is appealing the case. In spite of threats of lynching the judge refused change of venue. The jury was made up of ten landlords, one advertising man, and one carpenter, all white. Four policemen testified that in their opinion Waller ought to be sent to the chair, but that they believed he could get a fair and impartial hearing.

The sum of $350 for the appeal is needed by November 26. If the case goes to the Supreme Court $2,000 will be needed. Money should be sent to the Workers' Defense League, 112 East Nineteenth Street, New York.

FLORENCE BECKER
New York, November 15

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THE *Nation*

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

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The Shape of Things

LORD LOTHIAN MAY HAVE BEEN INDISCREET, as charged in the British press, when he declared that England was near the end of its financial resources and would need aid in 1941, but he raised an issue which cannot be much longer deferred. No one knows exactly what Britain's gold and foreign-exchange resources were at the outbreak of the war. Conservative estimates place the total of British and Canadian dollar assets at somewhat above $5,000,000,000. Other estimates range a little higher. Thus far the British Purchasing Commission has spent or contracted to spend some $4,000,000,000. Since much of this will not actually be spent for months to come, Britain would seem to have a fair margin to work on. But the British government must anticipate the possible situation ten or twelve months from now and make plans accordingly. Some British dispatches intimate that Great Britain would be willing to trade certain of its insular possessions in the Western Hemisphere for armaments. This coincides with the frequently expressed wish of some American isolationists, who would forget the war debt and repeal the Johnson Act in exchange for British possessions. But there is no reason why the United States should embark on an imperialist program, involving a change in the status of large native populations, when our basic defense needs were taken care of by the agreement providing for naval and air bases in the British possessions. This is no moment for the United States to play Shylock. If Britain needs credits, we should give them on the most moderate terms possible. The least we can do is to make it possible for Britain to fight our battle for us.

* * *

HAVING FAILED TO DEMORALIZE LONDON, the Nazis have turned to highly concentrated attacks on British industrial centers. These night raids are being made by machines flying at a great height which make no attempt to pick out specific targets but rain down bombs as near as possible to the center of the city selected for devastation. Some lucky hits may be scored on industrial plants, but the actual damage done to productive facilities seems to be small. However, even if no factories are damaged, a raid like that on Coventry may seriously interrupt production simply by temporarily bringing the life of a city to a standstill. There is some reason to hope for a gradual improvement in methods of combating night bombing, but, unfortunately, the only effective means of defense still seems to be counter-raids. And in this respect Britain will continue for many months to be handicapped by lack of sufficient planes to attack the widely scattered German targets, none of which can safely be neglected. It is good news, therefore, that forty-six heavy bombers are being released by Washington. It is also good business for us, since Britain is being given priority on twenty-six of the Consolidated B-24's in return for the release of sufficient engines to equip forty-one heavy bombers. The other twenty machines, the genuine Boeing "flying fortresses," are to be made available to Britain primarily in order to test their qualities in action, but negotiation of the details of this arrangement is yet to be completed. The unsatisfactory aspect of these new agreements is the fact that complete delivery will not take place for months. A greater effort to speed up production is essential. In October the schedules called for the delivery of 350 planes to Britain and the empire, while the figure achieved was under 290, and it is feared that for months to come this lag will continue.

* * *

THE APPOINTMENT OF ADMIRAL LEAHY AS Ambassador to France will not, we imagine, lend much aid and comfort to those elements in Vichy who are working hard to create a niche for themselves in Hitler's new European order. The Admiral has a reputation for speaking frankly and will undoubtedly make it very plain to Marshal Pétain that Americans are vitally interested in a British victory and completely unsympathetic to the pro-Axis policies of Laval and other appeasers. The other chief point at issue between ourselves and France at this moment is the question of the French colonies in this hemisphere. The new Ambassador is well equipped to safeguard our interests in the Caribbean, which he knows more intimately than most Americans.

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He is also able to speak with authority on naval questions generally, and with Vichy still in a position to influence the naval balance of power in the Atlantic, this is a matter of particular importance.

* * *

THE ATTEMPT OF THE MAJORITY LEADERS in Congress to obtain an adjournment was a tactical mistake, and we do not think that the Administration need be unduly depressed by their failure. There is, undoubtedly, wide public sentiment favoring the continuance of Congress in Washington during the present emergency, not because of any distrust of the President but because events may easily call for immediate legislative action. It is now plain that the President made a *faux pas* in urging an adjournment last June, for not long after he was sending urgent defense and tax bills to the Capitol. It does not seem likely that new business of similar urgency will arise between now and the end of the year, but it is still difficult to see more than a few days ahead. The chief argument for adjournment is that a lame-duck Congress, having nothing better to do, may mischievously put through the Walter-Logan bill and the Smith amendments to the Wagner Act. The first of these measures, however, may well be relegated to limbo by the forthcoming report of the Dean Acheson committee, which is expected to highlight the glaring technical flaws in the measure. As for the Smith amendments, it should not be forgotten that all through the recent campaign the opposition stressed dissatisfaction with the administration of the NRLB, carefully refraining from attacks on the Wagner Act itself. With the board revamped, for better or for worse, New Dealers in Congress ought to be able to block any attempt to emasculate the act.

* * *

THE DIES WHITE PAPER ON NAZI ACTIVITIES lives up to its sponsor's well-established flare for the obvious. It is fairly clear from the published documents that the German consuls have helped to subsidize the Transoceanic News Service, which everyone knew to be a fountainhead of Nazi propaganda in this country, and that German business in South America has been closely linked with German political ambitions in that continent. But these facts have been known for years, and their disclosure hardly justifies the Dies committee's widely advertised raids on Nazi agents and the seizure of private files. Nor was there anything startling in the revelations regarding individual Nazi agents. It is hardly news that Manfred Zapp, head of the Transoceanic News Service, Dr. Frederic Auhagen, founder of the American Fellowship Forum, and Dr. Ferdinand Kertess of the Chemical Marketing Company, are agents of the Führer. If any of these men has been engaged in espionage or other activities contrary to the law, Mr. Dies has not established the fact, nor is he likely to do so with his scatter-gun technique of investigation. The job of watching and tripping up foreign agents had best be left to the Department of Justice, which has both the power and the experience to deal with such problems. It is perhaps not without significance that Mr. Dies annually comes up with fresh "disclosures" regarding Nazi and Fascist activities a few weeks before his appropriation runs out, then promptly forgets about them for another year.

* * *

PLANS FOR A NAVAL BASE IN URUGUAY, open to use by other American republics upon invitation, are being developed despite vigorous opposition in the Uruguayan Senate by the powerful Herrerista party. The bitterness of the opposition seems to have grown partly out of local politics and partly out of an unfortunate misunderstanding of the defense plans of the United States. In the absence of an official explanation of our plans, many persons in South America have assumed that the United States is seeking bases under conditions similar to those under which bases were acquired in the British insular possessions. Since such an arrangement would clearly infringe on the sovereignty of a Latin American republic, some opposition is understandable. But the persistence of the misunderstanding in the face of a full explanation by Foreign Minister Guani of Uruguay and editorials in many of the leading South American newspapers indicates that the opposition is being directed, as the *Nacion* of Santiago asserts, by "the clever propaganda of those interested in avoiding proper unity of the American nations." In this campaign the Spanish Phalanx appears to be playing the part cut out for it when Franco's revolt was pushed to success by Axis aid.

* * *

SUBSTANTIAL AID FOR CHINA, INCLUDING a $200,000,000 credit and scheduled delivery of 500 airplanes, is reported to be under serious consideration in Washington. American assistance to China, though widely heralded, has so far been limited to two $25,000,000 credits applicable to the purchase of American export products. This has been far more than offset by Japanese purchases of vital supplies in this country, which have totaled about $200,000,000 a year and have been made possible by our continued purchases of large amounts of Japanese silk and other products. Private aid to China has also been meager. A report issued last week by the Red Cross reveals that this organization, now engaged in an appeal for funds, has sent China only $303,068 since the beginning of hostilities. This may be contrasted with $7,261,489 sent to Great Britain, $1,827,407 to Finland, $1,745,837 to France. In none of these countries is the need comparable with the need in China, either in extent or acuteness. And China, unlike most of the European countries, has received practically no aid from other private organizations. China needs food, medical supplies, and clothing; but above all it needs planes, trucks, tanks, and guns. These can only be supplied in needed amounts by the government. Give China $200,000,000 worth of arms and other munitions and we need not worry about the Japanese threat to the East Indies or the Philippines.

Exit with Trumpets

IF DELEGATES to the Atlantic City convention of the C. I. O., mindful of their president's pre-election promise, expected to see John L. Lewis step down with a show of decent humility they must have been rudely shocked. Truculent to a degree and reckless in attack, Lewis if left to his own devices might well have torn to shreds the organization he had labored so hard and so successfully to establish. Not content to heap scorn and denunciation on all who favored a resumption of peace talks with the A. F. of L., Lewis exposed the C. I. O. to contempt in the eyes of its enemies by declaring it lacked the "strength of bone and sinew" to command decent peace terms; and then, ironically, he proposed to weaken it further, and probably fatally, by challenging those who disagreed with him—the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and its allies—to "take the easy way" of Dubinsky and withdraw from the C. I. O. He gave the lie to those who charged Communist control of certain C. I. O. unions, although he must have known there was truth in the charge since he finally sanctioned an anti-Communist resolution as Philip Murray's price for accepting the presidency. Murray himself held out several days for assurance of a free hand, and in all likelihood he received it, but Lewis served notice that he was not to be considered "a dying gladiator or even sorely wounded."

What saved the convention and the C. I. O., as Rose M. Stein reports elsewhere in this issue, was the tact and forbearance of the opposition leaders. After several days of Lewis's heated invective, Hillman's speech came as a soothing astringent. The Amalgamated leader spoke coolly and without rancor, and he firmly rejected the Lewis invitation to depart from the C. I. O. with one of the fattest treasuries, with one of the largest and most solidly organized memberships, and with several highly important allied unions.

The painful impression left by the Atlantic City convention is that John L. Lewis is no longer primarily interested in maintaining the strength and unity of the C. I. O. Much of his fire was directed against the Administration; much of it indicated a desire to lead a new political movement. We know that John L. Lewis is not a Communist, and we know that if the Communists get orders to abandon their isolationist position next Tuesday they will bitterly attack Mr. Lewis next Wednesday. Mr. Lewis knows that too, and his willingness to play along with them temporarily may be taken as one more sign that he is seeking a nucleus around which to build a third party.

We believe that some of Lewis's attacks on the Administration were timely and merited, and no one can question his right to launch a third party. But we do not want to see the C. I. O. converted into a political football, and we believe the election of Murray is a guaranty that it will not be so used. Despite his disappointingly blunt rejection of peace at this time, everything in Murray's record encourages the belief that he will do what is good for the C. I. O. and for American labor in general without the twistings and limitations imposed by an egocentric temperament and a vaulting ambition.

Further delay in a meeting of minds between officials of the C. I. O. and A. F. of L. is unfortunate but not necessarily harmful to the defense program, provided a modicum of good sense and good-will is preserved in the relations between the two groups. Murray's polite inquiries concerning the health of David Dubinsky after the I. L. G. W. U. head was attacked by an A. F. of L. bureaucrat contrast favorably with Lewis's bitter denunciation of Dubinsky and offer hope that more cordial relations will develop. If that is the case, a delay may even be advantageous in that it will give the A. F. of L. time to go to work on its racketeers in accordance with the resolution adopted at the Federation's New Orleans convention. The Federation's known desire to move in the direction of a rapprochement with the C. I. O. was emphasized by the convention's vote to replace the anti-C. I. O. war-chest levy with a per capita tax for organizing purposes. With both groups convinced of the need to further the national defense program without confining the sacrifices to labor, there is hope that there will be unity in effect if not in fact.

The "New Order" Pauses

WITH the invasion of Britain unavoidably postponed, Hitler has occupied himself this fall with a tremendous diplomatic offensive. The activity has been truly impressive. Large numbers of statesmen, each accompanied by a bodyguard of experts, have traveled to Berlin and Vienna. Treaties have been signed with glittering ceremony; numerous official dinners have been eaten. From the publicity point of view this diplomatic party has been immensely successful, but it does not seem to have resulted in any concrete contribution toward an early victory.

The agreement with Japan, which is being used as a pattern for treaties with the smaller fry, may prove its worth later on, but if it was expected to be immediately effective in discouraging American aid to Britain and China, the hopes of its signatories are already dashed. The conversations with Vichy and Spain, intended, apparently, to clear the way for an attack on Gibraltar, have also failed to bring any immediate return. Nor is there, as yet, any indication that the grandiose Soviet expedition to Berlin has been at all fruitful.

The latest phase of the diplomatic offensive has been the parade of puppet states obediently signing up with the Axis, but we cannot see that this new series of treaties is much more than window-dressing. Hungary sealed its subservience to the Axis when it accepted the Vienna award and regained Transylvania; Rumania is already occupied by German troops; Slovakia from its dubious beginnings has been no more than a German protectorate. Why, then, should Hitler bother to admit these states to junior partnerships? The answer is clearly to point the way to Berlin to those Balkan countries which block the way for a flank attack on Egypt.

Of these countries, Greece, battling valiantly against Italy, is outside the range of diplomatic bombardment. But the success of the Greeks has made the adherence of Yugoslavia to the Axis more vital than ever, for the shortest route by which Germany could come to the assistance of Italy is via Belgrade and the Vardar valley. Count Csaky, Hungarian Foreign Minister, is reported to be visiting the Yugoslav government as an Axis emissary, seeking as a convert to the "new European order" to make Yugoslavia see where its true interest lies. Should it prove reluctant to join up, he may discreetly raise the question of Hungarian territorial claims against Yugoslavia.

Yugoslavia, however, is immediately more disturbed by the recrudescence of Bulgarian propaganda for the return of Macedonia. This is one of the rewards which Bulgaria expects if it joins the Nazi bandwagon, but we doubt that Germany could persuade Yugoslavia to yield this ancient bone of contention peaceably. Here is a good illustration of the difficulties which Hitler confronts in his attempt to weld Europe into an anti-British monolith, for it is certain that minority problems, which he exploited in his own rise to power, will not vanish now when it suits his convenience.

As we write, reports from Berlin suggest that the diplomatic offensive in the Balkans may be brought to a temporary halt. One reason may be the necessity of finding a formula to compose these conflicting claims; another may be the advent of winter, which discourages military movements in the Balkans or Asia Minor. The third, and perhaps most important, is the silence of Russia. There are reports that the Kremlin has advised Bulgaria not to sign with the Axis, and these have not been denied in Moscow although a story that Hungary's adhesion had received Stalin's blessing was quickly repudiated. Popular sentiment in Bulgaria is strongly influenced by Russian attitudes, and the Sofia government will probably try to keep on the fence as long as the big Slav brother does. Turkey would need a still stronger push from the Soviets before it gave way to the Axis; in fact, only if threatened with hostile Russian action would it be likely to permit infringement of its territory, and even then it might decide to resist. But as yet there is no sign of pressure from Moscow, and Ambassador von Papen has returned to Ankara to find a state of siege proclaimed in the frontier zones and the Turkish press in a belligerent mood.

There is reason to hope, therefore, that the German diplomatic drive in the Balkans has been stalled as effectively, though with less drama, as Italy's attack on Greece. In both cases, of course, the delay may prove only temporary, but any delay at this time is of the utmost value to Britain and Greece, for it offers them a chance to follow up their blows at Italy which we trust will not be neglected. Nothing is so likely to check Germany's diplomatic offensive as a further softening of the weakest spot in the Axis.

Behind the Vultee Strike

WE HOPE that by the time this appears in print the Vultee strike will have been settled. No unbridgeable differences separate labor and management. Both had agreed on a new wage scale when the management's demand for a two-year no-strike clause broke off the negotiations. The union had asked a minimum wage of 75 cents an hour instead of the 50 cents now being paid. But it was ready to accept, and the management to grant, a new scale under which workers would have received 62½ cents after ninety days' experience. The union was unwilling to accept a two-year no-strike clause in a period of rising prices, particularly since the management offered no system of arbitration during the two-year period. It was believed that the union would accept a one-year no-strike clause accompanied by the appointment of an impartial arbiter.

There have been two major obstacles to an agreement on the part of management. One is the bitter and so far successful opposition of the aviation industry to unionization. The other is the opposition of business in Southern California—the Vultee plant is on the outskirts of Los Angeles—to a minimum wage higher than 50 cents an hour. The Chambers of Commerce, the Merchants' and Manufacturers' Association, the Associated Farmers—all the organized groups in that area—have brought all the pressure they could to keep Vultee from raising its wages. Under its defense contracts Vultee can pass on its increases in cost to the government. The cost of wage increases was not the real problem.

In this context Attorney General Jackson's attempt to blame the Vultee strike on Communist influence was both unjustified and unwise. More than half the workers at Vultee have been averaging less than $20 a week, as compared with $25 to $30 a week for similar work in the unionized automobile industry. One need not be a Communist to resent a wage of $20 a week. The Attorney General's statement, in the midst of difficult negotiations, had the effect of aiding the employer and increasing the ill feeling of the workers. It was made without consultation with Defense Commissioner Hillman, who has been doing his best to help settle this strike. It seemed to line up the Attorney General with Congressmen like Cox and Costello, who are now crying "treason" over the Vultee strike but who had no word of condemnation for the aviation industry's sitdown strike of capital last summer for special tax and profit privileges.

Southern California has low wages because it has always harshly suppressed labor unionism. If the Attorney General will look into the latest section of the La Follette committee report to be released, Part 64, he will see what unscrupulous methods have been used. Vultee Aircraft belongs to the reactionary Merchants' and Miners' Association of Los Angeles. One of the association's principal instruments in its anti-union activities was Captain William F. (Red) Hynes of the Los Angeles police "Intelligence Bureau," better known as the Red Squad. The documents published by the La Follette committee in Part 64 show "Red" Hynes as a friend of the Associated Farmers and the Silver Shirts. The documents indicate the gratitude of employers to Hynes for his strike-breaking activities and show that he operates on the principle that unionism itself is a form of subversive activity. The Attorney General said that he made his statement about Communist responsibility for the Vultee strike on the basis of FBI evidence from Los Angeles. Was this evidence furnished by Hynes? In the past Hynes has worked closely with the FBI. A letter dated June 22, 1940, and signed by the Los Angeles chief of police says that Hynes had been appointed "to serve as 'liaison officer' between this department and the Federal Bureau of Investigation" in connection with the activities referred to in the President's letter to J. Edgar Hoover of September 15, 1939. As a result of the letter, the FBI asked the cooperation of local police departments in keeping a watch on subversive elements. The Hynes definition of subversive is not the President's or the Attorney General's, and Mr. Jackson should be on his guard against information from such unsavory sources. One document in Part 64, taken from the Hynes card index of dangerous radicals, indicates the standards on which Hynes operates. It describes as "a pro-Soviet wkr," linked to "Socialist, Com., and IWW causes" none other than Defense Commissioner Hillman.

Religion and Democracy

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

WHEN my grandfather cleared out of Germany in 1848, he left behind him many things he hated. Chief among them was the hard, aggressive militarism of Prussia. He deserted from the army rather than support the Prussian drive to crush the smaller German states. So did thousands of other young men of his day, and the world, especially the United States, was enriched as the result of their rebellion and exile.

But my grandfather rejected another rule which seemed to him only another form of tyranny. He had been destined for the priesthood, and he deserted the church as well as the army. He took refuge in France before he came to America, and there he became a free-thinker and a devout rationalist. To be a free-thinker in that day was no irresponsible exercise in private agnosticism; it was a positive indorsement of the dominance of reason, a defiance of the power of the church, and it required a sturdy non-conformist spirit. But that was the prevailing spirit of the rebellious youth of my grandfather's generation, as it has been in all other periods dominated by a struggle for freedom.

I hope it is not merely an ancestral throwback that makes me dislike the religious tone pervading so many of the pro-democratic exhortations of the present moment. Reading the speeches of candidates for office and statesmen in office and the writings of editors and columnists has become a daily exercise in piety. More and more the belief seems to take root that the fight against Hitler is a fight for religion. Oftener and oftener we are invited to go forth to the defense of a "Christian" civilization. The Christian faith is somehow equated—even identified—with democracy, and the war itself is becoming a holy war: embattled Christianity against the Nazi infidels.

The President, more effectively and eloquently than anyone else in this country, has put this concept into words. In his address to the Pan-American Scientific Congress last May he proclaimed his belief that the Americas would have to "become the guardian of Western culture, the protection of Christian civilization." He has echoed this feeling in several speeches. One can find similar if less powerful expression of it in the writings of Dorothy Thompson and other supporters of the struggle against Hitler.

This emphasis is easy to understand. Hitler's attack on the churches, his blood mythos, his tolerance for the pre-Christian practices of his more exuberant followers, have created a backdrop against which a religious appeal gains great effect. But the appeal is based on an illusion, in my opinion a dangerous one, which by mixing religious and secular concepts is certain to create confusion.

Democracy may be Christian or Jewish; it may be pagan or agnostic; it is related to whatever culture and whatever religious or non-religious ideas flourish in the society that breeds it. Democracy has nothing on earth to do with any particular faith.

Christianity may nourish democracy or dictatorship. In some periods and places it has provided fertile spiritual soil for liberal ideas. In Protestant England it has done so, or at least it has not seriously retarded their growth. In Catholic Spain it has supported black reaction and has fought, in a succession of struggles not yet ended, on the side of absolutism—of king or dictator. In the United States, which as a crucible for the faiths and unfaiths of all the world must not be given a religious tag, the story of Christianity is a record of violent contradictions and inconsistencies. As an organized body of faith, Christianity cannot be said to stand on the side of democracy. The Catholics can—but seldom do—boast of a liberal wing which has encouraged social reforms and a wide degree of democratic control. But the stronger if not more numerous element in that church has steadfastly resisted every democratic impulse in our society—from the federal child-labor amendment to support of the republican cause in the Spanish War. The Protestants are so mixed up in their political alignments that no attempt at classification is worth making. From the obscurantism of the primitive sects which burgeon particularly in the South and Middle West to the enlightenment of many major denominational groups, every shade of political faith exists. One can find Christians offering courageous support for every democratic effort; but one cannot find organized Christianity as a whole offering anything. And that is just as well.

We learned long ago in this country that one of the best guaranties of democracy was a determination to keep church and state, religion and politics, out of each other's company. We are not a Christian civilization; democracy is not a Christian invention. We are a civilization molded by the efforts of men and women of different faiths, united only in their belief in the capacity of ordinary people to set up and run their own political institutions and through them to create a decent human society. Among these people are many whose devotion to democracy is linked with a stubborn religious skepticism.

I am not trying to deny the virtue or validity of religious feeling. The desires of men find expression in faith more directly than in any purely rational exercise. From faith men draw the strength and meaning that carry them through desperate ordeals. But the religious impulse is a fluid which runs as readily into one mold as another. It can be made to fit the uniform of a storm trooper quite as snugly as the habit of a Christian churchgoer. It is an ally of any cause that enables the individual to savor the joy of dedicating himself to something which seems greater and more valuable than his own small life. This obvious truth is applied by the Nazis for their own ends with conspicuous success, and it is natural that opponents of the Nazi cult should seek to convert the religious desires of men to the uses of democracy. But they can accomplish this in only one way—by endowing democracy itself with emotional content and spiritual worth, not by identifying it with any set religious faith.

The struggle we are engaged upon is not a struggle of Christianity against paganism or of religion against non-religion. It is a secular struggle to establish a society in which men and women shall be free to vote and write and speak as they choose; to follow the dictates of reason rather than of blood; to use methods of discussion and orderly decision rather than violence; to achieve economic security and justice by their common efforts; to follow the faith they prefer or to repudiate religious dogma altogether. This was what the struggle meant to the countless men and women who, like my grandfather, refused to accept Prussian tyranny in the last century; I cannot believe that it has lost that meaning today.

CONTENTS

THE SHAPE OF THINGS 517

EDITORIALS:

- EXIT WITH TRUMPETS 519
- THE "NEW ORDER" PAUSES 519
- BEHIND THE VULTEE STRIKE 520
- RELIGION AND DEMOCRACY by Freda Kirchwey 521

THE SQUEEZE ON MEXICO by I. F. Stone 523

MURRAY TO THE RESCUE by Rose M. Stein 524

THE INDIVISIBLE WAR—II by Ralph Bates 526

VATICAN-AXIS DIPLOMACY by George La Piana 530

WITHIN THE GATES 532

IN THE WIND 533

A NATIVE AT LARGE by Jonathan Daniels 534

BOOKS AND THE ARTS:

- DANCE PIECE and DESCENT IN A PARACHUTE Poems by Ben Belitt 535
- PERIOD PIECE A Poem by Norman MacLeod 535
- NOTES BY THE WAY by Margaret Marshall 535
- SAINT, SCIENCE, AND FASCISM by Philip Rahv 536
- FROM GLADSTONE TO CHURCHILL by Louis B. Salomon 538
- MEN AND APES by Karl Menninger 539
- IN BRIEF 540
- DRAMA: TWELFTH NIGHT by Joseph Wood Krutch 540
- ART: FRANK LLOYD WRIGHT by Talbot Hamlin 541
- RECORDS by B. H. Haggin 542

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The Squeeze on Mexico

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, November 22

SOME Congressional committee would do the country a service by looking into army and navy purchases of oil. On September 5 the Navy Department opened bids on a half-million barrels of fuel oil. The low bid was 79 cents a barrel. The next bid was 87 cents. The highest bid was 89 cents a barrel. The Navy Department chose to buy the oil from the highest bidder. The highest bidder was Standard Oil.

It may be that the Navy Department can prove that it did not violate the law by paying 10 cents a barrel more for fuel oil than was necessary. No doubt Standard Oil can prove, to its own satisfaction at least, that it was justified in charging the navy 89 cents a barrel at a time when it was selling fuel oil to private companies at 80 and 85 cents a barrel. More important than the question of Standard's patriotism and the Navy Department's business acumen is the light these facts, disclosed here for the first time, throw on our relations with Mexico. The 87-cent bid was made by Harry Sinclair's Consolidated Oil Company and the 79-cent bid by Eastern States Petroleum, and both were offering Mexican oil. The Navy Department rejected their bids because it did not wish to buy Mexican oil, and in doing so it joined in the boycott by which Standard Oil has been putting the squeeze on Mexico.

The result of the squeeze, now rapidly taking shape behind the scenes, is a settlement of the controversy between Mexico and Standard Oil which will save the face of the former but register a victory for the latter. A five-man board will be set up, with two members named by the Mexican government, two by the oil companies, and a fifth satisfactory to both sides. This board will operate the expropriated properties, and a percentage of the proceeds will be set aside to pay back the investment of the private companies. The price will be fixed later, and the arrangement will strongly resemble the proposals originally made to Cárdenas by Donald Richberg as counsel for Standard Oil. At the end of the long-term operating contract, the properties will revert to Mexico —unless there is a revolution in the meantime and Mexico reverts to the oil companies.

This story is written in the belief that the good-will of the people of Mexico is more important to our national security than the good-will of the Standard Oil Company, and that if a Congressional spotlight could help put pressure on Standard Oil and ease pressure on Mexico, it would serve the best interests of both countries. Since there is no diplomacy more secret than the secret diplomacy of oil, it is possible to piece together only the main outlines of the struggle which has been going on since the Mexican government on March 18, 1938, expropriated the oil companies. The Mexican government has been subjected to an international boycott organized by Standard Oil, and agencies of the American government have taken part in that boycott despite our Good Neighbor policy.

Yet to be answered is the question what part the State Department itself played in putting the screws on Mexico. It may be that the Navy Department acted on its own responsibility when it picked the highest bidder for its fuel-oil contract on September 5, but there is good reason to think that it did not. The department's action was regarded in oil circles as a deliberate embargo on Mexican oil, punishing Harry Sinclair for breaking the "united front" of the oil companies and making a deal with Mexico. It also slammed the door on Eastern States Petroleum, an independent refining company which has brought down on itself the enmity of Standard Oil by refining and marketing Mexican oil in this country. Eastern States, though a small company, could have acted as a private yardstick-and-birchrod, TVA style, to protect the defense program from being gouged by Standard Oil. At one time Eastern States planned to bring legal action against the Navy Department for rejecting its low bid, but it finally decided against it and has given up bidding on navy contracts. A suit would have been very embarrassing to the government, as would a public protest from Harry Sinclair to the effect that he was being penalized for putting the Good Neighbor policy into practice. Did the Navy Department run these risks without consultation with the State Department? I think not.

Since September 5 and as a result of private representations the State Department has written the Navy Department saying that it may buy "settlement oil." "Settlement oil" is oil given any American oil company in settlement of its claims under expropriation. Only one American oil man has made a settlement and is getting "settlement oil," and that is Harry Sinclair. The letter said nothing about non-expropriated Mexican oil, such as is being marketed here by Eastern States Petroleum under contract with the Mexican government. Why should there be an unofficial embargo on any kind of Mexican oil?

Standard Oil, striving to make the embargo official, threw its full support to the bill to amend the National

Stolen Property Act introduced by Senator Sheppard. This bill, which passed the Senate, would have forbidden the sale of confiscated property in interstate or foreign commerce, and it defined confiscated property as property taken "by means of force by any foreign government, or by means of any law, decree, order, ordinance, or other act, direct or indirect" when payment is not provided "in a manner acceptable to the owners of the property so taken." A fine of not more than $10,000 and imprisonment for not more than ten years were the penalties provided for those who "knowingly" sold such goods. An item in Pearson and Allen's Washington Merry-Go-Round first called public attention to the bill. The State Department objected to the measure, and after Majority Leader McCormack introduced the bill in the House, hearings were held by the House Judiciary Committee. It was amended to make embargoes on "confiscated property" discretionary with the President, and the State Department said it had "no objection" to the bill in that form though its trouble-making potentialities were still enormous. The fact that it was introduced by the majority leader and that an assistant to the party whip in the House helped line up votes for the measure raises the question of whether it had Administration support. On October 1, after a debate in which it was shown that the bill could be used to embargo products from almost any country in the world, including England, it was narrowly defeated by a vote of 129 to 123 in the House.

It would be interesting to know the full extent of the unofficial boycott against Mexico and to know just how many of our laws are broken in the process. It is known that Mexico found that it could not buy ethyl to mix with its gasoline or tankers to carry it; nor could it find companies willing to sell equipment for refining it, or even second-hand dealers from whom to buy old equipment. Sixteen American supply companies—their names are known—refused cash orders from the Mexican government for $50,000,000 worth of oil equipment and supplies, and helped drive Mexico into its barter deal with Germany.

The shutting off of foreign markets by the war has been the final blow to Mexico's hope of itself operating the expropriated oil companies. Mexico needs an Export-Import Bank loan, but will get none until it has made its peace with Standard Oil. Camacho is no Cárdenas, and there was heavy bidding between him and Almazán for Standard Oil's favor after the Mexican elections and before our own. Almazán and Willkie were the choices of oil, but even under Mr. Roosevelt, Standard Oil is not without its influence. The oil experts of the Defense Commission are all drawn from Standard Oil or Shell or the Rockefeller–du Pont Ethyl Corporation. There are no independents among them. And in a position of power in the State Department until a few days ago was Joseph E. Davies, special assistant to Secretary Hull. Mr. Davies is a law partner of Donald Richberg, counsel for Standard Oil.

Murray to the Rescue

BY ROSE M. STEIN

Atlantic City, N. J., November 22

THE C. I. O. convention was to a large extent a continuation of the recent political campaign, and like the campaign it ended in a triumph for democracy. But the victory was not an easy one. The five-day convention was adjudged by many veteran observers one of the most turbulent and exciting gatherings in America's labor history, not excepting the memorable A. F. of L. convention in 1935, when in the same Atlantic City auditorium the plan for starting a C. I. O. was conceived. The turbulence and excitement sprang from fundamental issues—issues so charged with dynamite that, if they had been allowed to explode, they might well have buried most of labor's extraordinary gains of the past five years under an avalanche of factionalism and bad temper. This was avoided by only a hair's breadth, and much of the credit is due to Sidney Hillman and the organizations for which he spoke.

It was a foregone conclusion that John L. Lewis would resign from the C. I. O. presidency. He had to do so in order to save his face with the American people. The very elements which applauded his indorsement of Wendell Willkie insisted in the press and otherwise that he keep his promise to resign. The nature and source of some of this insistence had all the earmarks of an effort on the part of Willkie supporters to salvage at least a minor victory from their campaign efforts, and by the same token added to the grievousness of Lewis's error. But if Lewis was surely going to resign from office, was he also going to abdicate his power? That was the moot question, and those who knew Lewis were certain the answer was no.

Under these circumstances, who was to be his successor? Phil Murray was the logical man to lead the C. I. O., but Phil Murray would not be a Charlie McCarthy. He would accept the office only on condition that

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he be given a free hand to direct the affairs of the organization. This included a free hand in cleaning out so-called left-wing elements from positions of power. Lewis refused to make any promises, and the left-wingers moved heaven and earth to keep him from making such commitments. They did not attempt to urge or advise him; their method, a successful one up to this time, was to flatter and feed his ego. With this aim they carried on a continuous demonstration to the tune of "Lewis is our leader," and carried it to such nauseating lengths that in the end it defeated its own purpose.

When on the second day of the convention Phil Murray announced that he had a right "to make a decision once in a while" and that it was his decision not to stand as a candidate for the presidency, the left-wingers' praise for the "leader" rose to new heights. It looked as if the new president would be chosen by Lewis from among his lesser satellites to serve as his mouthpiece and stooge. He could have done it, for the left-wingers and Lewis payrollers composed a vast majority of the convention delegates. The way was further paved for this eventuality when at the close of the second day Lewis delivered a scathing attack on the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, virtually challenging them to get out of the C. I. O. Had the Amalgamated accepted this challenge, the Textile and Rubber Workers' unions would have probably gone along with them, and other organizations, such as the automobile and aluminum workers and wholesale and retail employees, would have been split wide open. There would also have been wholesale defection of membership from steel and other unions, including those miners' locals which do not have the check-off of dues. This desperately irresponsible gesture of Lewis's amazed even his closest friends.

Calls were promptly issued for caucuses in which delegates of all the unions siding with the Amalgamated participated. The strategy they decided on was to remain inside the C. I. O. and to carry to the floor the fight for a greater degree of democracy, for a declaration against Communists, and for the drafting of Murray for the presidency. Hillman was hastily summoned from Washington to serve as their spokesman.

The situation was a delicate one. Lewis still had the delegates and could shove them about like pawns on a chessboard. But Hillman had all the aces. He had the President of the United States behind him. The demonstration of independence staged by labor throughout the country on November 5 was smartingly fresh in everyone's mind, especially Lewis's, and Hillman addressed himself to those workers far more than to the delegates facing him. The organizations most vociferous in their support of Lewis not only were known to be tinged with communism but, as Lewis well knew, represented inflated memberships and empty treasuries. To win with their aid would have been a sham victory, and would have exposed him to impotence and wide ridicule. Lewis had no choice. He sulkily retired to a corner of the platform while Murray presented Hillman to the convention to deliver a two-hour speech which definitely turned the tide.

That evening a resolution dealing with what Murray termed the issue of "international power politics" was drawn up; it was presented to the convention on the following morning and unanimously adopted after Tom Kennedy, chairman of the Resolutions Committee, moved to eliminate debate on it. The resolution asserted in no uncertain terms that the C. I. O. rejected "any policies emanating from totalitarianism, dictatorships, and foreign ideologies such as Nazism, Communism, and Fascism." Agreement, too, was reached upon the previously rejected attempt to amend the constitution so as to limit the power of the president and vest greater authority in the executive board. After these conditions were met, Murray agreed to accept the presidency, a measure of unity was restored, and the C. I. O. was saved from a destructive explosion.

Lewis was defeated. There can be no doubt about that. Does it mean that he will be satisfied to play a secondary role? Hardly anyone believes in such a possibility. He himself warned against such an assumption when he declared that he was not "a dying gladiator or even sorely wounded." As head of the miners' union he will wield tremendous power within the C. I. O. If he wishes to, he can probably manipulate his machine so as to get himself reinstated as C. I. O. president a year hence. But this is not likely, for Lewis is playing for bigger stakes. He has political ambitions, and it was these that led him into the complicated struggle in which he lost the first round. He will not give up. Neither will he shrink from making an alliance with any group on the right or left if he thinks it will serve his purpose. Temporarily his path has been blocked. Whether he can be indefinitely checkmated depends upon developments about which the most daring tightrope walkers in journalism would hardly venture to make a prediction.

Much will depend upon what Phil Murray can accomplish in the coming year. His path is a difficult one, and he will tread it cautiously. But his aims, however cautiously carried out, will entail riddance of many left-wingers or the relegation of them to minor positions. This will inevitably give rise to knifing by these elements, with the result that progress will be impeded. And if, as is quite likely, Lewis chooses to use these elements as his hatchet men in a drive for political support among dissidents, he will not lift a finger to stop them from annoying his successor. Also hindering Murray's drive toward his chief objective, which is to organize the unorganized, is the demand for unity between C. I. O. and A. F. of L. from the press, the government, and many elements outside labor's ranks.

This demand springs from a mixture of ignorance and wishful thinking. Unity in labor's ranks is desirable, and no one is better aware of it than the C. I. O.'s new president. But unity in the conventional sense is a virtual impossibility at this time. The cleavages between the two branches of labor are fundamental, and it will take years and the most expert treatment to eliminate them. All that can be done now is to clear the atmosphere of hostility and make it possible for representatives of both groups to cooperate on minor specific issues. This setting has been created to some extent by the very fact of Murray's election, and it will probably be maintained and extended save where left-wing sabotage prevents it.

The convention marks a sharp turning-point in the C. I. O.'s course. Whether or not it is a turn for the better will depend upon at least three major factors:

1. What the government does. If the government will safeguard and enforce existing social legislation, if it will give labor a greater voice than at present in the national defense program, if it will keep open the channels of civil liberty, and if it will cooperate with labor in planning to prevent a probable economic débâcle when war orders have to be replaced by orders for mass consumption, the conditions against which Lewis, with a good deal of justification, cried out will be remedied. This will close the door to an attempt on his part to lead a crusade in the name of the "fifty-two million shrunken bellies."

2. Whether or not this country becomes involved in war.

3. This above all—whether the millions of workers in mines, mills, shops, and factories remain alert to their responsibility as citizens and producers in a democracy. They have scored two major victories—on Election Day and in Atlantic City. By these victories they have gained the leadership and the instrumentalities with which to safeguard and improve American democracy, and within its framework their own economic condition. But the task of maintaining their gains and adding to them is still ahead.

The Indivisible War—II

BY RALPH BATES

Social Strains

THE British and French declaration of war, in September, 1939, which had not been expected by Hitler after the signing of the Russo-German pact, seriously disturbed the Axis time-table and produced unwelcome consequences. Hitler was compelled to set about the creation of a stable system of Balkan alliances and the organization of his *Lebensraum* in that region while the war was going on. He had intended to do this before the outbreak of hostilities. The "phony" stage of the war, on his side, represented the time required for the maturing of his armament effort. His "peace proposals" of the early months had their origin in the dislocation of his diplomatic effort in the Balkans. As the result of all this, he has not been able to build up sufficient pressure against the Soviet Union and Turkey to insure his free passage toward Suez. That failure, now that France has fallen, has necessarily placed untimely burdens upon the Axis sea power, Italy. This dislocation, I shall try to show, has had further consequences. Hitler has had no time to ease off the social strains which have now been brought, by the very extension of his physical grasp and by the incidence of burdens within it, into the very heart of his problem. Another effect has been the introduction of a certain disharmony of strategic ideas within the Axis itself. Mussolini, unwilling to surrender influence in the Balkans to Hitler, is nevertheless compelled to accelerate, as it were, the German advance toward Asia Minor. So far as Italy is concerned, the Balkan campaign, including the Greek adventure—in part an insurance against German domination in that region—chiefly represents an effort to spread out the British naval forces and so to make possible an avoidance of major battle.

Provided the Soviet Union does not advise Turkey to yield to German demands, the utmost the Axis can speedily do is to render Britain's control of the Aegean and eastern Mediterranean somewhat more difficult. So much would be accomplished by a German advance against Greece through Bulgaria and the consequent defeat of Greece. From such an outcome, however, Italy would derive only partial relief, at the expense of further subordinating itself to German control. Costly and nerve-racking burdens, increasing the unpopularity of the war among the Italian people, would still have to be borne.

It is a commonplace that the Italian war is based upon a deficient industry. A few of the notorious lacks may have been removed by the conquest of France and German access to Spain. But even if these needs have been fully satisfied, the initial impact of Italian equipment, in all departments, must have something like decisive effect, for it cannot easily be replaced except by calling upon German industry. The incorporation of Europe into a functioning economy would put arms and other products at Mussolini's disposal, but this takes time. Food supplies from the conquered and subordinate countries may turn out to be insufficient to quell the rising discontent if the war endures. They cannot be supplemented from the nearest sources, in Africa, without risking battle.

It is here that one perceives the social strains that have been exacerbated by the new turn in the war. A survey of Italian conditions cannot be given here. It is sufficient to say that the living standards of the Italian working class are almost the lowest in Europe, being little higher, in terms of real income per occupied person, than those of the Soviet Union, while many of the social services enjoyed in the latter country are absent in Italy. In comparison with pre-1914 levels the income of the Italian workman has declined by about 12 per cent. Working hours have decreased, but there is little possibility that their necessary lengthening would so augment output that catastrophic losses of equipment could quickly be made good. In Italy there are no reserves of idle or half idle plants as there were in Britain. War inevitably lowers the standard of living, and Mussolini has much less latitude in this respect than his partner. Italian agriculture rests upon a completely outmoded form of production. The proof is in the fact that the hard-working peasant, as devoted an agricultor as any in Europe, has a productivity index of much less than half that of the British field laborer. Among the defects of the system are the subdivision of land, high rents, bureaucratic imposition, burdensome taxes, insufficient capital, and the tyrannous meddling of the Fascisti.

In addition, Italy has been at war, actively, since 1935, with only one apprehensive interval of a year. This draws attention to the most striking difference between the present war and that of 1914-18. There is an easily recognizable sense in which the first World War sprang "out of the blue." Its origin lay in the same social malaise; its preparation was as real, of course, but did not throw so much strain upon society, either in the economic or in the political domain. That war began with a tremendous explosion and ended with minor wars and revolutions. The present conflict began with local wars and revolutions and with constant political struggles that exposed the roles of classes. The sudden collapse of France was due, for instance, to the existence of a state of affairs not totally unlike that which threatened in 1917, and which, fundamentally, only the arrival of the American armies staved off. In France as in Britain a very large section of the privileged classes had no desire to "drive the workers into the maelstrom of war." The dominant mood of those classes, indeed, was against the war. When they entered, they did so halfheartedly, under the compulsion of the popular masses.

When we watch the dramatic working out of the logic of history we must not fail to perceive that this striking reversal of order suggests that the development of defeatism, whether simple or revolutionary, and of movements of dissent in general within Italy and Germany, together with similar movements in the conquered countries, will be much more rapid than would otherwise be the case. Indeed, political stresses, since they were set up before the war, will manifest themselves more quickly in all countries. In Britain, defended by sea power, where the Labor movement had not fallen under Communist influence—at an earlier stage a misfortune—resistance was given new power by the overthrow of the Chamberlain government, which was recognized by Labor as peculiarly responsible for the war.

If we now examine the situation encountered by Hitler at the Atlantic end of his European line, we shall see that the social circumstances which Franco must dominate are hindering the Axis. Those conflicts of society which at one stage of their development cleared obstacles from the Axis path have there erected new checks. That Franco has no real liberty of decision whatsoever is true, I believe, for in the last resort the fall of France has placed Spain under German dictatorship. He cannot be kept out of the war by any other means than the infliction of defeats upon the Axis. In that respect Taranto was a far more powerful argument than any other that could have been devised. But while Franco must obey the Axis, the dictators must also take account of realities.

We do not know what occurred when Franco and Hitler recently met, but it seems to me that the undying optimism about Franco which one observes in certain quarters is misplaced. Let us consider what aid Hitler might have asked. But first it must be noted that the distinction between active and permissive aid which some have made is not one open to Franco. To concede Hitler any minimum form of military aid is to make inevitable the imposition of sanctions that could not be greater if he granted the maximum.

The Spanish dictator's military resources are feeble when compared with those of Germany. He might, however, join in an attack upon Gibraltar, add his weak navy to the Italian, harass Mediterranean lines of communication with his small air force, and by troop movements in Morocco suggest to recusant Frenchmen that acquiescence would be advisable. He could grant submarine bases on the Atlantic coast and in the Canary Islands. These aids, however, are subordinate to the immediate strategic intention of spreading out the British field of naval operations. Hitler will have taken the long view. Remembering the Napoleonic campaigns he may have decided that the paralysis of Portugal, still in the British orbit, and the fortification of points of debarcation elsewhere in the Iberian peninsula are worthy objectives. During the first World War, in fact, the German government made overtures to Spain concerning the future status of Portugal. Spain is incapable of offering economic aid in its present condition. The war materials which it possesses are presumably at Hitler's disposal already, though restoration of the Spanish industrial machine would certainly enable the Axis to obtain some new supplies of munitions and equipment. Diplomatically and politically Franco can, and does, assist in the fascist penetration of Latin America.

Madrid has good reasons for non-compliance at this moment. Franco must have pointed out that to suffer the effects of a total blockade for any great length of time would be disastrous for him. He must have argued that the investment of Gibraltar demands precisely that breaking of British sea power which the enterprise is intended to accomplish, and that since his heavy industries are all situated near the coast of Spain he would be running additional hazards. What is most likely, therefore, is that Franco declared that his entry, since it must be timed with precision, was conditional upon three things. He will have no power to enforce them, but I suggest they are these: that the Axis left wing in the Balkans and Asia Minor be developed; that the British navy be weakened; and that the economic organization of the New Europe be carried further toward completion, so that economic privation in Spain may be reduced. ("In the meantime," Hitler probably said to Franco, "get what help you can elsewhere.")

There is the crux of the immediate problem confronting the Axis, for the destruction of Gibraltar as a naval base and the closing of the straits are themselves necessary measures for the fulfilment of these other conditions. Any assault upon Gibraltar, backed by air power, could render it useless as a base even though its conquest proved to be extremely difficult. Its fall, or even its investment, would energize, as it were, all that comparatively weak network of Axis and French bases which is spread out over the entire Mediterranean.

It is pertinent to ask which victory, a British or a German, Franco would naturally desire. The answer is clear. Unless the British authorities could promise a perpetuity of reactionary governments willing to sustain his or any comparable regime, the Spanish dictator must prefer a German victory, for that is by far the best guaranty his dictatorship can obtain. A detailed study of Spanish politics since the cessation of Republican resistance would show that the "pro-British" forces among the reactionary ruling classes are unlikely to obtain power now that France has fallen, whatever may be the favors shown to Franco by Britain. These people—high-ranking ecclesiastics, great landlords, Catalan and Basque industrialists, and a few generals—were able to show some hostility to the pro-Axis Phalanx only so long as German troops were not in proximity to the frontier. They have no backing whatsoever among the repressed workers and peasantry. They desire nothing more than to safeguard their own privileges by easing social tensions. It was for that reason that they supported Franco and his Axis allies, just as they had been pro-German during the first World War. At present they are willing to urge caution upon Franco lest he cause so much discontent that no repression will contain it. They dislike fascism as a political system and regret that the Phalanx is so unreasonable as to entertain an ideology instead of being content to oppress in the old-fashioned way. They are nevertheless astute enough to realize that if the Phalanx were destroyed their own domination would disappear.

Every Axis victory has strengthened the Phalanx as the ruling party; the accession to power of the interventionist Serrano Suñer in recent weeks and the dismissal of the pro-British Foreign Minister were brought about by the French defeat. Suñer's party depends for its very existence upon collaboration with the Axis and the continued violent repression of the Spanish people. There is, therefore, only one ally Britain can obtain in Spain, the people themselves, and to win their help a new domestic and foreign policy is essential. The necessity for correct relations with the Spanish people will be seen if we take note of the most pressing of Britain's needs, that is, the occupation of all the Spanish hinterland lying within a fairly inclusive arc based upon Gibraltar in order to prevent the closing of the straits—which might be accomplished without the capture of Gibraltar itself.

In France despair will diminish as British resistance continues, the demoralization of the working class will disappear, exhaustion will give place to expectancy. And conclusions, inescapable now, will be drawn by the French people as to the identity of the real betrayers of France. The Riom trials, by the significant absence from the dock of the prosecution itself, will make this inevitable.

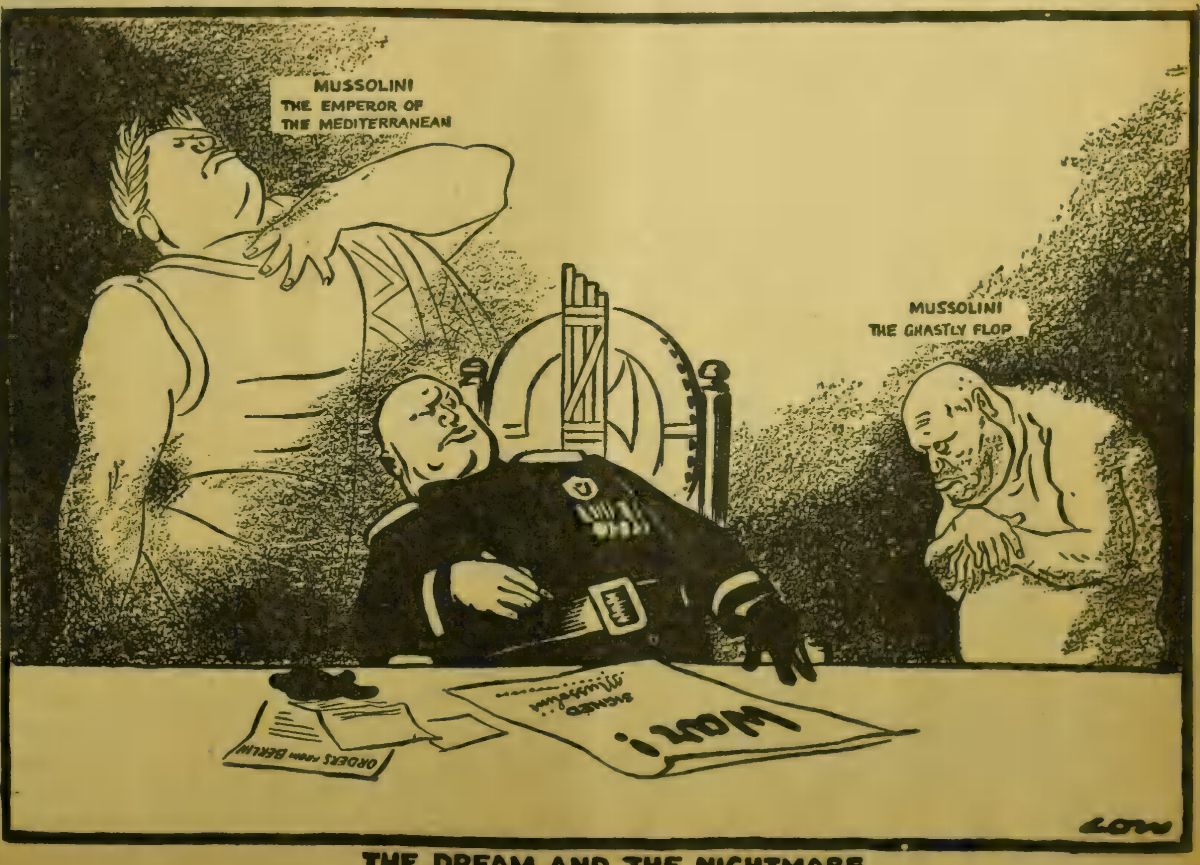
It is incorrect to assume that the imposition of dictatorship by Vichy was an attempt to curry favor with the Axis. Its object was solely to maintain the rule of a group of fascist imperialists, who hoped, by collaboration against Britain, to save some part of the French Empire. Vichy cannot obtain peace, or any relief attendant upon peace, for that would involve a transference of territories impossible to Vichy and Berlin alike. The only maneuver to which Laval can have recourse is the futile one of attempting to incorporate France into a Latin bloc. The consequence of all this is that his dictatorship, which is utterly without popular support, is bound to appear, not as the melancholy price of defeat, but as the macabre guaranty of a partial victory for a limited number of Frenchmen.

A new direction will be given to the French people's struggle, both now and in the event of German enfeeblement. The classical problem for the French left was not only to achieve unity of political action between the two great working-class parties but to secure the adherence of the peasantry. The German exactions, which reach France through Vichy, now fall equally heavily on the lower middle class, the working class, and the peasantry. In fact, as time goes on, a greater burden may be borne by the agricultural population than by any other. The lifeless and stifling bureaucratic administration was one of the most striking things in prewar France. The present state of affairs will further discredit that bureaucracy, which had been the very symbol of the old, outmoded republic. If we compare the contemporary situation of France with that of 1848, we shall note suggestive contrasts. In that epoch the first step toward the victory of Bonaparte and imperial restoration was the isolated action, and defeat, of the urban working class in May and June. In the contemporary period the dense city populations of the north, now suffering from unemployment and the German occupation, will probably enter any movement of dissent last, that is to say, when German domination is withdrawn—by which time the peasantry and smaller urban concentrations of unoccupied France will have begun their struggle.

To sum up the argument, which might be greatly enriched if space were available: the dislocation of the Axis plans for a westward offensive and the inversion of the general logic of war developments have together maintained or brought into existence social strains which, honestly utilized, can hinder the Axis and prepare the ground for its collapse. Upon the military side this would seem to imply a concentration of offensive effort against Italy; upon the political, the abandonment of limited appeals based upon the desire to conserve imperialist democracy. The appeal to profounder conceptions of democracy is essential if Britain is to land armies upon the Continent, since the French and Spanish people, for example, cannot be expected to follow governments whose treasons have brought so much distress to them.

This is not merely a "political" view. The enormity of the tasks confronting London and the overwhelming superiority which the Axis possesses make it a question of the very survival of Britain as a free nation. Popular optimism, based almost wholly upon the magnificent fortitude of London, is entirely unjustified. Britain can win, but revolutionary changes in its policy are quite as necessary as a great acceleration of American aid.

[The first part of Mr. Bates's article was published last week. The conclusion, on the war's effect on the British social structure, will appear in an early issue.]



THE DREAM AND THE NIGHTMARE

Vatican-Axis Diplomacy

BY GEORGE LA PIANA

THE American public has long entertained such exaggerated notions of the influence of the Roman Catholic church on political and social institutions throughout the Christian world that many non-Catholics are fearful of the part the Vatican may play in Europe after the present war is over. They already see the great dictatorial triumvirate of Hitler, Mussolini, and Franco, with Pétain as a weak fourth, kneeling before the papal throne and receiving the blessing of Pius XII for the final great crusade against the three-headed monster of communism, Judaism, and liberalism. Among Catholics there are some who, having no faith in Hitler, prefer to think that a Latin bloc is in the offing, a Mussolini-Franco-Pétain coalition surrounded by such minor figures as Salazar of Portugal and the flock of South American dictators soon to be installed under the aegis of the Spanish *caudillo*. This Latin bloc, thoroughly Catholic, upheld by legions of bishops and priests and friars under the direction of the Vatican, will, in their vision, gather irresistible strength, rebaptize the Germans in Catholic waters, destroy the work of the Reformation which "dechristianized" them, and build a new and potent Catholic civilization.

Turning from these speculations about the future to present facts, we find that though the Papacy has condemned the totalitarian ideologies in so far as they affect religion and the church, it has in practice been more than eager to collaborate with the dictators. And the dictators have felt free to use the whip any time that the Vatican, taking seriously its rights as a sovereign state, has assumed an independent attitude. In their respective countries they have kept the Catholic church under strict control. A glance at the course of events since last March will bring home to those who cherish illusions about the Vatican's power what part the Papacy is really playing in world affairs.

On March 11, 1940, the German Foreign Minister, Herr von Ribbentrop, was received at the Vatican by Pope Pius XII. This visit took place a few days before the meeting between Hitler and Mussolini at the Brenner Pass and a few weeks before the great German offensive on the western front. For over a month the Vatican radio station had been denouncing German atrocities against the Catholics in Poland. It seemed plain that Hitler, annoyed by this attack, was making a gesture of appeasement toward the Vatican, perhaps for the sake of greater internal unity in Germany, before starting the campaign against the Allies. The Vatican radio station expressed the hope that "Ribbentrop's visit would mark the end of tension and the beginning of a period of collaboration such as was desired by all, not least by German Catholics and the ecclesiastical hierarchy." Convinced that the Führer was in desperate need of conciliating the German Catholics, the Vatican thought the time had come to strike a hard bargain.

Hitler's unpardonable sin was his agreement with Stalin by which half of Catholic Poland was returned to Soviet Russia. On top of this came his harsh treatment of bishops and priests in the German-occupied Polish provinces. On this point Pius XII must have forcefully spoken his mind to the German envoy. Ribbentrop, with the brazen face of a former salesman of champagne, tried to persuade the Pope that Germany, after settling affairs in the West, would again turn on Russia. Vatican circles were thrilled; they compared Hitler to Henry IV kneeling before Gregory VII. His surrender, they said, was "the nearest approach to a temporal power going to Canossa that has ever been seen in recent times" (New York *Times*, March 12). But Pius XII placed no confidence in Nazi promises and made it clear that this time actual, tangible concessions were the price of peace. Ribbentrop balked; he knew that while Hitler wanted the Vatican's silence, he would not pay for it with anything more than empty words. After a long conference with the Duce, Ribbentrop went back to Berlin, his mission apparently a failure.

The Pope, still sure of having in his hand a trump card against Hitler, continued his veiled criticism of Nazi Germany in a Latin sermon preached at Saint Peter's on Easter Sunday and, three days later, in an address to the usual crowd of newly married couples, who in Italy get a free trip to Rome. On March 19 an Associated Press dispatch from Vatican City announced the imminent conclusion of a new agreement between the Papal Nuncio in Berlin and Hitler's government. The announcement even specified that in this new agreement the state would assume the burden of the financial support of parochial institutions. But by the end of March the bubble had burst: the Nuncio was refused permission to visit Poland. On April 3 the Vatican radio station resumed its attacks on German "idolatry." Hitler answered by closing more Catholic schools and churches and sending more priests to concentration camps.

Meanwhile, the meeting at the Brenner Pass had taken place, and the task of bringing the Vatican to reason was intrusted to Mussolini. As early as March 23 the Rome correspondent of the New York *Times* had written that while "the international policies of the Holy See and of the Fascist regime had on the whole taken parallel lines since the outbreak of the war in September," now "a storm had broken." The invasion of Denmark and Norway did not evoke comment from the Pope, but the daily organ of the Vatican, the *Osservatore Romano,* piously remarked, "There are only 2,000 Catholics in Norway; therefore, although the moral aspect is severely judged, from the practical point of view the Holy See must keep in mind the 30,000,000 German Catholics." The *Osservatore* was then the only newspaper in Italy which published the war bulletins of the Allies or criticized the Reich in its editorials. Within a few days its circulation took an incredible jump from 20,000 to 150,000 copies. The Fascist press began to thunder against the Vatican paper, and on May 7 the Fascist government sent the Vatican a warning not to allow the *Osservatore* to publish news not printed by the Italian dailies.

When Holland and Belgium were invaded by the German armies, Pius XII thought it advisable to avoid the mistake made in 1914 by his predecessor, who, expecting a quick German victory, had refrained from any public declaration and thereby exposed the Holy See to sharp criticism. This time Pius XII sent telegrams to the Queen of the Netherlands and the King of the Belgians expressing his disapproval of the invasion of neutral states and bestowing his blessing on their armies.

Hitler paid no attention to the papal gesture. Why should he? At his command the bells of all Catholic churches from Cologne to Danzig and from Hamburg to Vienna peeled joyously for three days to celebrate the Führer's triumphs, and bishops and clergymen uttered solemn thanks. His partner, the Duce, could look after the Pope. The Duce acted quickly. The papal Secretariat of State received what was virtually an ultimatum, and the Fascist press reveled in painting the Pope as "the ally of the Jews, of Free Masonry, of the democracies, and, last but not least, of the English Protestants" (New York *Times,* May 18).

The Vatican capitulated. After May 16 all political news and comments were banned from the columns of the *Osservatore;* by May 20 its circulation had dropped to a few hundred copies; the paper "for all practical purposes had ceased to exist" (New York *Times,* May 21). From that time on the Pope has carefully avoided saying anything which could be interpreted as even indirect criticism of the Axis.

On June 2, when the Battle of France was approaching its disastrous conclusion, the Pope, addressing the cardinals, made an appeal to the nations to humanize war and "extended his paternal love to the Germans and Allied peoples." The imminent attack on prostrate France by Mussolini was said to have much upset the Pontiff, and according to the Rome correspondent of the New York *Times* (June 5), he sent a personal appeal to Mussolini to keep Italy out of the war. If this letter is not another fiction like the mythical letter supposed to have been written in 1914 by Pius X to the Emperor of Austria, the Duce must have thrown it into the wastebasket, for on June 11 the heroic gesture of striking the nation already defeated by Germany was made. The Vatican was said to have adopted "an attitude of complete reserve."

At the same time, however, a rather astounding declaration was given to the press. This stated that "the attitude and the responsibility of the Vatican are entirely separate from those of the Italian clergy and the Italian Catholics." (These words appeared as a textual quotation from semi-official Vatican sources in the New York *Times* of June 12.) As a matter of fact, several Italian bishops immediately published patriotic pastoral letters urging their flock "to lift our reverent thoughts to the ever victorious King and Emperor and to the undefeated Duce: may God bless and protect him" (letter of the Archbishop of Gorizia, June 16). Cardinal Shuster of Milan visited the military barracks, assured the soldiers that "God was with them," and distributed blessed medals "to bring luck to the Italian armies." The Jesuit periodical *Civiltà Cattolica* urged the same soldiers "to shed their blood for the cause blessed by their religion." Now it is well known that in the famous Concordat of 1929 the Holy See renewed to all Italian ecclesiastics and members of religious orders the prohibition against taking part in political contests or manifestations. How, then, could the Vatican separate its attitude and responsibility from those of the Italian cardinals, bishops, and priests, who were not only taking part in political and war propaganda but sanctioning in the name of God the Fascist policy of aggression?

Another violation of the Lateran agreement, this time by Mussolini, was the refusal of the Fascist government to respect the diplomatic prerogatives of the representatives of belligerent countries accredited to the Vatican and residing in Italian territory. Shortly afterward (June 27) it was announced from Rome that thirty Italian bishops had sent a message to Mussolini urging him "to crown the unfailing victory of our army" by planting the Italian flag in Palestine, and declaring that the conquest of the Holy Land would symbolize "the harmony between the civilized people of imperial and Christian Rome." Incidentally, it was suggested that the Pope be given a share in the government of Palestine.

Vatican circles rejoiced over the emergence of Marshal Pétain as the new "dictator" of defeated France. The *Osservatore Romano* published from July 8 on a series of eulogies of the old Marshal padded with political, social, and moral discussions of the "principle of authority." It admitted that from this point of view the aims of the dictatorships coincided with those of the church. Quoting a statement of Salazar, the Portuguese dictator, that "the authoritarian regimes have the purpose of creating a civic conscience as a way to create a moral conscience," the *Osservatore* remarked that "such are also the desire, aspiration, and program of the church" (New York *Times,* July 19). In the same article the *Times's* Rome correspondent wrote that "German Foreign Office circles expressed marked satisfaction over what they regarded as a complete about-face by the Vatican in its position toward totalitarian states."

Those were the days when the Axis and the Vatican expected the imminent surrender of England. But when England, far from giving up the struggle, appeared more than ever determined to go on, it dawned upon the Vatican that the last word about the new European order had not yet been said. The Pope remembered then that there are several million Catholics in the British Empire and that millions of American Catholics share the feelings of their English coreligionists. They deserved at least a hint that the Holy See had not yet sold out to the Axis. Hence on October 18 the Vatican radio station in a broadcast *in the English language* complained that "the Catholics of Alsace-Lorraine were being tried in the fire of cruel persecution," that they were "under the heavy rule of the Nazis, who are using every means to indoctrinate them with the pernicious aberrations of their party's philosophy of life." One wonders, perhaps, why the Vatican chose to unburden itself to the English and the far-away Americans rather than to address its complaints in German, Italian, or French to those more directly connected with the affair.

Nor can the Vatican find much cause for satisfaction in the turn of events in Spain. Franco refuses to accept the Vatican's terms for a Concordat; he stubbornly wants to select his own bishops for the Spanish church; his brother-in-law and Foreign Minister, Serrano Suñer, when in Rome on a diplomatic mission, refused to pay a visit to the Pope. The Vatican made known through a communication in the *Osservatore Romano* that his Holiness was much affected by the Spanish lack of courtesy, and on November 20 the Vatican radio was reported to have mildly rebuked the Spanish newspaper *Alcazar* for stating that German National Socialism was not contradictory to Christian ideals.

In view of these facts what can the Vatican expect from a final triumph of the Axis or even from a hypothetical Latin bloc? Past experience with the Axis leaves no doubts about the future; the church would continue to be kept on the leash, subservient to the interests of the Nazi and Fascist states. As for the Latin bloc, if one grants that it could become a reality after the destruction of the British Empire, it would be a bloc of totalitarian states. True, it is claimed that Catholicism would be a vital factor in the unity and the policies of the bloc. But what kind of Catholicism—the Catholicism of Mussolini, of Franco, of M. Laval? Among those who advocate this Latin bloc the most outspoken are some Spanish writers and a few of Franco's henchmen outside Spain. To the Spaniards, as they state without mincing words, the bloc would offer the opportunity to reconquer their lost empire in South America and the Philippines; this is as far as their Catholicism goes.

The American Catholic press, which up to yesterday lavished its praises on Mussolini, and the Catholic bishops and priests who used to think that the Fascist model of the "corporative state" could be grafted on American democracy are busy telling us now that all dictatorships have on their agenda the complete eradication of the church and Christianity. But their fears for the church, as an organization at least, are probably groundless. The dictators know well that during the centuries of the so-called union of the Throne with the Altar the church was the most solid support of absolute monarchies, and they expect it to perform the same noble function in the totalitarian regimes. They know how they can induce it to—by the offer of temporal advantages combined with threats and force. The church, in its turn, professing now complete indifference toward any form of government, a principle which in practice often becomes sheer moral opportunism, does not seem adverse to being so used, provided, of course, that the so-called "rights of the church" are respected, at least in appearance—a sad prospect, indeed, for the Vatican, the "greatest moral and spiritual power in the world."

Within the Gates

ACCORDING to preliminary reports, the most recent effort of extreme rightists in this country to achieve greater unity has misfired rather badly. The week beginning Sunday, November 17, was set aside by a majority of the more influential leaders for a conference to be held in Chicago. Moseley, Winrod, True, Hunter, Jung, Edmondson, Dilling, and a number of lesser lights were expected to participate. But the first session, held Sunday afternoon in a small room in the Chicago Gospel Tabernacle, was attended by only eight persons, among whom were Donald Shea of the National Gentile League, Edward James Smythe of the Protestant War Veterans, and Olov Tietzow of the American Guard. Colonel E. N. Sanctuary of the American Christian Defenders, formerly known as the World Alliance Against Jewish Aggressiveness, arrived at the tabernacle late in the afternoon but left after a few minutes.

Late Sunday evening the delegates discovered that Martin Dies had been in Chicago for more than twenty-four hours and that he had announced his intention of investigating organizations proselyting for Nazism. That sealed the fate of the conference. Although the self-styled "Christian patriots" continued to meet for informal discussions, they abandoned their original purpose of formulating a plan for unified action. On Tuesday it was decided that the conference would be adjourned the following evening.

It is interesting to discover that the greater part of the printed matter on hand for distribution to the delegates was anti-Catholic rather than anti-Semitic. Pamphlets like "Abraham Lincoln's Vow Against the Catholic Church" far outnumbered anti-Semitic publications. The nation's leading anti-Catholic newspaper, *The Monitor*, was very much in evidence. It is apparent that religious fundamentalism, which is essentially anti-Catholic, is assuming an increasingly important function in the Nazi movement.

THE MOLLY PITCHER BRIGADE, organized six months ago by Mrs. Edna L. Johnston to train women to participate in national defense in the event of military attack upon the United States, is suffering from being confused with an anti-Semitic organization which, by intent or coincidence, chooses to call itself the Molly Pitcher Christian Women's Brigade. While the Molly Pitcher Brigade trains its members in the use of arms, first aid, ambulance driving, and military drill, the Molly Pitcher Christian Women's Brigade devotes its energies to the distribution of anti-Semitic leaflets, most of which are supplied by the German-American Bund, the Christian Mobilizers, and the Christian Front. Mrs. Frances Parr, leader of the Molly Pitcher Christian Women, has long been an enthusiastic worker in the Christian Front. In 1939 she participated in the picketing of Michael's furniture store for advertising over WMCA, one of the radio stations which refused to sell time to Father Coughlin. She also permitted her home to be used as headquarters by Edward James Smythe, who takes credit for having arranged the joint meetings of the Ku Klux Klan and the German-American Bund at Camp Nordland.

TOWARD THE END of the Spanish civil war the Institute of Public Opinion reported that Franco's sympathizers in the United States were outnumbered by pro-Loyalists more than three to one. Despite that fact, or because of it, the Spanish Library of Information, 2 East Thirty-fourth Street, New York City, has undertaken to sell victorious nationalism at cut-rate prices. In fact, like the Italian and German Libraries of Information, the Spanish agency gives its product away when the consumer is reluctant to pay for it.

The two chief propaganda vehicles of the Spanish Library of Information are *Spain*, an expensive monthly magazine published in English, and *Cara al Sol*, a weekly newspaper in Spanish. Both publications scrupulously avoid mentioning Franco's collaboration with the Axis and other features of the regime which are offensive to most Americans. Rather, they harp on the theme that Franco played the role of St. George to Stalin's dragon. This theme is summed up nicely in an article appearing in the October issue of *Spain:* "But there were elements in America who, vitally interested in the conflict between the forces of civilization and Christianity and those of Marxism and atheism, utilized these facts to convince a minority of Americans that Franco was fighting their battle. For in the Spanish War it could be truthfully said that the Nationalist lines were the first-line defenses of American and world civilization, even though the world in general was unaware of it."

In the Wind

TWO WEEKS after *The Nation* published Freda Kirchwey's article Wendell Willkie Reneges, Miss Kirchwey got this letter—apparently a form sent to everyone represented in the Willkie correspondence files: "I want you to know that your message touched me deeply. It conveyed to me not only your good-will, but also a heartening faith in the principles for which I stand. [*Signed*] Wendell L. Willkie."

THE "MORALE DIVISION" of the War Department has issued a long mimeographed memorandum dealing with conscription and other matters. Among the items included is the statement that "only two" hostesses of World War camps are available for duty again. They'll be there.

GENERAL MOTORS, apparently disturbed by complaints about the alleged Nazi sympathies of its vice-president, James D. Mooney, is taking steps to change all that. A memorandum explaining that Mr. Mooney must keep on good terms with Germany for business reasons is being widely circulated.

SHORTLY AFTER the election, Washington reporters say, President Roosevelt summoned State Department aides and gave them a stiff rebuke. He said he wasn't being kept informed on European developments and demanded more detailed reports.

WALTER WINCHELL is rapidly losing friends and winning enemies among union groups—and not only left-wing ones. The last straw was a one-line item blaming the Vultee aircraft strike on Nazis. Actually the strike was part of a long-planned drive by the Automobile Workers' Union to organize aircraft workers.

JOE McWILLIAMS, America's handsomest fascist, is getting secretive, anti-Nazis report. Meetings of his American Destiny Party are being closely guarded, and only those personally vouched for by members are admitted. He is using an outfit called the "Little Brown Jug Social Club" as a front for public recruiting.

THE MOST FIERY appeal for John L. Lewis to continue as president of the C. I. O. appeared in Coughlin's *Social Justice.* Up to the eve of the C. I. O. convention *Social Justice* had consistently flayed Lewis, but then it suddenly decided: "America needs this leader more than ever, now that he has seen the full light of day."

WENDELL WILLKIE has contracted to take speech lessons for six months. . . . Governor Luren Dickinson of Michigan, who was appalled by New York "sin," is going on a lecture circuit. . . . The William Allen White committee has circulated another detailed statement on next steps to aid Britain. It warns against appeasement moves.

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind —either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. A prize of $5 will be awarded each month for the best item.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

A Native at Large

BY JONATHAN DANIELS

ALREADY California is talking about a happy ending for the Joads. It is war—or the fact that war in the world makes preparation necessary in America. It is reported from the West Coast that for the migrants "the day of jubilee may arrive next summer in a regilded golden California." That is a California description of a chance to get a job. Even the chance is still nearly a year away. Today, the same report says, behind one of the growing dams in the Central Valley water project, where 3,000 people are employed, there are at least 7,000 men, women, and children living in dilapidated tents and shacks—hoping to get jobs. And not getting them. But war may make jobs for them.

That is the regilded golden hope. Information in the hands of reemployment and social-security officials in the West indicates that soon the drain on the labor pool caused by growing national-defense projects will leave California agriculture largely dependent on the Okies and the Arkies and the other migrants who have not seemed so welcome before.

The migrants will find welcome good to possess. But the great dramatic value of these baffled wanderers and seekers to both John Steinbeck and the nation has been that they made local distress seem an American problem. And America still stretches to the cotton fields behind those migrants, just as it lies ahead of them in the airplane factories. As veteran actors in California now they present in one show the meaning of war—or preparations for it—and the old American agriculture from which they came.

If the Associated Farmers, the deputies, and the vigilantes are preparing now to thank God for the migrants in California to fill the places of those who have moved on from the vineyards and the fields to the factories, they should know that the pressure is still big behind them. No airplane factories on the West Coast will soon absorb it. The population grows still at the fastest rate where the deepest American poverty is on the land.

War makes a difference back there, too, close to the cotton fields. The world is consuming more planes but a good deal less cotton. On the old cotton farms a million more people were living when this World War began than when war started in 1914. The big drop in raw-cotton exports, more than offsetting the increased consumption at home, is going to mean that this year a million fewer persons could produce sufficient cotton to maintain the present large supply.

Nobody will drain that labor pool quickly, though t Joads go to California and Bigger Thomas goes to C cago and murder. But an increasing industry is growi in the Middle South as well as on the Pacific Coast in t strategic decentralization of defense plants. Those plan are welcomed not only by the chambers of commer but by the boys and girls in the hills and on the flat del land. The need for such industry is understood by t most unselfish and thoughtful men in the region. B there were a dozen Arkies—who did not have to move— at a recent mid-Southern conference in Memphis. Profe sors, editors, lawyers, farmers, they wanted to know Will it be a permanent gain or will it provide only temporary growth that will wean thousands from far pursuits, train them for special skills, then leave the jobless and stranded, a more difficult problem than eve

In the flat Mississippi Delta, which is perfectly adapte to mechanization, the 1940 census showed an increase population despite mechanization. Also sentiment, a well as inertia, has kept mechanization in Arkansas, Oklahoma, and elsewhere to a much slower pace than wa possible and practical. But a growing defense program making jobs in towns, would on the land speed not onl the plow but the tractor, the growth of large-scale farming, which more efficiently uses fewer men. Such a process, coupled with a continually growing industry, is th chance for the young in those states from which th migrants departed. But if the people should ever want— in a diminishing arms industry—to go back, there would be fewer places on the land to which they could go.

There may be a great chance in the change. Certainly war abroad quickens processes at home which the migrants dramatized. Movement seems almost like a revolutionary procedure which will solve our problems or pile them up higher and higher. Already the pace of people, as well as of trucks and trailers and tractors, is faster. What war is going to do in this world is not all happening abroad. We are hurrying to change at home.

Many of us remember the movie of the tractors pulling down the cabins in which people like the Joads had lived. War is doing that at an even faster pace—and not only in Arkansas and Oklahoma. That will set men free or put them on the endless road to nowhere and nothing.

California may count on a happy ending—a regilded golden land. The only thing that seems sure to me is that few of us will ever go back on this road on which we are moving.

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

Dance Piece

The errand into the maze,
Ascent, the heel's blow upon space,
Speak of the need, and order the dancer's will;
But the dance is still.

For a surmise of rest, over the flight of the dial
Between shock of the fall, shock of repose,
The flesh, in its time, delivered itself to the trial,
And rose.

Suffrance, the lapse, the pause,
Were the will of the dance—
The movement-to-be, charmed from the shifts of the chance,
Intent on its cause.

And the terrible gift
Of the gaze, blind on its zenith; the wreath
Of the throat; the body's unwearied uplift,
Unmaking and making its death,

Were ripeness; and theme for return;
Were rest in the durance of matter:
The sleep of the musing begetter
And the poise in the urn.

BEN BELITT

Descent in a Parachute

Leant in his fall, to question his confident haste;
And moaned, and fumbled the cord on his broken navel;

And rose on his arms in his fall, thinking ease,
As, level under level,
In the brute and downward waste
(Crouched for the birth-blow, chin to his knees)
He grappled his breast for the ring of the bone, in his rage,
And opened his brows, like a cage.

A little troughing the void,
Tensing its folds in the vehement interim,
Buoying its silks, itself for a moment buoyed,
Out sprang the parachute brain to recover him—

"For how, in an element
Of flight and fracture, reckon rest and stress,
Or mark the stroke and know it for descent,
Among the cleaving zones of the abyss?

"Hurler and sleeper, who journey your self in your fall,
Time is the bowspan, space is the discus hurled:
You stand with the hurlers under the vault of the skull
And turn a considering surmise, like a world—

"And think to fall helpless, and turn on your arms in that dream,
Thinking the dream, chafing a word in sleep,
And rise on your arms to give the dream its name;
And tremble; and cannot break the dreamer's keep."

And plunged; (keeping childbirth, knees to his breast)
Beating his temples, parting a garland of bone,
A little flying the parachute heart as he passed,
A hand's breadth of cordage, poised like a thought, over stone;
And bent in the circuits of narrow and wilderness air,
Sprang to the ring's verge, bursting its silks on the height;
Wheeled in the ravel; leant to the deepening blur,
As up, like explosion, the flint of the world struck his flight.

BEN BELITT

Period Piece

We are entering a new period
Of history we intend to make
Amends to those we have not
Yet murdered who are friends,

For it is certain the hour
Is such nobody warns those
Who will soon be dead when
Love's time is contracted.

NORMAN MACLEOD

Notes by the Way

THE perfect place to spend the last Saturday afternoon of Indian summer is in a New England meadow under a hickory tree, with autumn made audible in the scurrying of squirrels, the dull thud of nuts falling, the creaking of crickets' hinges, and the caws of old crows sailing through air the color of apricots. But Fourth Avenue just below Union Square, New York, wasn't a bad substitute. The street there is lined with bookstalls strewn with second-to-tenth-hand books from deciduous libraries; the very spirit of Indian summer hovers over the long rows of faded bindings and makes a quiet clearing in the roar of New York. People move slowly here, yet there is suppressed excitement; and when, unaccountably and often, we bump into each other we exchange the remote absorbed and resentful glances of treasure hunters on the prowl. For we are always on the verge of drawing forth from the mulch of long- and well-forgotten "popular" novels an "Emma" or a Horace, to be restored for a small ransom to the libraries of the living. I brought out, at a total cost of fifty cents, "Faust" and a scarcely touched copy of E. M. Forster's "A Room with a View" in the Borzoi edition, which luckily I hadn't read and which, as the tired reviewers say, I couldn't put down until I had finished it.

I AM REMINDED of Fourth Avenue and Indian summer by the miscellaneous harvest of books, magazines, and letters which I have accumulated in the past few weeks, out of a perverse variety of interests which squirrels and true scholars would scorn. I took "A Treasury of the World's Great Letters," edited by M. Lincoln Schuster (Simon and Schuster, $3.75) because I like letters. But I'm not sure it is a book for people who like letters—as letters. It is rather for people who like letters as curiosities or who want to be informed about famous letter-writers—for Mr. Schuster devotes much of his text to diligent biographical and explanatory comments. It seems to me that letters, less than any other form of writing, lend themselves to the uses of anthologies. The charm of correspondence is a subtle, slow-working, cumulative charm which rises from the piling of letter on letter, mood on mood, until a whole personality flowers for us out of the mass of fragments which letters essentially are. There are of course many letters which are historically interesting—like those of Paul, or Zola's "J'Accuse," or Thomas Mann's letter to the dean of the philosophical faculty of the University of Bonn, or Vanzetti's farewell to Dante Sacco—but these are not properly letters at all. They are really manifestoes. This type of "letter" is at home in Mr. Schuster's anthology; there are many of them and they are interesting. But I for one wish he had left Keats out of it, or at least that he had printed the letters he chose to use and let it go at that. Instead, he wallows in sentimental comments on Keats's love and illness—he is not the first to have done so—and caps it all with a vulgar verse by Christopher Morley, one of our leading wallowers, about the auctioning of a letter from Keats to Fanny Brawne. One line in this revolting "sonnet" actually reads: "Dealer, would I were steadfast as thou art." My anger may seem excessive, but so, in this case, is the bad taste; and to discover that one of the "great letters" in this treasury is a long, incredibly silly composition by the same Christopher Morley doesn't help matters.

WITH THE WEAVERS of destruction shuttling over the Acropolis and St. Paul's, the Penelope's web of the day's preoccupations gets harder and harder to unravel. Yet even moderns must sleep; and since, for me, books about the desert still work, I am grateful for Freya Stark's "Winter in Arabia" (E. P. Dutton, $5). It may be set beside "Arabia Deserta" on that shelf of midnight books which provide at least temporary escape from the current season in hell. Miss Stark's prose has the folded contours and subdued colors of the desert itself. And through her pages moves a continuous procession of Arab men and women and especially children, brought to life by her unsentimental sympathy, humor, and understanding.

THE NEXT BOOK on the illogical pile is "The Martha Washington Cook Book," which is not only a good cooking book but a good reading book. It was prepared from the original manuscript given by Frances Parke Custis to Martha Washington and only recently released for publication by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. It is beautifully presented on water-resistant paper, bound in washable cloth, and profusely illustrated (Coward-McCann, $3). Everyone knows by this time that our ancestors ate enormous meals, but their menus are still astounding. "A dinner suitable for the month of February in the year 1792" has only two courses, but the first course called for seventeen dishes, exclusive of sauces, and the second for fifteen—this book will certainly be banned as subversive in a Europe rationed to the slogan "Let 'em eat Destiny!" Amateur cooks with kitchenettes will not attempt any February dinners, but the recipes for separate dishes, which have been modernized, look negotiable and very appetizing. And the spirit of the original has been so well preserved in the editing and the illustrations that I am sure one could not "souse veal" without capturing something of the flavor of the kitchen at Mount Vernon.

SPEAKING OF AMERICANA, a friend who is concerned with the continuance of the Federal Writers' Project has just sent me a complete catalogue—it runs to thirty-one pages—of the books the project has generated. It is a rich list. The remark of Lewis Mumford that "these guidebooks are the finest contribution to American patriotism that has been made in a long time" is quoted on the first page, and I think the statement is just. It is also relevant to the times. As my correspondent says, patriotism is currently being presented as "something extra, the hat on the hat, and some of us don't feel comfortable about it. Yet patriotism we know, too, is real, as the country is real, and the tradition. We have the tradition, and knowledge of it will accordingly inform a real patriotism." There is great danger that the defense program will encourage the promoters of a vague and dangerous nationalism; one safeguard against such a monstrous growth is actual and accurate knowledge of our past. Even a D. A. R., for instance, would have to admit, on the basis of this knowledge, that the patriotism that rises from the rich brew of the melting-pot can be called Americanism only because the term itself, in its true meaning, is international in scope. It is a meaning that must be made manifest, and there could be no better textbooks than the American Guide Series.

My space is running out; so I must leave to next week some remarks on current issues of the quarterly magazines.

MARGARET MARSHALL

Saint, Science, and Fascism

EMBEZZLED HEAVEN. By Franz Werfel. Translated by Moray Firth. The Viking Press. $2.50.

SIMPLE and direct in point of technique, on its ideological side "Embezzled Heaven" is an exceedingly ambitious novel. Franz Werfel is not the type of writer who is content to let his re-creation of experience speak for itself. He belongs to that prominent tradition in German letters which has always insisted on pressing all literary forms into the service of philosophical thought. Hence to this story, essentially a kind of Franciscan fable, of the life and death of the cook and erving-woman Teta Linek in pre-Nazi Austria, there is conoined a thorough criticism of the general state of mind of he modern world—an idealistic dialectic that declares mankind to be doomed unless it recovers its faith in eternity and alvation. Moreover, unlike some thinkers and creative writers, such as Waldo Frank in this country, who have attacked raionalism and decried the scientific outlook, Werfel proceeds o the logical conclusion that, in order to survive, faith must needs seek the shelter and authority of a religious institution. And this institution, as Teta Linek's saintly example clearly ndicates, is none other than the Church of Rome.

According to this author, it is the religious nihilism of modern man and his revolt against metaphysics that have brought about the reign of fascism:

> I say that this is the absolute primal cause of all our misery. There are still fools who imagine that typhoid fever can be cured with aspirin because it lowers the patient's temperature. Socialism is a kind of aspirin. We have, however, to deal with a pestilence of the soul. . . . The heaven of which we have been defrauded is the great deficit of our age. Because of it our accounts cannot be balanced, either in the realm of politics or in that of economics. . . . One day, when we are sated with the achievements of applied science, sport, and materialism, the longing for this flame, the longing for a new metaphysical consciousness, will be the latest emotion of an audacious *avant-garde*.

Never mind the analogy between socialism and aspirin, but something should be said about this vaunted "new metaphysical consciousness." In literature at least it is somewhat late in the day to herald the rise of an *avant-garde* devoted to metaphysical expression. For nearly a century and a half now, beginning with the romantic medievalism provoked by the early bourgeois movements, the metaphysical consciousness has not been in want of able and eloquent spokesmen among the intellectuals; and despite their transparent bias such spokesmen have not hesitated to impute every setback or calamity that has befallen the modern world to the progress of science and to the spread of positivist views. As was to be expected, these people have of late set themselves to interpret in the same dubious fashion the victories of Hitler. Their business is to catch souls, and come peace or come war, come socialism or come fascism, they labor at it with might and main. It is worth noting, though, that the present historical moment, what with the eclipse of the revolutionary ideal by the universal onset of reaction, is particularly favorable to religious propaganda.

However, what we are dealing with here is a work of fiction rather than a tract. The most pertinent question one might ask, therefore, is whether the specific experience it represents tends to bear out its author's stated beliefs. In this respect the novel, it seems to me, is not at all successful. It is schematic in the same sense as are the "party-line" novels produced by Communist writers, though in this case it is Catholicism instead of communism that dictates the "line," distorting the portrayal of human actions, motives, and character. Teta Linek, whose "element of greatness" lies in her deep faith and in her inflexible resolve to gain a secure place in heaven, is not objectively created but argumentatively constructed as

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an example of spiritual health. A hard-working and single-minded woman, thinking of nothing but death, she is victimized by a clerical charlatan whom she has supported for thirty years under the delusion that he is an honest priest who will act as her advocate and mediator with the heavenly powers. When her error is revealed, she goes on a pilgrimage to Rome, where she meets another priest, this time a good man and true, who saves her from despair and sets her on the right path. Overwhelmed by happiness and now old and worn, she receives the Pope's blessing and dies in the odor of sanctity.

The ambiguity of this story is that, if it were not for the author's continual personal intervention in the narrative with interpretative remarks and appeals, Teta might actually impress us as an example of spiritual disease rather than of spiritual health. The narrowness and poverty of her life force her to transcend this world—only "metaphysically" to be sure—by transferring her hopes to the next. But this kind of idealism is no force for righteousness here and now. Unable to envision the rewards of victory, insensible to the reality of our earthly existence, it fights no battles and wins no wars.

In many ways Teta reminds one of Félicité, the heroine of Flaubert's story "A Simple Heart." Equally plain and pious, the French serving-woman is presented for what she is worth, with abounding sympathy yet always objectively. Flaubert tells us everything about her without issuing any instructions as to how to understand her; and the result is that the emotion her life communicates is deeper and purer—more "religious" if you will—than that evoked by Teta's spiritual adventurism. And this difference in emotional power is precisely the difference between a disinterested accounting of experience and a prejudged one.

PHILIP RAHV

By Max Eastman

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From Gladstone to Churchill

FAME IS THE SPUR. By Howard Spring. Viking Press. $2.75.

IN A novel which provides both a splendid story and a superb panorama of English social history during the past century, Mr. Spring traces the career of a born leader of men, John Hamer Shawcross, who as a boy in the Manchester slums conceived an indomitable urge to be somebody, to master his own fate and sway the lives of those about him. That he rose to political power as a representative of the Labor Party resulted chiefly from the accident of his having been born poor, for though he was essentially sincere in his desire to improve living conditions for the common man, his driving lust for fame and importance impelled him to seize whatever practical advantage the moment offered, to use people, whatever people came to hand, as his stepping-stones. With a superb sense of the dramatic he flourished before his audiences at political rallies a saber which his uncle had snatched up at the "Peterloo massacre" (a workingmen's meeting outside of Manchester in 1819 which had been dispersed by troops). But the saber also held a deep symbolic significance for Shawcross himself, who was more of a sentimentalist than he liked to admit, and in later years, when he was a member of the Cabinet and an honored guest in the homes of peers, he had a lavish inlaid case made for it. Perhaps he never thoroughly realized how far he, too, had changed, how many ideals he had discarded, since the days when the saber had rested on two nails driven into a dingy wall and he had tended a greengrocer's shop.

Closely interwoven with the life-story of Shawcross is that of two boyhood friends who likewise pursued difficult goals with relentless energy, though with unequal success. Arnold Ryerson, who serves as a foil to Shawcross, burned with an honest passion for humanitarian reform, but, lacking the other's personal charm and clever opportunism, he ended as a labor organizer among the Welsh miners, content to play a small, undistinguished part in the long uphill fight against intrenched privilege and greed. Tom Hannaway, on the other hand, made money his *summum bonum,* and with shrewd, unscrupulous, though never malicious maneuvering lifted himself by his own bootstraps out of the Manchester gutters to become Sir Thomas Hannaway, one of the wealthiest men in the kingdom.

Another noteworthy portrait in an almost inexhaustible gallery of life-size characters is Ann, Shawcross's wife, who, to his intense annoyance and inconvenience, enlisted in the woman's-suffrage movement and underwent all the revilings and martyrdoms that were showered upon the early proponents of that reform. Certainly for stupidity and brutality in combating common-sense innovations, the Middle Ages seldom surpassed the treatment which the twentieth century accorded the suffragettes.

Mr. Spring employs a fluid time-structure which often gives his story the flavor of an actual biography—scenes of Shawcross's later life are snatched out of their chronological sequence and planted next to some episode of fifty years before, to point up a significant parallel or an ironic commentary on the alchemy of the years. Whether or not the central figure represents any actual leader of the English Labor Party—Ramsay MacDonald, of course, comes first to mind—the author infuses an amazing vitality into the principal historical trends of the last seventy-five years as they affected everyday Englishmen, from the peerage to the workshop. He makes you feel you are actually living through the rise of the labor movement, the campaign for women's rights, the strike of the Welsh coal miners, the growing clash of interests between the haves and the have-nots; and yet he never permits the wealth of historical detail to obscure the exciting, intensely human story of the individuals who played a part in those social upheavals. "Fame Is the Spur" is history alive and breathing, peopled with Mr. Spring's most vivid character creations. LOUIS B. SALOMON

Men and Apes

WHY MEN BEHAVE LIKE APES AND VICE VERSA. By Ernest Albert Hooton. Princeton University Press. $3.

THE depressing influence of the brilliant researches of the German scientists of the nineteenth century was in part the result of the incredibly dull, abstruse style in which their findings were communicated to their fellow-colleagues and to the world. The clear and lively but thoroughly scientific reports of the early English medical men were supplanted by ponderous, lifeless screeds that made scientific reading a heavy chore. American scientists also formerly went in for this pretentious abstruseness in a big way. It is quite understandable, therefore, that when a scientist of attainments has the courage to revolt against the conventional style and to write and speak in such a way as to be at the same time interesting, informative, and understandable, he immediately attracts a wide following among young, alert minds, the owners of which prefer stimulants to soporifics.

Hooton has some original ideas about anthropology. Many of them seem absurd and even dangerous to the reviewer—for example, his conviction that race is still a useful term, that capital punishment is desirable, that the Germans are "merely a mysterious example of ethnic blend which has turned out to be bad," and that "medicine makes for the genetic deterioration of man." The tremendous emphasis which he places upon the association of body structure and personality structure appears even more misguided. But whether his ideas are good or bad—and many are good—Hooton's style is vivacious and his popularity as a teacher easy to understand. Unfortunately he cannot resist an excessive use of puns and wisecracks which carries his style a step beyond lucidity and color. His writing has the challenge of that of the old-time Mencken in its ability to bring into focus usually ignored variables and to surprise the reader with unexpected accents, but it is marred by the interpolated irrelevancies and flippancies. It gives the reader the impression that the author, for all his intensity, does not take himself or his subject seriously.

Apropos of the current situation, Hooton, because of what seems to the reviewer to be a childlike belief in the physical theory of personality and race, has been accused of supporting the German political theories. He puts himself in the clear on this point:

> The frightful balderdash about the Nordic race and Aryanism which has deluged the world from German sources is not merely propaganda mixed up and fed to ignorant laymen. German anthropologists actually seem to believe it and are as obsessed by it as they might be if they had in their own hands evidence collected by themselves to support it, instead of an overwhelming mass of contrary data. This ability to disregard fact and to believe in fiction, if it happens to coincide with their prejudice, is not peculiar to Germans. But the will to believe has a peculiarly nationalistic orientation in this strange folk.

KARL MENNINGER

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IN BRIEF

NATHANIEL HAWTHORNE: A MODEST MAN. By Edward Mather. The Thomas Y. Crowell Company. $3.50.

Well-written and built on a solid foundation of unobtrusive scholarship, this biography of Hawthorne the man makes him really understandable. The fact that the author, in spite of his name, is not a New Englander but an Englishman doubtless makes for his objective approach. There are some unpublished letters and other new material. This is a book which the general reader can enjoy and the student will appreciate.

MARK TWAIN'S TRAVELS WITH MR. BROWN. Collected and Edited with an Introduction by Franklin Walker and G. Ezra Dane. Alfred A. Knopf. $5.

"Being Heretofore Uncollected Sketches Written by Mark Twain for the San Francisco *Alta California* in 1866 and 1867, Describing the Adventures of the Author and His Irrepressible Companion in Nicaragua, Hannibal, New York, and Other Spots on Their Way to Europe." So runs the subtitle. It is well to have these sketches collected, for they occupy a place in Mark Twain's history as an author between the recently edited Sandwich Island letters and "The Innocents Abroad." For the most part, however, they are not particularly interesting in themselves. The edition, limited to 1,795 numbered copies, of which 1,750 are for sale, is beautifully designed by W. A. Dwiggins, with a delightful pseudo-Victorian binding.

PRINCE METTERNICH: STATESMAN AND LOVER. By Raoul Auernheimer. Alliance Book Corporation. $3.50.

This is an extremely interesting book, but it has faults of both execution and conception. It is as much a study in politics as a biography of the great Austrian statesman and in consequence tends to be satisfied with a two-dimensional view of its chief character as a man. It also contains inaccuracies apparently deriving from a hasty effort to be picturesque or to make a journalistic point, and other blemishes which appear to be due to the translation. The diplomatic maneuver by which Metternich defeated Napoleon before Waterloo was fought is brilliantly presented as worthy of posterity's praise; but to hold up the godfather of the Holy Alliance to the admiration of modern liberals because he was the pioneer of the juridical as opposed to the national state is to overlook the motives from which Metternich undertook to defeat not only Bonaparte but every constitutional advance over the eighteenth century. There is much the liberal can afford to admire in Metternich, much he cannot help being charmed by, but he must still recognize him for what he was—an enemy.

KATE TRIMINGHAM. By Frances Frost. Farrar and Rinehart. $2.50.

A poignant little story of an old-maid music teacher in a New England town; the plot a cross between "Good-bye Mr. Chips" and "The Children's Hour" (Hellman, not Longfellow). A Barrie-like whimsical touch prevents it from becoming either too sentimental or too morbid.

DRAMA

Twelfth Night

PRESUMABLY Shakespeare's contemporaries had no difficulty in knowing just how to take "Twelfth Night" and the other romantic comedies. But it has not always been so. In the next age that indefatigable playgoer Mr. Pepys witnessed a revival of the tale of Viola's misadventures, and he was probably speaking for most of his contemporaries when he called it "one of the weakest plays that ever I saw." Even today it would not be hard to find intelligent people ready to agree with Mr. Pepys, or with Bernard Shaw, who professed himself so unable to find in the whole group of comedies anything except brainless inanity that he was compelled to suppose titles like "As *You* Like It" and subtitles like "What *You* Will" were intended by Shakespeare as disavowals of responsibility. Neither can it be denied that the question of the ultimate artistic intention of these comedies presents a problem in a sense that the great tragedies do not. One may, to be sure, argue endlessly over the proper interpretation to be put upon "Hamlet," but there is at least no doubt that it must be presented as tragedy in the grand style. There is, on the other hand, a real doubt as to what kind of comedy "Twelfth Night" is, a real doubt as to the seriousness of its artistic pretensions and the general nature of its comic intention. Is it, as apparently the Victorians presumed, romantically naive, sentimental, and whimsical to an extent which renders it almost literally brainless? Is it a merely random mixture of somewhat precious poetry and low comedy? Or do the two sets of characters bear some real relation to each other; so that the play as a whole means something more than the mere sum of its poetic and farcical elements?

For all these reasons the new and elaborate production of "Twelfth Night" (St. James Theater) with Helen Hayes and Maurice Evans is a bolder undertaking than any of the other recent revivals of Shakespeare. The play is not, as "Hamlet" is, fool-proof—at least to the extent that it cannot fail to be in some degree interesting. Audiences are probably less disposed to take naturally to it, and under the circumstances the first thing to be said is simply that it is, without question, the best production of this or any of the romantic comedies seen here in many a day and that it deserves the success which it is pretty certain to enjoy. Considered simply as an evening's entertainment, it is rich and unflagging; where it falls short of everything one could wish, it falls short because it manages almost too skilfully to avoid facing fundamental questions, because it never even tries to suggest what all the romantic posturing and all the simple fun add up to; because, indeed, it seems to assume that the whole means no more than the individual parts.

Of the performances the best is certainly that of Helen Hayes, and so far as she herself is concerned there is, in truth, very little left to be desired. Her Viola is not only charming and richly inventive; she is also mischievous, and she is dominated by a sense of fun which saves her from the mere cuteness which some performers have made cloying. Miss Hayes is superb in the scene of her first appearance before Olivia, and all through the play she delights one by striking just the right note—as she does, to cite a single example, in the soliloquy leading up to the conclusion that to her the proud Olivia has lost her heart. Here Miss Hayes, instead of being wistful or tender, exclaims, "She loves me!" with an accent of half-delighted and half-incredulous astonishment which makes completely evident the "Well, I'll be damned!" mentally accompanying it and thus keeps the mood of exuberant fun in which the whole part is played. Mr. Evans's Malvolio, considered simply as a comic characterization, is almost as good, even though his interpretation of the role debases it almost to that of a mere comic butler and therefore seems to me to be not only false to Shakespeare's conception but incompatible with that interpretation of the play as a whole which I believe to be the best one. June Walker's Maria is delightfully comic, and Margaret Webster's direction, as it was in "Henry IV," is highly competent in purely theatrical ways though almost too ready to put before everything else amusing business and mere liveliness on the stage. She manages to make every moment active and amusing enough so that an audience is never aware that anything more is possible or even desirable, but her solution of the problem of how to hold the play together is largely a theatrical rather than a poetic or imaginative one.

I can only wish that she had read—and pondered—Mark Van Doren's recent "Shakespeare," in which he so illuminatingly and persuasively states the case for the assumption that the whole group of romantic comedies of which "Twelfth Night" is one are alike in that each is a poetic whole integrated by the same problem or at least the same contrast, that the central theme in each is the clash between an aristocracy which is cultivated, self-consciously exquisite, and fundamentally decadent and the representatives of some cruder but more full-blooded or more wilful group. In "The Merchant of Venice" Antonio's first speech announces luxuriously that he knows not why he is so sad; in "Twelfth Night" Orsino demands more of the musical food of love, only to announce a few seconds later that he has now achieved the surfeit he was seeking. But Antonio and Antonio's friends have to reckon with Shylock and something which threatens their world of finicky gentility just as Orsino and his friends have to reckon, not only with Sir Toby, but also—in the person of Malvolio—with a middle class just learning to be ambitious. Out of the balance of sympathies between these two groups the finest music of the plays arises, and yet the fact that in the present production the first scene ("If music be the food of love, play on") is the poorest in the whole play and quite pointless except in so far as it provides a factual exposition, shows how completely the deepest theme of the play has been missed. As here played, "Twelfth Night" is a delightful evening's entertainment. But it could conceivably be better, not merely quantitatively but qualitatively as well.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

ART

Frank Lloyd Wright

TO ANYONE interested in the development of American architecture a large restrospective exhibition of Wright's work must be a major event. In holding such an exhibition the Museum of Modern Art is fulfilling just that kind of valuable function for which it was created; for of the importance of Wright's accomplishment, of the brilliant inventive unconventionality that has always marked his work, there can be no question.

From the near half-century of work shown there emerges the picture of a remarkably consistent personality. The draftsmanship of the preliminary sketches and the basic approach to design are surprisingly alike in the works of 1894 and 1940. Wright himself, in a wall label, assures us that this consistency is the result not of personal idiosyncrasy but of truth to principle; one may question this, but perhaps truth to one's own idiosyncrasies is itself a kind of truth to principle. And that it can lead to magnificent creation is obvious here.

Creative use of materials, and truth in the expression of their qualities; creative structural conceptions; a generally amazing sensitiveness to site; extraordinary imagination, approaching at times the fantastic, in making systematic, unusual, rhythmic plans which are, despite their creator's disclaimer, essentially formal, preordered, and classic; and above all an astonishing plastic sense, an ability to create buildings as free three-dimensional sculpture—these are the qualities which stand out in Wright's work and make it unique in contemporary architecture. To those qualities all else—use, cost, convenience—are secondary. This accounts for the over-dark rooms in some of his earlier "prairie houses," as it does for the brilliant overweaning cantilevers in some of the more recent buildings. It accounts for the fact that much of his strangely complex furniture is more monument than comfort-giver, and that in some of his recent houses the strong horizontals of the stunning solid terrace and balcony railings effectually cut off the view for those in the living-room.

But these qualities make of all his work exciting visual and emotional experiences. Its formal organization is complex yet obvious. Once he has laid hold of an idea, Wright refuses to let it go until he has wrung from it every drop of artistic potentiality. It was so with the long horizontals of the prairie houses. It was so with the gay checkerboards of his ferro-concrete-block California houses, which he has seen fit to slight in this otherwise full exhibition. It was, and is, true of the houses designed on a plan of hexagons and 60-degree lines, which appeared first in the studies for San Marcos in the Desert, later in the over-complex Hanna house, then with ever-growing simplicity and command in several other studies, until in the perfect integration and simplicity of the L. N. Bell house in Los Angeles all the difficulties innate in the scheme are at last surmounted.

Recently Wright has taken up the circle and the cylinder with an equal thoroughness. The Ludd Spivey house at Fort Lauderdale, Florida, is a striking example; perhaps even more poetic is the simpler Ralph Jester house, in laminated plywood, with its circular swimming pool, its circular rooms, its enchanting views between heavy stone columns. The model of this house is one of the high spots of the show.

Yet, more than anything else, the plastic, sculptural quality is preeminent in Wright's work. It is the opposite of T-square and triangle, drawing-board design. In recent work vertical walls and railings increasingly yield to slanting planes exquisitely balanced against each other. This movement reaches its climax in the lovely canted planes and textured walls and terraces of Taliesin in the Desert, with its rough stones as points of interest and its superb aesthetic adjustment, in shapes and colors and materials, to the tinted planes and stony hills of the Arizona desert that surrounds it.

Of the exhibition itself as a display it is charitable to say little. The models are, of course, amazingly beautiful as things-in-themselves. Their strange symbolized foliage, so minutely and beau-

Books for Christmas

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tifully executed, is fascinating—too fascinating!—and often, I fear, to the ordinary observer unintelligible. The arrangement of drawings and photographs in the show seems arbitrary, and there are strange lacunae. The famous Broadacre City model is there to perplex the curious—most of whom mistake its rectangular woods for buildings—and to hide by its sheer loveliness the real vision of the better, decentralized life it is supposed to explain and express. Wright himself designed the entire exhibition at his own request. The result proves him, I am afraid, a tyro at display and strangely lacking, it would appear, in any conception of what ordinary museum-going Americans need in the way of explanation and guidance. Is it because of the incoherence, the lack of chronological or subject pattern, that progress and development are so difficult to trace, and that the purely decorative side seems so overweighted? Nevertheless, even the confusion of the show cannot hide the fact that here is the work of a liberating creative genius who has made over the world's vision of what buildings may be.

TALBOT HAMLIN

RECORDS

THE Y. M. H. A. is offering the Budapest Quartet again—this time in a Mozart-Brahms series, and with even the Mozart works poorly chosen. But at the first concert there was a superb performance of the G minor String Quintet, with the rich tone of the Budapest and Primrose strings further enriched by the wonderfully resonant Y. M. H. A. auditorium, quite the best in New York for chamber music; on December 11 there will be the fine String Quartet K. 464; and on January 8 that neglected masterpiece, the String Quintet K. 614.

Serkin plays best when he plays with someone else: it both stimulates and restrains him. This is true even when the other musician is a violinist as unstimulating to the listener as Busch. Their performances of Beethoven sonatas at a recent New Friends concert were therefore beautiful jobs of ensemble playing; but Busch's temperamental and stylistic limitations kept them from rising to the point of exciting musical revelation and greatness that was achieved in the Schnabel-Huberman performances a few years ago.

Stravinsky's set of "Petrouchka" aside, Columbia's most important orchestral release for November is the fine record of Mozart's Overture to "Don Giovanni" made by Beecham with the London Philharmonic (70365-D, $1). For Schubert's Second Symphony—well played by the Columbia Broadcasting Symphony under Barlow, and badly recorded (Set 420, $3.50)—is one of his youthful inconsequential imitations of the external forms of his eighteenth-century predecessors. And Strauss's tone-poem after Nietzche's "Also sprach Zarathustra" (Set 421, $4.50) is one of his most ambitious works, and one of his less successful. It isn't so much the philosophical inadequacy as the poor music, except for occasional beautiful or effective moments. Stock's performance with the Chicago Symphony is excellent and well recorded.

I am no Gilbert and Sullivan fanatic; but even for my pleasure the abridged "Iolanthe" recorded by Joseph Batten with his Columbia Light Opera Company (Set 422, $5) is excessively abridged. The singing is fair; the words are not always clearly distinguishable. Debussy's "Movement" and "Cloches a travers les feuilles"—superlatively done by Gieseking (17218-D, $.75)—are two of his piano pieces that don't mean much to me. And of the three Ricercari by Gabrieli published by Music Press and well recorded by the Stuyvesant Quartet (70366-D, $1) I find only the second enjoyable.

Columbia's reissues of hot jazz classics include a Bessie Smith album (C-31, $2.50) with three of her finest and most famous recordings: "Cold in Hand Blues," in which Louis Armstrong plays a beautifully sensitive and amusing cornet obbligato (35672); "Young Woman's Blues," with equally sensitive phrases by Joe Smith on trumpet (35673); and "Baby Doll," also with Joe Smith (35674). Coupled with these are "You've Been a Good Ole Wagon," in which some of Armstrong's comments are amusing (35672); the previously unissued and less interesting "Cake Walking Babies" (35673); and the previously unissued "Lost Your Head Blues," in which Bessie does some exciting things. But I don't care much about the music she produces in "Empty Bed Blues" on both sides of 35675. "Baby Doll" and "Young Woman's Blues" are also to be had on Commodore's U. H. C. A. 5-6.

Armstrong and Joe Smith are among the famous jazz musicians in the equally famous Fletcher Henderson bands that recorded the performances in album C-30 ($2.50). They begin with the 1925 "Sugar Foot Stomp" (35668), "What-Cha-Call-'Em Blues" (35668), and "Money Blues" (35669); in these the exciting ensemble power of the band is reduced by dim recording; but the second has outstanding solos by Smith and Charlie Green, and the third a good solo by Armstrong. That characteristic ensemble power is more and more clearly revealed on the records of the 1926 "Stampede" (35669), 1927 "Hop Off" (35670, previously unissued), 1932 "New King Porter Stomp" (35671), and 1933 "Can You Take It?" (35671, from second master). There are excellent solos by Smith, Rex Stewart, and Coleman Hawkins in "Stampede"; and one of the finest of all is Tommy Ladnier's at the beginning of the 1927 "Snag It" (36570).

For the rest there are excellent performances by a number of famous groups. Leading them all is the Red Norvo "I Surrender, Dear," with Teddy Wilson at the piano (35688); among the best are the Johnny Dodds-Chicago Footwarmers' "Brush Stomp (35681), the Eddie Condon "Home Cooking" (35680), the Chocolate Dandies' "Goodbye Blues" (36679); good also are the Paul Mares "Reincarnation," with Jess Stacy at the piano (35686), the Ted Lewis "Royal Garden Blues," with Muggsy Spanier, Benny Goodman, and George Brunies (35684), the Sharkey Bonano "I'm Satisfied with My Gal" (35678), the Duke Ellington small-band "Rocky Mountain Blues" (35682), and his large-band "Swing Low" and "Ducky Wucky" (35683).

On recent jazz records I have enjoyed the beautiful solo passages by Shavers and Kyle in the Kirby Orchestra's "Blues Petite" (Okeh 5805), the same group's "Zooming at the Zombie" (Okeh 5761), the tenor sax in the Basie Orchestra's "You Can't Run Around" (Okeh 5673), the piano and trumpet in the first half of this group's "Moten Swing" (Okeh 5732), the piano in the Jelly-Roll Morton Quartet's "Mournful Serenade" (Bluebird 8515), Mildred Bailey's singing of "Blue," but not the orchestra (Columbia 35589), Maxine Sullivan's singing of "Barbara Allen" and "Molly Malone" (Columbia 35710). I haven't much taste for the recent Ellington style; but "Dusk" and "Blue Goose" (Victor 26677) are among the better examples. And Alec Templeton's versions of a Russian bass and an English ballad-singer (Victor 35723) are amusing.

B. H. HAGGIN

Letters to the Editors

Unity of Common Sense

Dear Sirs: The articles by Freda Kirchwey and H. G. Wells in your November 16 issue encourage me to send you a Declaration which I wrote a year ago, before partisan frenzy began to stain the common mind. I put it in a novel I have been writing; but if you wish to publish it now as part of this letter, it may do additional service toward a peace that must come.

Let me say first that the past year of cruel mortal breakage among men has taught millions of us to understand what Edith Cavel meant when she said, "Patriotism is not enough." Neither is class partisanship enough; neither is anything short of world unity enough. What man needs for his welfare is use of the things of earth; what he owes is care of the things of earth. The time has come for governments to do what they have not yet done in history: be humble for mankind's sake. Governments are now collaborating in worldwide civil war; the world is now united in war; nations are now so deeply united in all things except common sense that any war is in effect a civil war. And it is an outmoded nationalist psychology that makes this civil war seem necessary. War is not necessary; it is merely hard to avoid, and easier to undertake than the labors of peace.

I would like to contribute the following toward unity of common sense:

1. *Our Right of Allegiance.* We—mankind—are confined to the space of the earth, in the presence of each other, for the fulfilment of our mortal life. We have learned that by working together we can improve the conditions under which we live. Therefore we acknowledge our right of allegiance to each other for our common welfare.

2. *Our Need of Allegiance.* One of our methods of promoting our welfare on earth has been by the use of government, an instrument devised and operated by man. The usefulness of any government to the people it governs is measured by its success in maintaining and promoting the welfare of those people. The people of each nation now in existence face the jeopardy of war rising and spreading because of the nonsolution of international problems by the several governments.

No government or alliance now in operation has the power, by itself, to solve these problems. So long as there are as many as two governments or alliances claiming sovereignty, problems rising between them cannot be solved by either of them alone. Therefore we acknowledge our need of allegiance for our common welfare.

3. *Our Power to Implement World Government.* All governments that have ever existed or that now exist have been devised, established, developed, and operated by man. The people have ultimately been able to change any government which failed for too long to maintain or promote their welfare. Any improvements in existing government or any formation of new government must be devised, established, and operated by man. In the people now living on earth and in those yet to live on earth lies the aggregate power of mankind to devise, establish, maintain, and improve in use all the government mankind will yet use for his welfare.

THEREFORE: It is just for men to believe, and to assert to each other until they finally adopt and proclaim in compelling unison, this Declaration:

We, the people of every nation on earth, acknowledge our right and our human need of allegiance to each other for our common welfare; we therefore assert that it is our enduring purpose, as it is our undeniable power, to devise, establish, maintain, and improve in use a Sovereign World Government to promote the well-being of mankind on earth. ROBERT RAYNOLDS

Newtown, Conn., November 20

Fluorescent Lighting

Dear Sirs: An article entitled The Utilities Keep It Dark, by Dan Hargraves, in your issue of November 9 damns the utilities for not pushing fluorescent lighting. I hold no brief for the utility companies, but to my regret I have had some experience with fluorescent lighting.

About a year ago I installed fluorescent lighting in my office, my bathroom, and part of my small shop, spending about $200 for units. I did ask my utility company about it and was told to go easy, that it was not developed but that it was very satisfactory for certain uses. The saving in current was of interest to me, but it was the better lighting distribution that persuaded me.

Today, after about a year's experience, I have thrown out most of the units for the following reasons:

(1) Whenever for any reason the voltage is low the lights will either flicker or go out; (2) for use in the home, the length of time for the light to come on is too long for convenience; (3) the bathroom light does not give enough light per unit of surface; it is not sufficient, for instance, for removing a sliver from a finger or for looking down a throat; (4) the occasional stroboscopic effect. (Mr. Hargraves dismisses this, but try to run a machine when it happens.)

I do not doubt that fluorescent lighting is the coming light, but the effect of your article is to encourage your readers to experiment with an undeveloped product. B. M.

Taylorsville, N. C., November 18

Class in "Fantasia"

Dear Sirs: Too many critics seem to be underestimating the historical importance of Walt Disney's "Fantasia." As a classroom observer, whose job it is to teach the motion picture as a new art form, may I rap knuckles?

In academic corners we call "The Birth of a Nation" (1915) the technical foundation of the motion picture. Griffith took a two-reeler amusement, considered an interesting accompaniment to a vaudeville show, and transformed it into a narrative art that may be the twentieth-century way of telling a story. The next historical landmark was "The Cabinet of Dr. Caligari" (1919), which explored the labyrinths of psychology with moving images. "The Last Laugh" (1924) explored cinematic technique, making the camera the most important actor on the set. "Potemkin" (1925) experimented in a type of editing called *montage.* "The Jazz Singer" (1927) used sound narratively. "Becky Sharp" (1935), not the first color film, was the first to use color dramatically, although in a secondary sense.

Now comes "Fantasia," which pioneers in the field of sight and sound images. In the main, film music has been an incidental accompaniment to a love scene, a dance number, a chase, a catastrophe, a murder. Now sight images and sound images together make a new plot, a story that has never been executed before. The possibilities this new form offers are unlimited. Aesthetics is being recast. Color is used without fear. A new world of beauty and entertainment has just been discovered by Walt Christopher Columbus Disney. It is a rare experience to observe him sighting land. I foresee an era when first-rate composers will sit down with first-rate animators to create jointly their original compositions. Fantasound, with its new blending principles, will undoubtedly affect non-animated movies.

Moreover, with the exception of the unfortunate version of the Pastoral Symphony, "Fantasia" will live not merely for its historical importance but as long as there are lovers of Bach and Tschaikovsky and Dukas and Stravinsky and Ponchielli and Moussorgsky and Schubert, and that will be a long time.

Class dismissed.

ROBERT GESSNER

New York, November 19

London Nights

[*The following uncensored letter from England was received by a* Nation *subscriber.*]

My Dear B—: Your letter took about thirteen days to arrive. It is sweet of you to think of us, and to imagine us as typifying England, when I am a South African and D. is an ex-Czech; both of us are really very pleased to be identified with our country at this moment. The newspapers tell us that you Americans are very proud of us, and I should like to think that that was true. But of course we are not brave at all, not we two at least, though there are brave people in London: all the East Enders who suffered so badly in the first raids are brave; the Auxiliary Fire Service people, who have literally performed marvels, are brave, miraculously brave; and all the voluntary services have been wonderful. . . .

We comfort ourselves with the thought that if the casualties continue at their present rate our expectation of life is still forty years, which will bring us to the ripe old ages of seventy-three and sixty-three respectively. Fortunately both of us are lulled asleep quite effectively by anti-aircraft fire and the more distant bombs. When the bombs come near enough to wake us, we just feel thankful that we do wake up before they fall near enough to damage us. During the Spanish war I often wondered how people could manage to stay in a bombed town without suffering agonies of fear, but it isn't a bit like that really. Human beings are adaptable, and the noise of explosions is not so very much worse than the noise of shunting engines that I used to put up with at Westbourne Court.

I am writing this during one of our nightly raids—so far the a. a. fire seems to be keeping them at a fair distance. It is surprising how soon one learns to distinguish individual notes in the multiplicity of sounds. The deep-throated cough of Ambrosius (he is a big 4.7-inch gun quite close), the higher-pitched stutter of Geraldine (a pom-pom), the rather muffled boom of the bursting shells, the felt rather than heard roar of such bombs as do happen to explode near—each has its own meaning. One is disturbed only when bombs are close enough for one to hear their whistle, which often enough is just the whine of the cap of one of our own a. a. shells. We are putting up a fine barrage, and we find quite a lot of shrapnel in the mews every morning. When I have enough I shall try to fit them together into another shell!

One pleasing thought is that during the day, when the Spitfires and Hurricanes get busy, Fritz doesn't seem to be able to do anything worth speaking of.

Thank you so much for asking if there is anything you can do. As yet we are in want of nothing.

L. AND D.

South Kensington, London

"Our Changing Order"

Dear Sirs: In connection with Patricia Strauss's recent article, What Dunkirk Did for England, *Nation* readers may recall the introductory passage of Thorstein Veblen's essay Menial Servants During the Period of the War, as it appears in his "Essays on Our Changing Order":

> Visitors from oversea tell us of a new France and a new Britain, unsparingly cleared for action, war-weary but resolute and untiring; where invidious distinctions of class, sex, wealth, and privilege are giving way before the exigencies of a war that is to be fought to a finish; where all resources of material and man-power are being thrown into a common stock of means for the prosecution of a joint enterprise whose demands overbear all questions of personal gain and immemorial usage.

Its timeliness startled me into rereading Veblen's other war essays, which in turn were pretty startling to my aid-to-Britain point of view.

MARY JANE STEVENSON

Winnetka, Ill., November 16

Mrs. Krey's New Book

Dear Sirs: Will you allow me to enter a little protest about the review of Laura Krey's new novel, "On the Long Tide," which appeared in the November 16 issue of *The Nation?* It reminds me of a picture which used to be admired in Victorian days entitled "Dignity and Impudence." Mrs. Krey's book is substantial in respects other than length and bears evidence of historical and literary conscience. If it had no other merits, its description of the landscape and atmosphere of the Gulf region would make it readable by anyone who is interested in such portrayals. It isn't as good a book as the author's earlier work "And Tell of Time"; but it amounts to more, I think, than one would ever guess who read this review.

ADA L. COMSTOCK

Cambridge, Mass., November 22

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The Shape of Things

RUMANIA PRESENTS A PERFECT EXAMPLE OF the meaning of Hitler's "new European order." Here is a country occupied by German troops, governed by men nominated and controlled by Berlin, that has been allowed to fall into a state of organized anarchy. Hitler cannot disclaim responsibility. The Iron Guard, which has usurped the functions of the police and instituted a reign of terror, is an organization inspired, fostered, and financed by the Nazis. Its killings are not the result of blind blood-lust but are carefully calculated. The prisoners shot in macabre ceremony over the open grave of Zelea Codreanu, himself the apostle of political assassination, are alleged to have been responsible for his murder. For other slayings there is not even this excuse. The victims include some of the most respected citizens of Rumania, the two most notable being Nicolas Iorga, famous historian, and Virgil Madgearu, economist and secretary of the Peasant Party. Their only crime was that they were anti-Nazi. Germany now has an excuse for increasing its garrisons in Rumania and when the time seems ripe may openly take over the government. But anarchy let loose is not easy to canalize. General Antonescu seems to have lost all authority, and the Iron Guard itself is split into factions, with its Green Shirt being used as a cloak for looting and private vengeance. Now an effort is being made to restore unity by playing up the Transylvania question. In his speech at Alba Julia, Antonescu talked of recovering the lands lost through the Dictate of Vienna. Hungarian reactions were sharp, and the enmity of the two newest Axis partners cannot be disguised.

*

THE PROGRAM OF GIVING ENGLAND ALL AID short of war made a giant stride with the resignation of Joseph P. Kennedy as Ambassador to London. An ardent champion of appeasement at the time of the Munich pact, Kennedy has since shown somewhat less flexibility on the subject than was displayed by the late Neville Chamberlain. Widespread reports that since his return to the United States Kennedy has been assuring everyone within earshot that England is through gained startling credibility when the North American Newspaper Alliance syndicated an account of an interview with the Ambassador by Louis M. Lyons of the Boston *Globe*. According to Mr. Lyons, Mr. Kennedy remarked that "democracy is finished in England" and "it may be here," that the appointment of Labor leaders to the British Cabinet spelled national socialism for England even if it won, and that talk of England's fighting for democracy was "the bunk." Even more remarkable was Mr. Kennedy's disavowal of the interview, in which he expressed his indignation and annoyance at Mr. Lyons's betrayal of an off-the-record confidence and vaguely charged him with "inaccuracy," but repudiated no single statement attributed to him. Kennedy has since branded as "nonsense" reports that he has been making anti-British statements, but he is careful to utter no word of hope or confidence in England and has announced his devotion to "the greatest cause in the world today"—that of keeping this country out of the war. Mr. Kennedy's appointment in London was inept, and his continuance at a post for which he obviously had no sympathy was an appalling blunder. His defeatist talk, calculated to discourage effective aid to Britain, appears to be rooted in a preference for the national socialism that Berlin would inflict on England over the "national socialism" which he painfully senses in the pronouncements of Labor Minister Ernest Bevin.

*

THE $100,000,000 CREDIT GRANTED TO CHINA by the United States is an overwhelming answer, both diplomatic and practical, to Japan's recognition of its puppet Nanking regime. With traffic moving over the Burma road without interruption from Japanese bombing planes, the $100,000,000 can soon be transformed into planes, trucks, and other vital sinews of war for Chiang Kai-shek's armies. Although the amount is only one-half of that asked for, it is four times as large as has ever before been granted to China. Japan's recognition of the Wang Ching-wei government could only have importance if it brought about further support for Wang either within China or among foreign nations. It has

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done neither. Chiang Kai-shek's prestige among the people of China in both the occupied and unoccupied sections is higher than ever before. And significantly enough, no other country has so far followed Japan's example in recognizing Wang. It is particularly interesting to observe that not even Germany and Italy—Japan's partners in aggression—were sufficiently impressed by the hoax to extend recognition to Wang's paper regime.

*

JAPAN'S CAUTION DESPITE UNPRECEDENTED opportunities for southward expansion continues to baffle many observers. Tokyo has protested against alleged discrimination in the Dutch East Indies and has brought pressure on Indo-China for new bases which would be useful in carrying out its avowed ambitions in the South Seas. But in a most uncharacteristic manner it continues to rely on diplomatic rather than military pressure. Some weeks have now passed since the evacuation of Japanese forces from Kwangsi and Shantung, a move obviously made in preparation for action elsewhere. But the troops remain concentrated at Formosa and Hainan, their commanders unwilling or unable to take advantage of the situation. This does not mean that the threat has lifted. On the contrary, it appears that the Indo-China authorities may surrender Saigon and make other important concessions without a struggle. Much of Japan's caution, however, is clearly due to apprehension regarding American policy. Reports of further important conversations between Under Secretary Welles and Ambassador Oumansky have doubtless had a sobering effect on the Tokyo militarists.

*

ALTHOUGH DEFENSE SPENDING IS STILL IN its preliminary stages it is already providing a tremendous stimulus to all forms of economic activity. More goods are being moved by the railroads, new plants are being erected and old plants refurbished, steel production continues at near-capacity and a dozen other industries are breaking all output records, factory employment is mounting, and the increase in consumer incomes is being reflected in rising retail business. The New York *Times* index of business activity for the week ending November 23 jumped sharply to 117, thus reaching an all-time high which compares with a previous top of 114.8 for the week ending June 29, 1929. National income is also getting within hailing distance of the 1929 level and in terms of goods and services is undoubtedly higher. The total for the current year is now estimated at $74 billion, compared with $78½ billion in 1929. It is true that this year's income must provide for a population some 7 per cent greater than in 1929, but this is more than compensated for by the greater purchasing power of the dollar. The fact that economic well-being is increasing not merely in spite of but because of expenditures which represent sheer economic waste is a paradox producing many headaches. The fact is that prior to the inception of the rearmament program we were failing to use something like 20 per cent of our potential productive capacity. In the coming year we may devote as much as half of that unemployed margin to defense purposes, but in so doing we shall create new purchasing power and make possible an additional rise in the total output of goods and services. Here is a lesson in the economics of abundance which, if thoroughly digested, can save us from the dreaded post-emergency depression.

*

A TROUBLED YEAR SEEMS TO HAVE COME TO an end in Mexico with the inauguration of Avila Camacho. His task will not be easy, but the fact that Henry Wallace, "good neighbor" *par excellence,* was chosen to represent the United States is the best guaranty that Almazán will attempt no serious insurrection, for the simple reason that it gave notice to his supporters in this country that attempts to foment revolt south of the border will find no sympathy in Washington. Washington's motive may be the selfish one of hemisphere solidarity and defense, but considering the past, it is a sign of progress in our Latin American policy when we land Henry Wallace instead of the marines.

*

THE PROPORTION OF SELECTIVE SERVICE registrants who are being rejected as unfit either by the draft-board physicians or the army medical examiners is hardly a good advertisement for the national health. Draft-board doctors in New York City, it is estimated, are currently rejecting 60 per cent of the men who come before them. And when the remainder are sent on to the army induction centers, where they receive a more rigorous examination, another 20 per cent are found below standard. The chief causes of rejection by the army examiners seem to be bad eyes and bad teeth, and while the causes of the former are largely unknown it is well established that many dental defects can be traced to malnutrition. We have no doubt that the army, needing only a fraction of the men eligible for the draft, is attempting to skim the cream and has devised correspondingly severe tests. Even so, the indication that something like two-thirds of our young men are not in first-class physical condition is disturbing. It is also proof that the best way in which this nation could invest some of its surplus capital would be in a really comprehensive health program.

*

THE DIFFERENCE IN STANDARDS BETWEEN draft-board and army doctors is causing a good deal of hardship to registrants who are accepted by the first but rejected by the second. After passing the draft board the potential recruit is given five days to resign his job and wind up his affairs. Only then does he have to submit to the final test—the army medical examination—and if he fails at this stage he finds himself in an awkward vacuum between army and civilian life. A good many men in this predicament are getting back their jobs, but this is not possible in all cases. Moreover, some of those affected are business or professional men who have closed their offices and must suffer loss in getting a new start. It ought to be possible to provide for better coordination between the two medical examinations or, failing this, to allow the draftee his five days of grace after the army doctors have rendered their verdict.

* * *

THE WHITE HOUSE TAX CONFERENCE THAT took place last week appears to have evolved a fairly complete and coherent policy for paying the costs of national defense. There will be no further increases in taxation on 1940 incomes, but a substantial boost in taxes is forecast for next year. While no effort will be made to defray the costs of rearmament on a pay-as-you-go basis, the regular budget will be balanced by a combination of increased taxes and enforced economies. Defense costs will be covered by borrowing, but the loans will be amortized over a definite period of years by the yield from special defense taxes. Although a detailed description of the new taxes is lacking, we have the President's assurance that a sales tax is not being considered. There is some discussion of strengthening the gift tax and increasing income and excess-profits tax rates still further. All of this is unquestionably in the right direction, but it would be still more encouraging if a real effort were being made to pay the costs of defense, to a considerable extent at least, by increased taxation. The burden of such taxes would of necessity fall upon the well-to-do. The money which is raised by loans will also come from this group, but since the loans must be repaid with interest they serve to strengthen the favored position of the wealthy at the expense of the general public. Moreover, regardless of precautions, borrowing under existing conditions is bound to lead to rising prices. These difficulties can be avoided by taxing the surpluses of the well-to-do instead of asking that they be lent to the government at a profit.

* * *

ONE OF THE DEFENDANTS IN THE FAMOUS Christian Front trials of last spring was Captain John T. Prout, Jr., accused of conspiring to overthrow the government and to steal munitions from a government armory. Prout was acquitted of the first charge, but the jury disagreed on the second, although he had confessed to having turned over a quantity of ammunition to William Gerald Bishop, a codefendant and alleged ringleader in the plot. The government has not pressed the theft-conspiracy charge, but Prout's confession compelled the army to bring him before a military tribunal, which has just acquitted him after a trial which was peculiar to say the least. The defendant denied the testimony he had given at his first trial and told his military judges that his confession had been obtained under duress by FBI agents at a time when he had been overworked and fatigued. This disavowal was accepted despite the fact that Prout's lawyer had admitted in open court that his client had given Bishop "about $40 worth of ammunition." The military trial itself proceeded in an atmosphere of fantasy. Two of Prout's fellow-officers who were called from Alabama to testify for the prosecution reported first to counsel for the defense. Major John J. Rhattigan, asked to testify on the stand concerning ammunition-supply records, could offer no help because he had "left his glasses in Alabama." Ordered to report back at another session, the Major sent the court a telegram saying he had "been ordered back" and couldn't come. Rhattigan was cited for contempt, but however cooperative he may decide to become as a result, Prout has already been cleared. It is impossible to say whether all this reflects merely the "code of honor" that prevails in army cliques or something more sinister. We should feel easier about the case of Captain Prout if the federal courts would finish their job and bring him again to trial.

* * *

MORE SENSATIONAL DECISIONS THAN THE ruling in the Chicago Milk Wagon Drivers' case have come from the Supreme Court in recent years, but none more clearly illustrates the changed character of that tribunal. The unanimous decision, written by Justice Black, indicates that after years of crusading against the evils of the labor injunction we finally have a Supreme Court that is in sympathy with their elimination. The labor provisions of the Clayton Act were meant to end "government by injunction," but they were nullified by the Supreme Court under Chief Justice Taft. The Norris-LaGuardia Act was passed by Congress in 1932 in an attempt to achieve what the Clayton Act had failed to do. The decision of the Circuit Court of Appeals in Chicago in the Milk Wagon Drivers' case demonstrated that judicial interpretation could also emasculate the Norris-LaGuardia Act. The Circuit Court held that this fight of the A. F. of L. milk drivers against a "vendor" system that permitted price-cutting by exploitation of the labor employed was not really a "labor dispute" within the meaning of the Norris-LaGuardia Act. The Circuit Court also held that A. F. of L. picketing before the cut-rate stores was a secondary boycott and enjoinable under the anti-trust laws despite the Norris-LaGuardia Act. These wide loopholes were stopped up by the Supreme Court, which reversed the Circuit Court on both counts.

What Price Glory?

WHEN with France *in extremis* Mussolini leapt on the Nazi bandwagon he undoubtedly believed that the war was over except for mopping-up operations and that the Italian armed forces would have little to do except take possession of the spoils of victory. At that moment it was not unreasonable to suppose that by clever timing he had won a new empire at minimum cost. There would be no need to expose the Italians to the privations of prolonged blockade, no need to test the devotion of the Italian army to the Fascist regime by hard-fought campaigns, no need to prove the validity of boasts that the Italian air force could chase the British fleet out of *mare nostrum.*

But empires are seldom acquired at bargain rates, and after seven months Mussolini must be wondering whether his abandonment of "non-belligerency" was really a clever move. Since entering the war Italy has had only one success—the capture of British Somaliland, a sparsely populated and unproductive colony. Its occupation has not made it possible to interrupt British commerce passing through the Red Sea and has served chiefly to thin the Italian lines in East Africa. Elsewhere in that region small portions of Kenya and the Sudan have been occupied, but these initial successes have not been followed up. The much more formidable threat offered by the Libyan army to the British forces in Egypt also bogged down after the capture of Sidi Barrani. It is said that General Graziani is waiting until he has consolidated his position and made his communications and water supplies secure. But these enterprises are constantly interrupted by the British fleet and air force, and meanwhile the army defending Egypt is being steadily reinforced.

In the Mediterranean the Italian navy has been kept on the defensive. It has suffered from attack in its chief base at Taranto, and it has been unable to carry relief to the garrisons of the Dodecanese Islands or to insure the sea communications of the army in Libya. No wonder that Mussolini, thirsty for glory, jealous of the triumphs of German arms, sought compensating victories in Greece. Lightheartedly his armies set out from Albania, assured that there would be no serious opposition. But once entangled in the formidable mountains of the Epirus they found they had stirred up a hornet's nest.

The amazing successes of the Greeks are due above all to their own spirited determination to defend their homes. They have been cleverly led by officers who seized every opportunity the terrain offered, and they have received invaluable help from the RAF, which prevented the Italians from establishing that air supremacy which is essential to a successful *Blitzkrieg.* The Italian armies, on the other hand, seem to have suffered from incompetent command and appalling intelligence work. With flanks unguarded they attempted to rush through the narrow valleys, only to find themselves cut off by hidden bands of mountaineers.

With some exceptions the Italian rank and file seem to have shown little stomach for fighting, and this has occasioned many jibes. We believe it is a mistake to make sweeping accusations of cowardice against the Italians. The truth is, not that they are afraid to fight, but that they don't want to fight. There is an individualistic inner core to Italians which resists regimentation, and they have never been taken in by Mussolini to the extent that the Germans have by Hitler. Italians are skeptical about military glory and intelligent enough to see that if the Axis wins this war Germany will collect most of the profit while Italy will be little more than a vassal state. They do not like the Germans; in fact, they dislike them far more than they dislike Britons or Greeks. That is one reason why Hitler cannot easily send reinforcements to aid his partner. The Italian soldiers might start to fight the Germans with an enthusiasm lacking when they tackle Greeks.

Times are hard in Italy. Prices are rising; staple foods grow scarce. Rumors of popular discontent filter through the censorship. For nearly twenty years Italians have been tightening their belts to forward Mussolini's imperial dreams. Have they now reached the last notch? Are they beginning to ask: What price glory?

The Missing Opinion

AS A result of I. F. Stone's Washington letter in last week's issue of *The Nation,* Senator Guy M. Gillette has introduced a resolution of inquiry. Senator Gillette's resolution would direct the Secretary of the Navy to make a report to the Senate showing all bids received and contracts awarded by the navy for the purchase of oil and gasoline since July 1. Mr. Stone's article revealed that on September 5 the navy opened bids on a half-million barrels of fuel oil. The low bid was 79 cents a barrel. The next bid was 87 cents a barrel. The high bid was 89 cents a barrel. The contract was awarded to the high bidder, Standard Oil. The low bidders offered oil processed wholly or partially from Mexican crude. Senator Gillette expressed the view that the purchase of oil from the high bidder under these circumstances unnecessarily added to the cost of national defense and endangered good-neighbor relations with Mexico.

The Gillette resolution is now before the Senate Naval Affairs Committee, headed by Senator Walsh. We hope the committee will order a hearing. It will find that until a few years ago the navy would have had no alternative but to accept the Standard Oil bid. Until the fiscal year beginning July 1, 1938, the annual navy supply bills forbade purchase by the navy of "any kind of fuel oil of foreign production." But the navy sought an interpretation of this that would still enable it to purchase fuel oil of foreign origin, and the Judge Advocate General of the navy held that the words "fuel oil of foreign production" meant fuel oil processed abroad and not fuel oil refined in this country from foreign crude. The Comptroller General in a written decision of September 15, 1937, overruled the Judge Advocate General. At a result, on December 10 of that year Rear Admiral Charles Conard, then chief of the navy's Bureau of Supplies and Accounts, asked the House Appropriations Committee to drop the bar on foreign fuel oil from the then pending naval-appropriations bill for the next fiscal year. Admiral Conard said that in view of the Comptroller General's ruling, the clause barring foreign fuel oil might "prove definitely detrimental to the navy in . . . further restricting competition" on bids for naval oil orders. He said it would require "us to buy domestic fuel oil in all cases." This plea, made four months before Mexico expropriated its foreign oil companies, was successful. The provision was left out of the bill, and the navy deprived itself of the clear legal excuse it might have had to clamp an embargo on Mexican oil after expropriation.

Some mystery seems to attach to the opinion of the Judge Advocate General to which we have referred. When our Washington representative asked permission to read the opinion at the Navy Department, he was informed that it was not in the files. When he located a copy of the missing opinion at the office of the Comptroller General, he was told that he could not examine it without the permission of the Judge Advocate General. Permission was denied by the Judge Advocate General on the ground that the opinion was private. It seems strange that an opinion which was important enough to give rise to a public decision by the Comptroller General and which led to a change in the law affecting some millions of dollars' worth of naval purchases each year should be considered private.

The Nation believes that, other things being equal, domestic products should be given preference in government purchases but not at the expense of overcharging the public or endangering the good-neighbor policy. With the old provision against foreign fuel oil out of the way, ample leeway is afforded by our general "Buy American" law of 1933. Under it the domestic product need not be given preference if the price differential is "unreasonable" or such preference is contrary to the public interest. Standard Oil is no struggling infant industry. To reject the bids of companies using Mexican crude is to join Standard Oil and Dutch Shell in their world-wide boycott against Mexico. Senator Gillette is to be congratulated on his public spirit and courage in opening this whole subject to discussion in the Senate.

S. O. S. from Britain

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

THE President said the other day that American help for Britain had just about reached its peak; that our own needs and our present productive capacity fixed limits beyond which we could not go. Less than a week later, in the course of a startlingly frank debate in the Commons, responsible British officials revealed what was becoming evident even in the news dispatches—that Britain's situation is growing steadily worse under the downpour of German bombs and the attacks of raiders and submarines. Arthur Greenwood said that industrial progress had suffered a definite check as a result of the bombing raids, while the state of shipping was "much like April, 1917"—the most desperate point of the World War and the moment when the United States came in. He said that Britain was unable to replace its sea losses, in spite of increased production, and implied that its ability to import indispensable supplies of arms and food would depend upon additional tonnage from the United States. Lord Lothian's report on Britain's financial situation does not improve the picture. He asserted on his return from London during the same week that England's available funds for the purchase of war material were already running low and that financial aid would be necessary in 1941.

These statements reinforce what the censored news dispatches have recently been hinting. The collapse of the threat of an early Nazi invasion induced a temporary mood of relief and confidence on both sides of the ocean. But as the hammering attack has continued, it has become clear that Britain is engaged in a slow but inexorable retreat, and that only reinforcements large enough to bring its strength up to the heavily augmented strength of the Reich will halt this fatal process. If President Roosevelt is right, if American aid cannot be substantially increased, it is safe to predict that Britain will be defeated. Only a series of quick successes in the Mediterranean could avert this catastrophe by freeing important units of the fleet for the defense of shipping; but in spite of the brilliant counter-offensive in Greece, it cannot be hoped that the war in southern Europe and around the shores of the Mediterranean will be liquidated within the next few months.

If President Roosevelt is right. . . . But it is generally agreed that a British defeat would be a major disaster for the United States, one which we cannot allow to happen. And so it follows that American aid will be increased somehow, no matter what the President says. The alternatives are too grim to be contemplated: one is a desperate, last-hour military intervention to save Britain and prevent surrender of its fleet; the other is a war fought, after British defeat, against the strongest and most ruthless combination of powers ever organized, a war in which our only allies would be nations weaker than ourselves and dependent upon us for protection.

Neither alternative is tolerable. Our only sane choice is to multiply our present aid to England at whatever cost. The President said he would be glad to have suggestions as to how it could be done. The William Allen White committee has offered several in a recent declaration of policy. To begin with, it believes that Congress should repeal laws prohibiting recruiting and enlistments for service in Canada. It urges that the President use his full legal powers in mobilizing industry "for a tremendous production" of war supplies. It recommends that Britain be equipped with as many merchant vessels as possible and that "the life-line between Great Britain and the United States" be kept open under all circumstances, and it demands a clear naval understanding between the two governments which will permit their fleets "to be placed in the most advantageous position to protect the Atlantic for the democracies." It is plain that this program would mean scrapping most of the provisions of our neutrality law, and this I think should be faced and accepted. At this critical hour the law should be amended at every point where it impedes our ability to increase our aid to Britain, whether of money or ships or arms. Those who still fear that an abandonment of our thin pretense of neutrality will automatically draw us into the conflict ignore two controlling factors: First, the dictators are not going to seek technical excuses for picking a fight with the United States; they will fight us only if they believe our entrance into the war will improve their chance of victory. Second, the only real hope of staying out lies, as the White committee says, in continued British resistance; all other risks are negligible compared with the risk involved in England's defeat.

The real crux of America's problem, however, is the supply of war materials available for export. It is true that the United States has enormously increased its shipments to Britain within the last few months; since the beginning of the *Blitzkrieg* our exports have tripled. But this figure is misleading and may deceive us into a false sense of accomplishment. It would provide legitimate comfort only if we could assume that Germany had been idle while our factories were multiplying their output. All evidence points to the opposite conclusion. Last year Hitler mobilized the entire reserves of Germany and conquered Poland for the campaign against France. This year he is transforming all the subject territories of Europe into an arsenal for the battle against Britain. A dispatch in the New York *Times* on November 10 said:

> The economic and financial situation in *occupied* territories at the beginning of winter is characterized as progressive adjustment of their economies to conditions prevailing in the Reich, according to information available here. . . . Production, planning, and marketing regulations along the Reich's highly developed pattern are the order of the day in all occupied countries. *Heavy industries in Belgium, Luxembourg, and France gradually are reaching production figures of the period preceding occupation.* (My italics.)

The best available figures indicate that Hitler is today drawing greater quantities of war materials out of the newly occupied regions alone than the United States is sending to England.

It is becoming more and more evident that sufficient timely help will go to Britain only if American production is put on a war footing, and that means one thing—the subordination of civilian consumption to the needs of the fighting machines. The President has recently ordered that the production of military planes be given priority over all commercial orders. This is the first hint of what will be necessary if Britain is to be saved from defeat.

CONTENTS

THE SHAPE OF THINGS 545

EDITORIALS:

WHAT PRICE GLORY? 548
THE MISSING OPINION 548
S. O. S. by Freda Kirchwey 549
MOB RULE IN CONGRESS by I. F. Stone 551

MAKE AMERICA PRODUCE!

LIBERTY IS DIVISIBLE by Harold Strauss 552
THE ECONOMICS OF FREEDOM by Charles E. Noyes 555
CHUNGKING SHOWS THE WAY by Crispian Corcoran 558
EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS by Keith Hutchison 560
IN THE WIND 561
A NATIVE AT LARGE by Jonathan Daniels 562

BOOKS AND THE ARTS:

AUTUMN, 1940, by W. H. Auden 563
SHAFTS OF SPEECH by John Peale Bishop 563
A LETTER FROM JALLEZ TO JERPHANION by Justin O'Brien 564
AUDUBON by Constance Rourke 565
THE CRISIS OF THE WEST by Reinhold Niebuhr 568
FROM DOWSON TO AUDEN by Louis Kronenberger 570
BRUTOCRACY VERSUS PLUTOCRACY by Rustem Vambery 570
SENSIBILITY AND LUGGAGE by Louise Bogan 572
THE TONE OF TIME by Morton Dauwen Zabel 574
THE MAN WHO LEADS CHINA by Maxwell S. Stewart 576
THE ROOTS OF ANTI-SEMITISM by Philip S. Bernstein 577
ABRAHAM FLEXNER by Douglass W. Orr 579
OUR MILITARY PROBLEMS by Harvey S. Ford 580
BOOKS OF 1940 580
IN BRIEF 585
DRAMA: AT LAST by Joseph Wood Krutch 585
MUSIC by B. H. Haggin 587

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Mob Rule in Congress

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, December 2

THERE is no telling what Congress may do before the year is out. Normally, it would be safe to assume that no more legislation could pass at this session. But after the events of the past week prophecy would be hazardous. Senator Barkley and other Administration leaders were sure at the beginning of the week that the Logan-Walter bill to hamstring administrative agencies would not come to a vote. It passed the Senate on Tuesday. Senator Thomas of Utah, as chairman of the Senate Labor and Education Committee, is doing his best to act as a one-man dyke against a vote on the Smith amendments, but he may be overwhelmed at any time. Senator Taft of Ohio is still hoping to give them to the National Association of Manufacturers for Christmas.

The Senate is tired of reform; the House is in the mood for a lynching. Attorney General Jackson may have thought that he was acting as a lightning rod when he blamed the Vultee strike on Communists. He succeeded only in providing ammunition for the worst enemies of labor and the New Deal in the House. Rich of Pennsylvania was for putting the leaders of the Vultee strike in a concentration camp, and Cox of Georgia wanted an end made to the "coddling" of "outlaws." Hoffman of Michigan proposed that strikes be forbidden and labor conscripted. Moser of Pennsylvania chose the occasion to protest the amnesty given Kate Richards O'Hare after the last war and to ask legislation against "subversion seductively circulated by mail." Sumners of Texas showed himself better qualified to lead a mob than to head a Judiciary Committee of Congress. He wanted to get rid of "these rats," to give "that bunch of cutthroats . . . a double dose of their own medicine." Jerry Voorhis was the lone, if feeble, voice raised in defense of the Vultee strikers. "I think the House at the present time," Voorhis said, "is in a completely totalitarian frame of mind." The one-sided debate could not have been summed up more concisely.

The aviation manufacturers of this country held up production almost three months this year in a strike for higher profits and special tax privileges. The Vultee strike against a wage of 50 cents an hour lasted twelve days. There was no one in Congress to point the contrast. Indeed, the debate both before and after the settlement of the strike indicated that Messrs. Cox, Hoffman, Sumners, Moser, Rich, and their colleagues were motivated not merely by disagreement with the Third International. When Voorhis said that it would have been impossible to get the Vultee workers out on strike if they had not been making such miserably low wages, there were protests. Rankin of Mississippi jumped up to say that although he sympathized with "the laboring man" he found it "difficult to get excited over any crowd who is now striking to raise their wages above 50 cents an hour minimum, when the average farmer who toils in the sun in my district gets less than 10 cents an hour for his work." "Concentration Camp" Hobbs of Alabama rose at this point to contradict Rankin. He said that in his district the farm wage was closer to 5 cents an hour.

Costello of California voiced the fears of Douglas, North American, Consolidated, and Lockheed that the success of the Vultee strike may soon force them, too, to give up their present 50-cents-an-hour rate. After the Vultee strike was settled, Hoffman spoke with alarm of a pending drive to organize Ford and Bethlehem. "Is there," he asked, "back of this drive against Ford, against Bethlehem, a deeper purpose, a purpose to cripple and render ineffective our whole defense program? Is one of the objectives aid and comfort to Hitler by the slowing up of our industries?" Smith of Virginia indicated the real direction of this anti-labor trend. "We now have the official statement from the Attorney General," he declared, "that behind that [Vultee] strike is the 'red' hand of communism." The Communists, Smith continued, acted under the protection of labor unions and the labor unions under protection of the Wagner Act. The Wagner Act was the work of Congress. "So, Mr. Speaker," Smith concluded, "that brings us straight back to the proposition of where this trouble lies. We cannot lay it on the Administration. We cannot lay it on the labor unions. We cannot lay it on the Communists. It comes straight back to our door." Thus the moral of the Vultee strike is to get rid of the Wagner Act.

Our debt to Smith is not limited to this moment of candor. On Friday the most interesting piece of evidence the Smith committee has yet uncovered went into its records, albeit accidentally. We hope the Attorney General will study it carefully, for it indicates the rather loose definitions of communism on which the head of his Bureau of Investigation operates in investigating such strikes as that in Vultee. It was a letter sent by J. Edgar Hoover on November 14 to "Chairman" J. Warren Madden of the National Labor Relations Board. Madden at that time had not been chairman for almost three months. "I wish to advise you information has been received by this bureau," Hoover wrote, "to the effect that Grant Cannon, a field examiner connected with the National Labor Relations Board at St. Louis, Missouri, is known to have radical tendencies leaning toward communism. It is further reported that Cannon has studied anthropology and has been affiliated with the National Labor Relations Board for three years. It was also reported that Cannon visited Mexico City, Mexico, to observe the Presidential election in that country in July, 1940." J. Edgar Hoover was head of the General Intelligence Division when it investigated as "communistic" the 1919 strike to end the twelve-hour day in steel. This letter indicates that he is still far from being a safe authority on the subversive.

The prospects here are not encouraging. The resolution under which the Dies committee is operating expires with this Congress, and the Administration is attacking the Dies pot as a detractor of the FBI kettle. But the Texas demagogue, though heartily disliked in Congress, has become too powerful to be stopped. In the War Department, while Secretary Stimson makes pro-labor speeches, contracts continue to be awarded to Wagner Act violators; a $2,000,000 order for trucks and passenger cars that has just gone to Ford might have been awarded to General Motors, which is obeying the Wagner Act. The only hopeful news of the week was the appointment by Sidney Hillman of a so-called stabilization committee for the shipbuilding industry, representing A. F. of L., C. I. O., employers, the navy, and the Maritime Commission. This may help to eliminate not only strikes but jurisdictional disputes, for Harvey Brown of the Machinists and John P. Frey of the Metal Trades, as well as John Green and Philip Van Gelder of the C. I. O. Marine and Shipbuilding Workers' Union, are on the committee. Boards of this kind might play a useful role in all defense industries, and it is hoped that a similar one may be set up soon for aviation. If such a board could succeed in eliminating 50-cent wage rates in aviation without strikes, it would break the hearts and spoil the plans of the "Goober" Coxes.

Make America Produce!

[*From different points of view the two articles that follow approach the problem of getting the most out of America's productive capacity with the least sacrifice of individual liberty. Mr. Strauss is concerned primarily with the philosophical implications of the problem; Mr. Noyes with techniques. Inevitably there is a certain amount of overlapping in the articles, but we trust our readers will agree with us that this extended treatment is more than justified by the overwhelming importance of the subject and the provocative nature of the analyses.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

Liberty Is Divisible

BY HAROLD STRAUSS

MORE and more it becomes apparent that what is at stake in the world today is liberty. Everyone wants more production—Hitler, Churchill, Roosevelt, Willkie, Stalin—but no one has found a way of achieving greater production without the sacrifice of some liberty. Hitler has shown us that where there is authority, production can be commanded. By establishing a centralized authority with full power to allocate all raw materials and all labor, Germany has achieved what still must seem a miracle to the capitalists who predicted bankruptcy and the radicals who predicted revolution. If America is to outstrip Germany we too must yield some of our privileges to central authority. But we must do so under the persuasion of justice and morality rather than under the compulsion of violence and brutality. The problem is one of liberty.

Liberty is divisible. When we make emotional generalizations we do not seem to understand that, but in practice we are quite successful in dividing off certain areas of behavior in which we submit to discipline. A man is clearly capable of agreeing to surrender his liberty of action for specified periods and in specified spheres. Few are foolish enough to believe that traffic regulations are tyrannical. Few refuse to obey the orders of a physician.

Civil liberties in the surviving democracies are codes of behavior that were worked out in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries at the cost of much agony. The religious wars eventually produced freedom of worship. The overthrow of feudalism produced freedom of contract and the common safeguards of person and property. The English, French, and American revolutions produced freedom of speech and assembly, and the concept of representative government.

These various traditional liberties were fought for largely in a period of handicraft economy. At that time the artisan at his bench was substantially his own master. He had freedom to produce or not to produce as he chose, and his choice helped or hurt few but himself. The demand for his goods was almost always greater than the supply, and he had merely to decide, according to his appetites and desires, what part of the day he would labor and what part not.

When the Founding Fathers or the great French political philosophers contemplated the problem of economic liberty, they were only interested in removing the shackles from trade and in gaining the liberty of laissez faire for merchants, manufacturers, and shippers. The problem of freedom for the little men, the artisans and factory hands, was of no urgency. When atrocious working conditions were brought to light, it was thought that their improvement could be safely left to the humanitarian impulses of the mill owners. Thus we are unsupported by tradition when we attempt to solve the problem of individual liberty within a modern economic system, a problem which is the grandchild of the Industrial Revolution and the child of mass production.

Numerous liberal writers have proclaimed that we must have economic and social democracy as well as political democracy. But we haven't even the beginnings of an economic morality, which is the necessary precursor of a systematic code of rights, prerogatives, and duties in the economic field. It is only because such a code has been worked out and widely accepted in the political field that we have political democracy. When liberals speak of economic democracy they are evidently thinking of some better and more humanitarian world in which the worker would not be oppressed and in which he could buy back the fruits of his labor. But if by those words they mean diffused control from below or uncoordinated freedom of enterprise, there can be no such thing in an industrial civilization based upon mass production. If they mean to call for economic justice through the instrumentality of political democracy, let them do so, and not suggest that an assembly line can be anything but authoritarian.

Lenin found that out. He learned that engineering problems could not be solved by a vote of factory soviets. After a few months of experiment his quixotic quest for economic democracy ran smack into the iron law of the assembly line. Coordination of work and centralization of authority are absolute prerequisites of production. The pyramid of authority within a single factory is obvious to anyone who cares to see it. The unskilled workers must keep perfect pace with one another. Over them is a foreman, who is governed by the delicate problems in timing which are the essence of an assembly line. Even a foreman has little freedom of action. The over-industrious foreman who produces two extra automobile frames per hour, while the body and motor assemblies move along at the established pace, will be poorly rewarded. The foremen are responsible to plant superintendents, and the superintendents to company heads. Within single companies the pyramid of authority is indisputable.

This is no accident of the capitalist system. It has nothing to do with profits, wages, or ownership of the means of production. The same structure will be found where production has been socialized. It is the inevitable result of factory production, however the factory be owned or used. For what, in essence, is factory production? It is a technology based upon the division of labor, a technology which displaced handicraft methods because of its efficiency. Handicraftsmen had no need of a factory. But when the production of a single article was divided among specialized workers, these workers had to assemble under one roof and submit to coordination. The famous Chapter II of Book I of "The Wealth of Nations" still serves as the best demonstration that it is not machinery but the division of labor that is at the heart of the factory system.

The economic aspects of the division of labor are well known, but the social aspect has been unaccountably neglected. Quite apart from profit and efficiency, any division of labor immediately creates the problem of synthesizing production. Someone has to be responsible for this synthesis, and responsibility is wedded to power. It was this rude fact which caused the "classless" Soviet Union, after it had shot its old middle class, to produce a new one composed of technicians, engineers, and bureaucrats.

If the pyramid of authority is required within a single factory, it is also required within an industrial system as a whole, whether such a system be nation-wide or world-wide. The same problem in timing exists between specialized factories as between specialized workers in a single factory. In the past, industry has tried to operate without recognizing this, or it has rationalized the self-corrective efficacy of laissez faire, and it has paid the penalty of cyclic crises, which may be said to be the result of trying to operate without a foreman. The very language of capitalism—risk, venture capital, profit and loss—acknowledges this anarchy. The division of labor which has made it almost impossible for the individual to provide himself directly with the goods of life is at the root of the desperate necessity to coordinate production, to establish a foreman over factories, or, in a word, central authority over all men at work.

Capitalism has refused to recognize this openly. But in point of fact the techniques of mass production, with the huge "tooling-up" expenses that they involve, place individual company heads under constant and enormous pressure toward centralization, giantism, and monopoly. Monopoly is merely central authority in the interest of the few; it can be made to serve the interest of the many. The trend is powerful and mechanical. We cannot return to the society of farmers and independent enterprisers that Jefferson dreamed of. Henry Ford's physical dispersion of his plants does not in any way relax his central authority over them. The drive toward monopoly is inherent in the processes of mass production.

Productive efficiency is an engineering problem that, in its physical aspects, has been substantially mastered. But we have scarcely begun to study the social, moral, and political consequences of this mastery. How can we make the fullest use of the genius of the engineers? This confronts us with the problem of motive, or incentive, as the Republicans like to call it. We are just beginning to learn that we must get things done whether they are profitable to business or not. The profit motive does not make men produce enough. The cooperative motive does not make men produce enough. Humanitarian motives are more talked about than actual. Only war drives men to total production, and that is our tragedy. Why can we not produce for peace as we produce for war? We know how to produce enormously, but only in war, driven by fear, do we delegate the necessary authority. Only in war do we give someone the right to *command* production.

Hitler has been commanding production for seven years. He has been producing for use—however vile that use may be. Need I dwell on the results? The productivity of Germany today is something that only a few thick-goggled economic theorists ever dreamed of. Does that mean that Hitler is right? Does that mean that an industrial society must be Nazi? Emphatically not. The Hitler who wrote "Mein Kampf" knew little about productive efficiency. But the Hitler who rules Germany is not the Hitler who wrote "Mein Kampf." He has been molded by the discipline of machine technology, which is no respecter of what Engels would have called the superstructure of ideas. Hitler has done what he had to do to maintain himself in power; he has not necessarily understood the issue. He himself is the product of underlying forces. He arrived on the scene in Germany because Germany was both industrialized and sunk in depression. Human beings will not long tolerate a situation in which their factories refrain from producing for bookkeeping reasons. Sooner or later they will burn the books—fiscal as well as literary.

Hitlerism is a blind, brutal reaction from a living death. In searching for a means of establishing a central authority over production, it has made a fetish of authority, and placed its shackles on all institutions within the society it controls. Hitlerism is a violent, unintelligent rebellion against the inadequacies and cruelties of capitalism. It is not counter-revolution but the perversion of the revolution against capitalism. Racism, nationalism, hero-worship, Nordic gods, militarism, mysticism —all these are merely embellishments to catch the eye and enlist the support of the people.

The issue is still one of liberty. In the democracies we cling to the fatal error, inherited from the nebulous bloom of eighteenth-century ideals, of believing that the individual need pay no more than lip-service to society. We stand upon our ancient rights; we wrangle and dispute; we try to cut the same small cake of production into more pieces. (It is this that has vitiated the effectiveness of many labor unions.) Hitler revolted against the consequences of this situation, but he did not see its roots. He had to increase production, and to do so he established agencies with the power to command production. He had to force his people to assent to the authority of these agencies, and to do so he swept *all* liberty away. Because the house was cold, he burned it down.

We now have the bitter knowledge that production for use is not enough. We must determine the kind of use to which production is to be put, and that is a task for social morality. While we are delegating authority to command production, we must also, *by democratic processes,* decide from day to day and from hour to hour what we will do with our goods. If the people choose to send food to Europe one day and battleships the next, that is their right. But we must *have* the food, and we must *have* the battleships. Production must be commanded; we can no longer afford to leave it to such hazy motives as profit and patriotism—or to whatever motives inspire our balky aircraft manufacturers.

The actual ownership of the means of production no longer matters much, for the experience of England shows that most of the fruits of ownership may be taxed away. Because of sheer lack of interest on the part of the owners, a lack of interest that they are already proclaiming, title will some day come to rest in the state. What still matters is the impulse to produce, and after that the disposal of the product. For a gradual solution of the second problem we have still time; in fact, the New Deal has made a strong beginning. But there is no time to spare in getting the wheels of production turning. Here the New Deal has in general relied too much upon subsidizing consumption. This stimulates demand, but does not, owing to technological factors demonstrated by the TNEC, encourage new production. A better method is found in such agencies as the Tennessee Valley Authority, the Port of New York Authority, the National Defense Advisory Commission, and other better, more pacific, and as yet non-existent "authorities." The word "authority" is not idly used in some of these titles, for authority is needed. The people, acting collectively, can open many new channels of production that are not inviting to private capital. Because we do not realize the implications of this method there has been intense political bickering over the activities of New Deal agencies. We must rationalize the method and extend it, so that the performance of these agencies can be gauged by positive engineering criteria rather than by metaphysics and superstition. We are able to do this successfully in war time, or under the fear of war. Before we do it in peace we must make at least a tentative settlement of the rights and liberties and duties of the individual in the sphere of modern economy. That these have not yet been settled is apparent from the bleatings of business, which, while it makes the second-largest profits in its history, would have us know that it has no confidence.

The issue is economic liberty. If we try to retain the anarchic truculence of capitalism, we too shall be plunged into National Socialism, which disposes of anarchy by substituting tyranny. Only when all authority is feared does an explosive situation develop; then society is convulsed and power is seized by violence. The act conditions those who take the power. But the authority I speak of need not be tyrannical, need not even be bureaucratic. There is no good reason why powers held to be necessary in the public interest cannot be democratically conferred, democratically controlled, and, if necessary, democratically revoked. It is easier to safeguard society against abuses of power than to dispense with all power. It is true that this program means a curtailment of individual liberty; but the best we can make of our liberty is to sign it away intelligently within specific economic spheres and for specific economic purposes, as every civilized person has already learned to do in other spheres and for other purposes. For liberty, which has been divided so often, is still divisible.

The Economics of Freedom

BY CHARLES E. NOYES

WHEN the Constitution of the United States was adopted, the right of individuals to own and control private property was inevitably regarded as an essential safeguard of freedom. One of the chief causes of the American Revolution had been arbitrary interference with property rights in the colonies through taxation without representation. But the constitutional guaranties of private ownership of the means of production had a dangerous corollary which, until the twentieth century, was generally overlooked because it was so rarely exercised. That was the right of owners to keep the means of production idle, or to operate them far below capacity levels. The owners of money savings also have the right, seldom used until recent years, to keep their money idle in banks instead of investing it to increase the total means of production. The right of private owners of mines, factories, and money to go on strike, whether consciously as a protest against labor unions and government policies or automatically because the opportunities for profit in production or investment do not seem worth the risks, is obviously a threat to the general well-being of any nation in which it is exercised; when the nation has to face the possibility of war, every idle machine and every idle dollar which could conceivably be used to increase total production diminishes by that much the nation's strength for defense. This holds true not merely for the production of armament, but for the production of all types of goods which people need to convince them that their country and its economic system are worth working and fighting for. There are no longer any limits to the scope of total defense.

Idle men, machines, and money in the United States must be put to work if this country is to be made strong internally and externally. But the methods used to put them to work are of vital importance if the goal is the preservation of freedom. One method—the one which was used during the last war and is chiefly relied upon now by the National Defense Commission—is bribery. Most industries will attain maximum production rapidly enough if it is made sufficiently profitable. This method is not so bad as most liberals believe, particularly when the funds are obtained by borrowing, though it postpones the decision as to who will pay for armaments. The money may be acquired in part later by virtually confiscatory taxation of the profits which are now being lavishly provided.

Unfortunately, however, the government is not in a satisfactory position to bribe the producers of consumers' goods to achieve maximum production, although it has attempted to do this for the last eight years by pouring out government funds in the form of relief and by making government loans available at low interest rates through the RFC. As things stand now, it seems certain that a critical danger point will appear when the increased consuming power in the hands of workers in the arms industries starts a rise in the price of consumers' goods. Some government economists have predicted that full employment and full use of present productive capacity may be reached in 1942.

When that happened during the last war, it resulted in an inflationary cycle of rising wages and rising prices which gave large profits to relatively few people, did little or nothing to improve the standard of living even at the time, and led to a severe post-war deflation and depression. When it happened in Germany in 1935, the Nazi government applied rigid government controls to wages, prices, and production—controls which have formed the economic pattern of the totalitarian state. (It is important to remember that Nazi economic controls were developed for the specific purpose of counteracting the inflationary tendencies of the German arms program; while they were consistent with the political theories of National Socialism, they were not foreshadowed by anything the Nazis said before they came to power, and it seems most likely that they were instituted to meet an actual condition rather than as an arbitrary grab for power.) The same condition might easily lead to the same result in the United States. At the first signs of inflation, price controls will almost certainly be demanded by the people; and if the American arms program then continues to supply more purchasing power than can be satisfied by the available supply of consumers' goods, some form of wage control will inevitably follow. In that case we can only hope, without too much optimism, that these totalitarian controls will be relaxed when war or the threat of war is over.

This danger can be avoided only if the production of consumers' goods is increased fast enough to keep pace with the increasing amount of wages paid in the arms industries. But the owners and managers of factories which produce consumers' goods will not want to keep pace, because that would prevent the rise in prices and the rise in the margin of profit to which they are already looking forward. Of course they might make larger total profits if they increased production at present prices; but entrepreneurs seem to be temperamentally incapable of acting that way.

Nevertheless, the chance of preserving individual freedom in the United States depends to a very large extent upon expanding production in all sectors of the economy, and that chance must not be left to the choice of narrow-minded entrepreneurs. On the other hand, rigid government control of prices, production, and wages would in itself involve a dangerous sacrifice of freedom. And a broadside attack upon our present economic system, whether or not it might be theoretically desirable, and whether or not it might solve fundamental problems if successful, would lead to bitterness and disunity, which we cannot afford so long as there is actual danger of war.

The economic problem of the United States, therefore, is to find an escape from the dilemma of inflation or totalitarianism within the framework of our present political and economic systems. Those who consider the present systems beyond saving may prefer to take a chance on what might come after defeat in war, or after an American Munich, which will certainly be unavoidable if we are confronted by the demands of a foreign coalition which has clearly superior military power. Some might even welcome inflation or what they hope would be a temporary totalitarianism. But either inflation or temporary dictatorship must have after-effects almost as dangerous to free democracy as actual military defeat. No matter what road we take, the demobilization of our present arms program will involve readjustments very hard to make without violent upheaval. Because of population changes and especially because of the steadily declining proportion of farmers, the United States is now much more deeply affected by industrial prosperity or depression than it was in 1914 or 1919. The faith of the people in their institutions has been shaken during the last ten years, and it is doubtful that democratic capitalism could survive another period of sudden deflation. Yet such deflation will be inevitable when the government stops buying guns unless far-reaching plans to prevent it are prepared and adopted in advance.

Fortunately, the government of the United States has a power to coerce business which is both constitutional and traditional, even though it provokes howls of anguish whenever it is used. That is the power to tax. If the people can be made to realize that their safety demands the maximum production of which we are capable, of all kinds of goods, they will enthusiastically support a tax program to reward increased production which does not raise prices while it penalizes both restriction of production and price increases. The idea of rewarding increased production by tax benefits was proposed a year and a half ago by the conservative Senator Vandenberg of Michigan; the idea of penalty taxes aroused a storm of misrepresentation and slander when it was embodied in the form of a tax on undistributed corporate profits, but if it were clearly related to national defense, it could be put through again.

The form of such a tax program would require expert study, and would undoubtedly contain complicated difficulties. Nevertheless, it offers a politically practicable way of adjusting our economy to the strains to which it is increasingly being subjected. The problem, once again, is to expand all types of production simultaneously with the manufacture of armaments in order to avoid the risks of inflation or of totalitarian control of prices, production, and wages. This problem can be solved within the framework of our existing institutions by tax legislation which will reward increased production and penalize idle machines and idle dollars. Action is necessary now if we are to retain our freedom to work out our long-range problems in our own way.

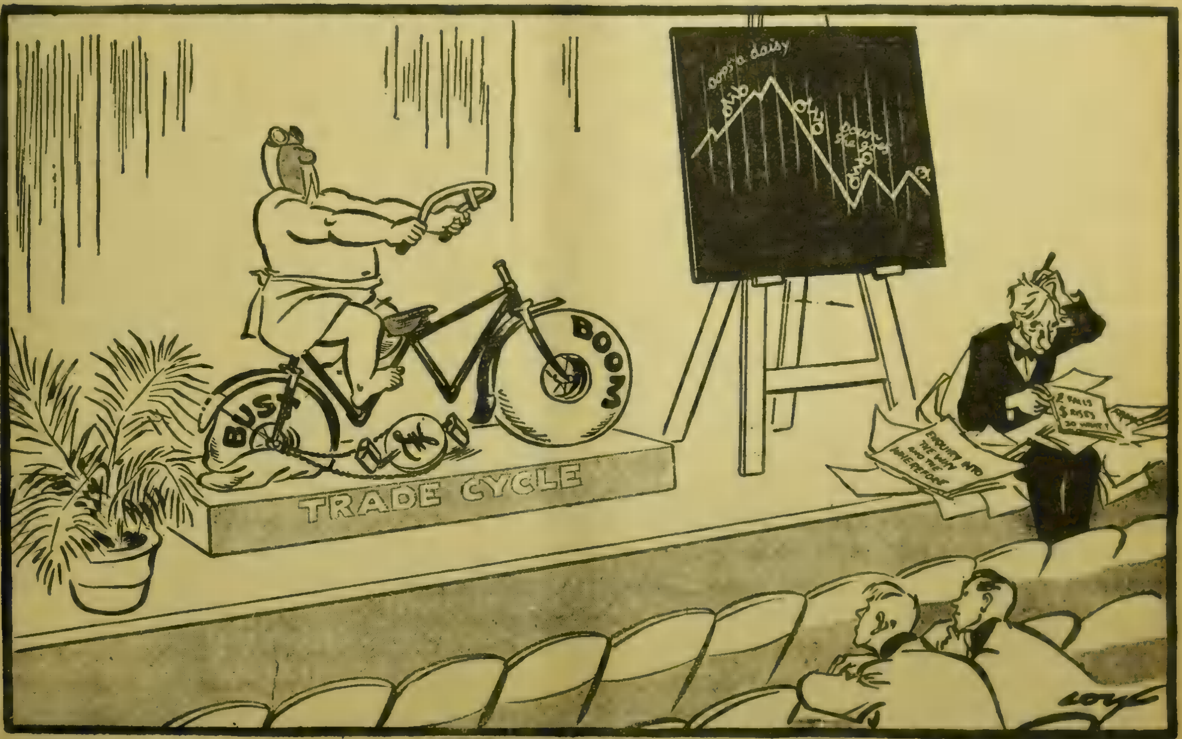
For the long run, the economic bases of freedom will require many further readjustments. Public ownership of the means of production may eventually be desirable, but for reasons of politics and defense it cannot be considered an immediate possibility; and the example of Russia indicates that, whether or not it is ultimately desirable, it does not automatically solve all problems either of economics or of freedom. Much more important than ownership are control and the policies of those in control; this is already true in the United States as well as in Germany and Russia.

Since the beginning of the Industrial Revolution capitalist democracies have relied upon the automatic operation of the free market to chart the course of economic development. While it worked and in so far as it worked, the free market was a democratic process, rewarding those who gave the public what it wanted at prices the public could afford, penalizing those who did not. For many reasons, some of them resulting from technological discoveries and the decrement in population growth, some of them resulting from the deliberate organization of monopolies, the free market has almost ceased to exist. In spite of Thurman Arnold's praiseworthy efforts, it seems doubtful that it can ever be restored to full, automatic, and successful operation.

Ultimately, the economic organization of society will be consciously planned, simply because it can be. The elimination of unavoidable scarcity and the possibility of abundance for all provide the opportunity to choose what goods shall be produced, and how they shall be distributed, beyond the bare necessities for living. There is also an opportunity to choose how much time and energy men will devote to the production of goods, how much they prefer to devote to leisure occupations. Once production has reached a point which provides a universally acceptable standard of living, these choices will be the most important ones which a free people can make. Democracy, if it continues to exist and have meaning, must respond to a genuine expression of the popular will in the economic field. Up to now, American politics has been concerned chiefly with the relative advantages obtained from the government by various groups of citizens through high or low tariffs, public-land and monetary policies, the presence or the absence of government controls over business, and, more recently, through relief payments, benefits to agriculture, and the protection of the rights of organized labor. For some time these issues will continue to be important, but as the struggle over the distribution of an insufficient quantity of goods is superseded by the question of how much and what kinds of goods people want to produce, the democratic process must operate in new ways.

The opportunity for conscious choice implies conscious planning, and it will be difficult to obtain the benefits of long-range planning while leaving control over the plans in the hands of a citizenry which may change its mind from month to month. That difficulty gives a temporary advantage to totalitarian states which do not have to bother about democracy. It can be solved, however, if we have time, by the democratization of planning authorities, by dividing our economy into its natural segments and giving a fair measure of popular control to the citizens most directly concerned with each segment. Such a process is exemplified by public referendums on the use of Tennessee Valley Authority power; it might be extended by allowing the citizens of the Tennessee Valley to elect the members of the Authority and to express their opinion of the Authority's policies. A considerable degree of national coordination of the policies of regional-planning authorities will be necessary, but it is not necessary to give the federal government arbitrary, supreme authority. The federal government should act as a clearing-house, if necessary as an arbitrator; if the members of planning authorities were elected locally and regionally, they would provide a check on the arbitrary exercise of federal power which would be of the essence of democracy, without detracting too much from the benefits of over-all planning. On the contrary, they would guard against the operation of the law of diminishing returns, which always limits the efficiency of too much centralization.

First, however, we must achieve the maximum production of which we are capable with our existing plant, and we must expand our productivity with the greatest possible speed. Nothing less will create the conditions which are essential to the preservation of freedom against the threats of internal disunity and external attack. The



SPEEDWAY MODEL

taxing power is the strongest method which a democratic government can use at the present time to direct its economic life. But taxes on monetary wealth and monetary income are not enough. Real wealth consists of raw materials and the means of production. Real national income is the total volume of production. It follows inevitably that an honest program for conscripting wealth in a time of national emergency is a program for increasing production. And when the very independence of the nation may depend upon speeding the production of defense materials and simultaneously giving the people who may be soldiers a stake which they consider worth defending, every effort should be concentrated upon production without much regard to money costs or the distribution of money payments so long as most of the people have things to buy and money to buy them. If the production of consumers' goods is increased sufficiently, while large sums are being paid in wages to the workers in arms factories, both prices and distribution will to a very considerable extent take care of themselves. In practice, most corporations would find, as they almost invariably have found in the past, that increased production at lower prices would actually increase their profits. Perhaps enough of them might get used to the idea to enable capitalism still to function, at least partially, in a world of potential abundance, and some freedom of private enterprise might be preserved as a check against totalitarian government. But there can be no possible doubt that the present political and economic organization of the United States will disappear if it fails to achieve the maximum production which modern technology makes possible. We are already vastly outnumbered in manpower by Hitler's Greater Germany. Only the fullest possible use of our superior natural resources and potential productivity can save us, whether the actual danger takes the form of military attack or a demand from the dissatisfied citizens of our own country that we should imitate a system which has had so much apparent success.

Chungking Shows the Way

BY CRISPIAN CORCORAN

Chungking, October 24

THE fog that clothes the upper Yangtze for eight months of every year has descended once more on Chungking. After having been bombed by a total of more than three thousand Japanese planes in the sunlit interval between June and September, the city is taking up again its normal way of life. Not that Chungking was ever paralyzed. The various branches of the government remained in the capital throughout the summer, adjusting their hours so that very little working time was lost, even at the height of the raids. The new factories strung out along the banks of the Yangtze and the Kialing also continued production—and somehow managed to escape most of the projectiles aimed at them. Although there were days when every ceiling in the city rained plaster from the blasts of hundreds of tons of high explosives dropped at once, when every street had its new ruin and the whole sandstone bluff on which Chungking is built belched fire and smoke like a many-cratered Vesuvius, the casualties were few and morale remained high. This was because the alarm system here is completely reliable. And so are the dugouts—deep shelters tunneled through the soft stone bowels of the city, capacious enough to house its every inhabitant and numerous enough to be readily accessible from its every part. These, not "fanatical courage" or "Oriental fatalism," have enabled the population to emerge completely unshaken from its three-month trial by fire. The Chinese government has many sins, but it has never rationalized greed into theoretical objections to deep raid shelters as did the Tory majority in Britain's Parliament. Today, with ten thousand dead in London, a British air mission is studying the amazingly effective system of bomb protection evolved by the backward Chinese, "learning" here what it might have learned from Barcelona a good three years ago.

The clouds are overhead once more, and Chungking is a busy hive of reconstruction. In many sections the ruins are being removed, and new blocks of flats are going up. Plans for the rebuilding of this medievally chaotic city are being pushed unceasingly, now hindered, now helped by the bombs of the enemy. In the past few weeks the raiders have come seldom, but the tortured rock of Chungking continues to shake and strain with incessant explosions—tons of dynamite blasting out more shelters, underground storehouses, straight arterial roads, and a new river front along the vertical Yangtze shore with its hundreds of slippery, barely negotiable steps of rough-hewn stone.

This is the appearance and atmosphere of China's temporary capital as the country stands before the most difficult complex of problems it has faced since the beginning of the war. Today, naturally, the international situation is of first importance. The gloom that attended the closing of the Burma road three months ago has been succeeded by joy over its reopening, and over the new prospects of Anglo-American action against a Japan allied to the European Axis. This favorable turn in the world balance strengthens the argument of the consistent partisans of resistance, who point to it as proving that all things come to him who helps himself. But it has not brought satisfaction of their demand that the government formulate a definite foreign policy. The less responsible elements in the bureaucratic machine, those who all through the war have fluctuated between exultation and defeatism, who wanted "impartiality" between the Rome-Berlin Axis and the status quo powers in 1937 and 1938, immediate entry into the Allied bloc at the outbreak of hostilities in Europe, and rapprochement with Germany after its dazzling summer successes, are now basking in the pleasant delusion that the new alignment in the Pacific will automatically bring an early victory—and speculating on the possible benefits of formal entry into the European war. Because these fluctuations have been reflected in the Foreign Affairs Ministry, the country's international policy has only echoed outside developments and failed to develop the initiative for which there are now so many opportunities. Relations with the Allies and the Axis have depended on the actions of the powers. Relations with the Soviet Union are cordial on geographical grounds and because of the importance of Soviet aid—but otherwise stagnant. The passivity of the Foreign Ministry has been criticized by all groups interested in the more vigorous prosecution of the war—by the anti-Japanese militants in the Kuomintang such as Feng Yu-hsiang, Yu Yu-jen, and Sun Fo, by the National Salvation League, by the Communists, and by officers of the army.

The military situation has been dependent, during the past few months, on the diplomatic; the movements of the Japanese in China having been subsidiary to their concerns elsewhere. This has resulted in complete stalemate on a number of fronts. It has dispelled, temporarily or permanently, the threat of a major enemy offensive directed against Chungking itself—a threat that began to materialize after the collapse of Ichang last June. The immediate menace of a Japanese advance from Indo-China appears likewise to be slight. General confidence has been heightened by the success of counter-attacks in North China, where the Eighth Route Army spectacularly severed no less than five Japanese-operated railways and destroyed the largest coal mine in Shansi. In southeastern Shansi the central forces recaptured Chincheng and after heavy fighting broke the Japanese front. Another military development worth mentioning is the plugging of the hole in China's defenses represented by the province of Yunnan. This was accomplished by the advance of Chiang Kai-shek's own divisions to the Indo-China border, which eliminated the last autonomous war-lord fief on Chinese soil and put an end to the risk of an anti-national manifestation by its ruling satrap.

New demands are being made on the government in the economic sphere. China had previously been fortunate in avoiding the steeply rising prices, shortage of commodities, and serious social dislocations that accompany all wars. Now all three have caught up with it, and the white-collar and petty-official classes that have been worst hit by the increase in the cost of living are putting up a vociferous cry for strict measures of control. Some effort, still too cautious, is being made to check profiteering, which is so obviously responsible for the high prices of many necessities that a mere admonition from the Generalissimo, unaccompanied by any threat of serious specific penalties, was enough to scare large quantities of hoarded Szechuan rice back on to a supposedly short market, bringing quotations down with a thump. Such warnings, however, are effective only with the small fish in the pool. The bigger sharks cannot be forced to disgorge without much sterner action. This problem is serious and can only be solved if the government forgets certain of its apprehensions and launches a bold attack on the activities of a number of retired militarists and merchant princes whose political support, or at least good behavior, is assured while they are feeding at the trough but would be doubtful if they were thwarted.

Another major problem so far unsolved is the smuggling that goes on along seacoast, river bank, and battle front. Infiltration of Japanese goods can be stopped only by the development of industries capable of supplying all essential consumption goods—first of all, textiles. Something has been done along this line in the deep rear, but in more vulnerable areas the lead given by the Chinese Industrial Cooperatives has not been followed with sufficient energy. More serious is the problem of outward smuggling, of the tremendous leakage of important materials, notably tungsten and gold. Revenue agents alone cannot check such smuggling, but the mass vigilance of the people of the region almost certainly could. Unfortunately, the atmosphere of the affected provinces seems to preclude such a solution. The other alternative is for the national monopolies drastically to jack up the low official prices at present paid to producers, to face the fact that they are operating on a virtually open market, and simply to outbid the Japanese.

Luckily, the basic economic mainstays of China's resistance continue to stand firm. The war's third good rice crop has created an estimated two and a half years' reserve for the army and the people. The decreased purchasing power of the dollar has been compensated by increased circulation of currency among the population, but this risky course has not caused any malignant inflationary symptoms; and increased foreign loans, coupled with the government's intense effort to bring the floating shoals of notes back into the state coffers through a national savings system, should prevent their appearance in the future. A Central Planning Board and numerous other regulatory organs have recently been created by the Supreme National Defense Council to study and steady the economic trends now at work in the land.

The international, military, and economic aspects of China's situation, of which I have merely sketched the main features, are naturally bound up with its internal political problems. Here, the most important fact remains the tug of war between the waverers and the consistent advocates of resistance. Specific problems, such as the relations of the government in its West China haven with the remaining war lords, who still have such a capacity for mischief, the continued collaboration between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party, and the introduction of constitutional governments, all fall into their places in relation to the paramount tasks of the war. Thus, the two majority groups in the government continue to view the problem of the anti-Japanese united front from the standpoint, not of the anti-communism which is common to them both, but of their varying attitudes on the general strategy and aims of national resistance. The axiom that a split today would inevitably mean surrender to Japan is still undisputed, and the hidden defeatists and open compromisers have taken a bad beating from recent international changes. On the other hand, the trend toward political democracy that manifested itself so hopefully at the beginning of the war has made little or no progress during the past year and a half, and China's war effort has thus been deprived of a great potential source of energy. Despite preparations and much advance publicity, the National People's Congress, scheduled for November, has once again been postponed. In its stead, the government has decreed a certain widening of the People's Political Council, a body with only consultative powers which the new legislature was to supersede entirely. It is clear that the internal situation is being deliberately frozen at its present level, at least until Japan's intentions become clear—a new offensive in China or a period of "peaceful" coexistence for the free and the occupied territories—or until the international skies yield some new and decisive portent.

It may be seen from this summary that the characteristics of a stalemate are in the foreground of the Chinese scene today, with every tendency working itself out slowly and unspectacularly in a hundred scattered trials of strength with other currents. Meanwhile, the spirit and determination of the people continue to be basic, exciting, and inspiring. Traveling slowly through the whole breadth of the country after an absence of almost two years, I felt, like a physical presence, the pride of every man and woman in the contrast between China's resistance and the collapse of France; everywhere I sensed the bracing consciousness that China, which has borne the brunt of imperialist attack for three years, is able to face its difficulties as a free nation when richer and stronger lands have fallen deeply into slavery.

Everybody's Business

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

Railroad Signals at Danger!

IN THE current discussion of defense bottlenecks chief emphasis has been given to possible shortages of steel, non-ferrous metals, machine tools, and skilled labor. Little attention has been paid to a possible deficiency in transport, perhaps because, while it is fairly simple to estimate the volume of steel required to fill known contracts, it is not so easy to translate these same contracts into terms of ton-miles of freight. It is even harder to calculate the indirect effects of the defense program on transport requirements, but we know that rising employment in the arms industries is proving a strong stimulus to business generally, and we know, too, that the trend of car loadings is closely linked to the general level of economic activity. Looking ahead, therefore, it seems advisable to inquire whether a big increase in transport demand is going to be met without strain.

Last summer, soon after the National Defense Advisory Commission was set up, a plan was put before it for a large-scale equipment-buying program to be undertaken by the railroads jointly. The program, which was drafted by R. N. Janeway, economist to the Chrysler Corporation, called for the construction of 500,000 freight cars and 2,000 locomotives. This equipment, it was suggested, would be needed by the time the rearmament program reached its peak; an immediate start on its provision was desirable because the materials and labor required might not be available later.

These recommendations were quickly drowned under a deluge of cold water from the railroad industry. Ralph Budd, defense commissioner in charge of transportation and president of the Chicago, Burlington, and Quincy Railroad, was reported by the *Wall Street Journal* as expressing the view that there was nothing to get excited about since there was all the transportation presently needed and more. He questioned the theory that there is a close correlation between the Federal Reserve index of production and car loadings and suggested that, inasmuch as general analyses were unreliable, each road should estimate and provide for its own needs.

In the months since, a good many railroads have placed sizable contracts for freight cars and locomotives, but in the first nine months of this year orders for the former aggregated only 33,486 units compared with 33,623 in the corresponding period of 1939. Moreover, these orders do not mean a net addition to the number of cars available for service, since they are more than offset by the number of cars retired because of old age. In 1939 alone such retirements totaled more than 81,000, and while the figure for 1940 may be rather less, the fact that about a quarter of the freight cars owned by Class I railroads are over twenty-five years old means a steady procession to the scrap heap.

In October the Association of American Railroads, whose president, J. J. Pelley, had declared in June that "the railroads will be able to meet any transportation demand that may arise from the preparedness program," evidently became alarmed. After a new survey of traffic needs, it recommended the purchase of 100,000 freight cars during the next twelve months and appealed to members to cooperate in expediting freight movements. As early as September the association was attempting to make special arrangements to meet a "technical" shortage of long gondola cars needed to move heavy steel items. On November 10 members were asked to prevent a shortage of equipment by utilizing with the "utmost efficiency" the special-type cars used for the movement of trucks and automobiles. Two weeks later a tight situation in box cars was reported at many points in the West and Southwest, and other roads were urged to speed up the return of such units to their owners.

The increasingly urgent tone of the communiqués from the A. A. R. is good evidence of the weak foundations of Mr. Budd's summer optimism. Despite his reputation as an unusually alert railroad executive, the transport member of the Defense Commission appears to share that lack of imaginative foresight which has long been the curse of his industry. In the twenties the railroads played the merger game, piled up fixed charges, watered their stock, and generally behaved as if they expected prosperity to go on forever. In the depression years, with a few shining exceptions, they did little to meet new conditions and new competition, but instead let their properties run to seed while they waited for a break. And now that they have a golden opportunity they are not prepared to make the most of it, and both their stockholders and the public are likely to suffer. Are these harsh words? Let me call as witness Robert Laffan, *Wall Street Journal* columnist, who wrote on October 5, 1940:

> Complaints on the part of some railroads that they may have to purchase their rolling stock and equipment at a time when labor and material costs are high merely reveal once again that the carriers have exercised little foresight in preparing their equipment for a larger measure of business activity. Some railroad officials may say that they cannot afford to buy equipment until they are in actual need of it, but that reasoning is somewhat unconvincing in view of the liberal financing terms that both the RFC and the equipment builders themselves have been offering in recent years.
>
> The fact remains that few railroads could be induced to buy equipment during recent years when most of the equipment-manufacturing capacity was lying idle. They have always rushed into the market at the last moment, and numerous roads have neglected for years to spend even the depreciation they set aside for reconditioning their equipment.

No form of bottleneck can do more to slow up the defense program than railroad congestion. But that is something we are likely to experience six or twelve months hence unless drastic action is taken quickly. The railroad-equipment manufacturers are getting loaded up with munitions orders, and if later on they are suddenly swamped with demands for freight cars they will not be able to give early deliveries. The transport division of the Defense Commission ought to decide now what types of cars will be wanted and in what numbers, and instead of allowing each road to dribble out its own orders, should insist that the railroads as a group place bulk contracts. This would encourage manufacturing efficiency and do much to speed up production. The railroad signals are set at "Danger." Will the Defense Commission take heed or must we wait for action until demand crashes supply and the tracks are blocked?

In the Wind

MERWIN K. HART and Charles A. Lindbergh are still getting together at regular intervals, with a representative of Herbert Hoover sitting in. The same group has been flirting with Vichy emissaries here.

MR. HOOVER is said to have protested to the Gallup Institute over its phrasing of the question about sending food to Europe. The bulk of the persons interviewed said no to the straight question. Mr. Hoover wants a new poll on a question containing a dozen qualifications, such as the assurance that the Nazis won't get the food.

THE ROAD from Mexico City to Scapulco is marked by many signs reading *Conserve la Derecha* (Keep to the Right). Under one, a traveler reports, someone had added the words, *Con Almazán.*

DURING THE Vultee aircraft strike newspapers, radio, and wire services reported at length that a non-striker, driving a company car, was beaten up by strikers. Several days later it was reported—briefly—that he had been sneaking to a football game on company time, was beaten up in a fight there, and made up the first tale to explain it all.

ERNEST T. WEIR is said to have told isolationists that he is ready to put up a lot of cash to help bar credits to Britain. . . . Newspapermen insist that Joe Kennedy heard his "democracy-is-dead-in-Britain" interview read to him over the telephone before it was published, and that he repudiated it only when the storm got too fierce.

AFTER BANNING it for six years, Chicago will finally let the movie "Scarface," based on Al Capone's career, be shown in the city. . . . Nazis in Mexico are using paid advertisements to discredit anti-Nazi films.

NEWSPAPERS HAVE carried reports that the Greek Communist Party is supporting the war against Italy. The *Daily Worker* insists that leaflets quoted to that effect are "British forgeries"; the Greek party's position, it says, is in fact that the Metaxas government became responsible for the Italian invasion by abandoning its neutral position in favor of Britain.

IT WASN'T mentioned in the dispatches, but reporters say that news of the assault on David Dubinsky at the A. F. of L. convention caused wild hilarity among Lewis men at the C. I. O. convention.

CANDOR NOTE: A dispatch published in the *Frankfurter Zeitung* from its Rome correspondent after the raid on Taranto reported that "the true happenings at Taranto are sad enough. Some devil-may-care foolhardy British pilots succeeded in firing torpedoes at Italian warships and damage was done to the Italian fleet. The strength of the Italian fleet has certainly not been increased by this."

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind. A prize of $5 will be awarded each month for the best item.*]

A Native at Large

BY JONATHAN DANIELS

An Open Letter to Mr. Ickes

Dear Sir: You will pardon me, I hope, Mr. Secretary, if as one of the representatives of "the less than 23 per cent of our press" which supported the President I respond to your request for comment on "how the recent election established the popular confidence in the press that brings it the strength without which it cannot be free." My comment is on the note of satisfaction I seemed to detect in yours. If we are moving in the direction of loss of freedom through loss of confidence, it seems to me that we should both be not satisfied but alarmed.

You may not agree, but I think newspapermen are as aware of the faults in the press as Cabinet members are. It is certainly no secret that there has seemed to be a loss of contact between editorial pages and the earth and the people, that newspaper owners seem often to have clotted as a propertied class, that there has been a good deal of rather unpleasant pompousness of possession among some publishers about this freedom of the press. Some of them have talked as if they were preferred stockholders in the Bill of Rights.

Also I share your feeling that the 77 per cent of the press which opposed Roosevelt was out of step in the country's march. But both you and I have seen the press defeated in better causes, time after time. Bad as the newspapers are, it is remarkable in how many good causes they lose in local elections every year, in local fights against corruption and crookedness and the pushing around of little fellows by tough ones. Furthermore, not all the people-moving personalities who beat newspapers in elections in America are, in my opinion, as excellent in virtue and in the use of power as President Roosevelt.

There used to be, Mr. Secretary, a cynical rule among newspapermen: never win a local election. There is still some sense in the rule. Winning can be bad business and not merely for the business office. A newspaper devoted to the support of city hall might not be quite so vigilant about what goes on in city hall. There is some sense in the rule even as it rises above the city halls.

Furthermore, this "power of the press" business is not as simple as carrying one election—or three of them. It is not at all certain who exercises it. You are aware of remote ownerships and controls. Give all discredit to reactionary publishers. Contemplate the pressure of advertisers. A great danger still may come from the demand of the people to get the news they want to get. Far more disastrous than the showing in the recent election, I think, was the general impression given by our whole press in the past that Nazi Germany could not really fight a war. Publishers are wicked and wrongheaded often. But reporters soon learn what stories will get a play. When stories get a play, the reporter gets a promotion. Sometimes such stories support the office-understood prejudices of the publisher. Sometimes also they support the wishful-reading of the subscribers. The press may be most dangerous when it responds to the wish of the readers to tell them what they want to hear.

Has the press lost its power? Sometimes the very danger of the press seems to me to lie in the dimensions to which its power has grown. You are not a man to be fighting a last-coughing corpse. No one in America has recognized that power more clearly than the officials of the New Deal, who have, properly I think, expanded the government's information services beyond anything ever known before. I was outvoted among the editors in the election. Seventy-seven per cent of them may have been wrong in opposing the President. But, God bless us, Mr. Ickes, we can be grateful for the fact that 100 per cent were not with him—in new patterns of unanimity on this earth.

Obviously, as you point out, we have nothing to fear from the press if the people disregard it. But never before in the history of the world has power been so preoccupied with the press. In a new age it may seem to be losing its old prestige and influence. I don't think so. Neither do Hitler, Mussolini, Stalin, and the rest And personally I would rather take my chances on the American press, even with the possibilities of Roy Howard being crazy in ownership and Colonel McCormick being wicked in possession, than on any other press in the world. I wish the press came nearer to perfection I wish Mr. Howard and Colonel McCormick and all th littler publishers and editors (including me) and reporters behind them were wiser. It still is, I think, th first force for freedom in America.

Pray for the press, Mr. Ickes. It needs it. I can understand your feeling that sometimes it needs a spankin too. But pray. It isn't all we want, but it is all we've go between us and darkness in this world.

Yours respectfully,

JONATHAN DANIELS

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

Autumn 1940

BY W. H. AUDEN

Returning each morning from a timeless world
The senses open upon a world of time;
After so many years the light is
Novel still and immensely ambitious.

But translated from her own informal world
The ego is bewildered and does not want
A shining novelty this morning,
And does not like the noise or the people.

For behind the doors of this ambitious day
Stand shadows with enormous grudges, outside
Its chartered ocean of perception
Misshapen coastguards drunk with foreboding,

And whispering websters stealing through this world
Discredit so much literature and praise:
Summer was worse than we expected,
And now cold autumn comes on the water.

The lesser lives retire on their savings, their
Small deposits of starches and nuts, and soon
Will be asleep or traveling or
Dead; but this year the towns of our childhood

Are changing complexion along with the woods,
And many who have shared our conduct will add
Their pinches or detritus to the
Nutritive chain of determined being,

And even the uneliminated decline
To a vita minima, huddling for warmth
The hard- and the soft-mouthed together
In a coma of waiting, just breathing

In a darkness of tribulation and death,
While blizzards havoc the gardens, and the old
Folly becomes unsafe, the mill-wheels
Rust and the weirs fall slowly to pieces.

Will the inflamed ego attempt as before
To migrate again to her family place,
To the hanging gardens of Eros
And the moons of his magical summer?

But the local train does not run any more,
The heretical roses have lost their scent,
And her Cornish Hollow of tryst is
Swarming now with discourteous villains

Whom father's battered hat cannot wish away,
And the fancy-governed sequence leads us all
Back to that labyrinth where either
We are found or lose ourselves for ever.

Oh what sign can we make to be found? How can
We will the knowledge that we must know to will?
The waste is a suburb of prophets,
But few have seen Jesus and so many

Judas the Abyss. The rocks are big and bad,
And death so substantial in the thinning air;
Learning screams in the narrow gate where
Events are traded with time, but who can

Tell what logic must and must not leave to fate,
Or what laws we are permitted to obey?
There are no birds; the predatory
Glaciers glitter in the chilly evening;

And death is probable. Nevertheless,
Whatever the situation and the blame,
Let the lips do formal contrition
For whatever is going to happen;

Time remembered bear witness to time required,
The positive and negative ways through time
Embrace and encourage each other
In a brief moment of intersection;

That the orgulous spirit may while it can
Conform to its temporal focus with praise,
Acknowledging the attributes of
One immortal one infinite Substance,

And the shabby structure of indolent flesh
Give a resonant echo to the Word which was
From the beginning, and the shining
Light be comprehended by the darkness.

Shafts of Speech

MAKE BRIGHT THE ARROWS. By Edna St. Vincent Millay. Harper and Brothers. $1.75.

IN THE field which she first chose for herself Edna St. Vincent Millay was excellent. And her excellence was almost always in exact proportion to the closeness with which she worked to the classical tradition. That tradition had come to her affected by the practice of poets in English for over three centuries; she was not unaware of it at the source. Of the Latin lyric poets, she had the clarity and the grace; she used only such words as anybody might use, but with a personal precision, so that even her slightest poems have often an epigrammatic charm. The one conspicuous artifice in her writing was the verse itself.

I do not know how consciously this was done. But I do remember that at the time she was coming into her own Catullus was all the cry. Certainly the speech she sought was as direct and fervent as his. Miss Millay's poetry had a romantic import, and through much of it there runs a conflict with whatever was unjust and outworn in the social conventions of the time. She does not write as a romantic, and as a poet she is at her best when most conventional. Many of her images seem to come to her from other poets; actually she has taken them out of the public domain and by long familiarity made them her own. A comparison with Catullus can only be carried so far. Catullus is a poet of the first order, and in place of his male imagination there is, in Miss Millay's poetry, not an imagination, but a feminine sensibility. Her amatory poems share certain qualities with those of Catullus, of which the first, I should say, is an outrageous honesty. But they sound much more as though they had come from one of Catullus's naughty girls. She has used Lesbia's name as though it were her own. And she is like the Latin poets in this, that in accounting for the conduct of lovers she can turn, in little more than a line, from a light disparagement of love to a sudden, grave, and deferential praise. Her levity has often been imitated; what none of her imitators knew was her sense of the austereness of passion.

> illa atque alia viderunt luce marinas
> mortales oculis nudato corpore Nymphas
> nutricum tenus extantis e gurgite cano.

Her nymphs rise from colder seas than any Catullus disclosed to mortal eyes and scatter when they are seen, half submerged and half in light, cold spray from the coasts of Maine.

Miss Millay was at her best in her love poems. In "Make Bright the Arrows" she is writing what—since war is an extension of politics—can be called political poems. In them she is not at her best. She has often written beautifully, but she was never very sure of her style. Though in the present volume there are lines that recall the old grace and precision, the recollection is dim. And, for the most part, the book simply is not "written" at all. For what is there to say of lines like these:

> Not France, not England's what's involved,
> Not we—there's something to be solved
> Of grave concern to free men all:
> Can Freedom stand? Must Freedom fall?

This sort of thing might get by at a public meeting. But on the printed page it simply will not stand.

One of the difficulties of making poetry out of politics is that whatever concerns politics is bound to be a matter of controversy, while no poetic statement that can be controverted is worth anything. The conviction that lies behind it may be one which we should like to see overthrown, but the poetic statement must be one which, despite our opinions, we cannot but accept. I can accept most of the convictions that lie behind what her publishers call Miss Millay's "Notebooks of 1940," for they are already my own. I can accept her dismay at the fall of Belgium, Holland, and France, for that I shared. But I cannot accept her poetic statement either of her convictions or of her dismay. For that would be to accept a counterfeit coin merely because it has a proper head of liberty stamped on it. The weight still is not there.

Poetry such as Miss Millay has written owes little to imaginative insight; it depends therefore on a minute accuracy in the statement of emotion. That we have the right to demand of her. In urging us to make bright the arrows, she has weapons in mind. It is only the martial arrows she has sharpened here. The arrows of Apollo lie neglected, tarnished, blunt. JOHN PEALE BISHOP

A Letter from Jallez to Jerphanion[*]

I'LL send you the book.[†] You won't have to worry, *mon vieux,* about the censor's letting it pass, since there is not a thing in it to which he could take exception. If you were still in Paris, the book might risk falling into the hands of Otto Abetz, the High Commissar for occupied France. He would chuckle over it royally and you'd never get it, for he is one of M. Romains's new protagonists!

No, calm yourself at once. The "Seven Mysteries of Europe" remain mysteries after a reading of this volume. To them, in fact, is added an eighth: how could we, who grew up with Romains and have never lost contact with him, have been ignorant all this time of what a great man he has become? A vigorous novelist, *tant que vous voudrez,* international president of the P. E. N. Clubs, and all that that implies. I am even willing to take on good faith his spurning of the Academy—though, on the side, I'd be grateful to you for verifying certain current rumors of at least a temporary weakening on that score. I'll accept Romains's statements that all the French generals had read his "Verdun" and found it good and that almost all the statesmen of Europe had read his "Men of Good Will"—that ought to set *us* both on a pedestal, too. But I, for one, never suspected what great political power he wielded. Did you know that it was he who put Delbos into the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1936, who—by a radio speech in November, 1938—kept Daladier's ministry from being overthrown and the general strike of November 30 from being a success? Talk of two birds with one stone! But there's something better yet. Maybe L. T. was right when he used to claim that Romains was a dangerous man because his Unanimism foreshadowed fascism. You may remember Romains's "July 9 Plan"? I never read the pamphlet, but I recall Jean Thomas's interest in it. Well, it appears that the Nazis knew it well and received him so pompously in Berlin in 1934 because they thought he was going to become the French dictator. Where were *we*, Jerph, where *were* we?

I'll tell you how it happened. Just after the first armistice, when you were trying to settle back into civil life and forget the horrors of Verdun and I was writing you from Nice about my idyl with Antonia, Jules Romains vowed that he would prevent the next world war. In more recent years, finding himself occupying "an absolutely unique position in

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[*] The two young intellectuals who figure prominently in "Men of Good Will" by Jules Romains. In portraying them Romains drew largely upon his own youth.

[†] "Seven Mysteries of Europe." By Jules Romains. Translated by Germaine Bree. Alfred A. Knopf. $2.50.

Europe, and even in the world," and profoundly dissatisfied with what the professional politicians and diplomats were doing, he undertook by himself direct "personal action on vital points." The description he gives of the Belgian Henri de Man fits Romains admirably in this most recent avatar: "He had a certain mistrust of democratic methods, a belief in action, personal, direct, and even secret, and a taste for authority." Meanwhile, other such free lances in other capitals were beginning to undertake the same defense of peace. Together they formed a kind of mysterious, unregimented "order of chivalry." Here is an example of how they worked. Henri de Man came to Paris with a secret message from King Leopold to Daladier in 1938, his idea being to act directly on Daladier, Chamberlain, Hitler, and Mussolini without the intermediary of the chancelleries. Naturally he went first to Romains, who welcomed the plan enthusiastically and took him direct to—Bonnet, then Foreign Minister. A year later, with the war already on, Romains goes to Belgium to see the king and no one but the king. Henri de Man will surely arrange the interview, but, alas, he sends Romains to Foreign Minister Spaak, and Leopold never comes into the picture. The members of this chivalric order Romains calls Men of Good-Will; some of them are Henri de Man, who became head of the Belgian government of capitulation, Otto Abetz, now military governor of a conquered Paris, and von Ribbentrop. Isn't this a libel against us, the original men of good-will? Shall we resign together?

In dealing with such men Romains seems to have been the dupe, but don't judge him until you get to the eloquent apology for well-wishing dupes in the last chapter. By his own testimony he seems also to have been generally unsuccessful in his "quite unofficial missions," when he set out to patch up some situation or other. Besides the two Belgian failures, it is noteworthy that his report to Gamelin on the Maginot Line was ignored, that his plan for the Saar plebiscite—inspired by Ribbentrop, Rosenberg, and Goebbels—was shelved by the French government, and that when he got a promise from Spaak he could not move Daladier. All is summed up in the incident of February 6, 1934. At the height of the riots he sent Daladier a card urging him to hold on firmly; within a few hours Daladier resigned. But what if Romains was right each time? It is impossible to believe today that the Saar plebiscite would have resulted differently or that de Man's scheme for wringing the hearts of Hitler and Mussolini would have availed anything or that the letter Romains wanted Daladier to write to Leopold would have saved Giraud's army and obviated the necessity of Dunkirk.

No, our friend has not even approached a solution of the European mysteries, and I can't help wondering how deeply he even penetrated them. He never met Hitler or Mussolini, and the only English statesman he quotes directly is Harold Nicolson. He appears never to have had contact with the southern end of the Axis, and his German relations were limited to the years 1934-35, plus two formal dinners in Paris in 1938. He confesses his English chapter to be "drab and blurred" because England is that way, just generally anonymous.

I hate to think what this book may do, Jerph, to Romains's reputation as a writer—and hence, incidentally, to ours as fictional characters. Yet, let's not be unfair: in this book Romains is still the novelist. Reading it rapidly, one can't but be intrigued by the atmosphere of underground secrecy, the mystery men shuttling across the Continent, the constant evasion of possible spies. In fact, there are direct comparisons here with the fictional work: Abetz's use of Romains reminds me of M. Karl and Laulerque; the unofficial missions correspond on a larger scale to Quinette's spying on secret societies; one of the Daladier interviews Romains himself likens to that between Maykosen and the Kaiser. Reading the book more attentively, one notices the creative writer's technique—imaginary conversations when real ones are lacking, the fact that the most important things "said" by Romains's interlocutors are most often his interpretation of a glance or a gesture. And then just think of how much he has made here of how little! The novelist appears on almost every page, and I prefer to see this book as a confession of how Jules Romains has attempted to live some of the episodes in his novels. Let's put it, then, on the shelf reserved for documents contributing to the literary history of our time. And as fictional characters shan't we climb down right away?

JUSTIN O'BRIEN

Audubon

AUDUBON'S AMERICA. Edited by Donald Culross Peattie. Houghton Mifflin and Company. $6.

IN THIS volume selections have been drawn from Audubon's existing journals and from the "Ornithological Biography" to form an outline of Audubon's life in terms of what he saw as he looked out upon the varied America of his many travels. Interspersed through the book are some seventeen plates in color, handsomely reproduced, including plates from the "Quadrupeds," which are less frequently seen than the originals or reproductions of the "Birds" and therefore are of considerable interest, even though they do not constitute Audubon's most characteristic work. The selections from the "Birds" tend toward the highly dramatic and probably were chosen for their illustrative value in relation to the text. The somber little self-portrait, so delicately yet realistically painted, is a welcome addition, as is the landscape view of Natchez by Audubon. The prize, for this reader, is a small unfinished drawing, reproduced here in its exact original dimensions, of a hen turkey and her chicks, which shows the minute, exquisite touch and the fluent instinct for design which were among Audubon's primary gifts.

Design appeared in almost everything he created, in an astonishing variety and often with great complexity. Even his early sketches contain this factor; a little study of Kentucky cardinals, drawn in 1811, was thrown into a bold wreath-like pattern with branches and leaves. Design might be said to form a signature for Audubon's work. This fact offers, I think, the soundest refutation to a charge which Mr. Peattie has repeated, drawing from a recent biography by Stanley Arthur, that a lad named Joseph Mason, who accompanied Audubon as a pupil on the memorable journey to New Orleans in 1821, painted the flower settings for a large number of the ornithological studies—for many of the

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warblers, the white-throated finch, the swamp sparrow, the yellow-billed cuckoo, the Baltimore oriole, the mourning dove, and many others that are among the richest, the most complex paintings of the whole series, some hundred or more. Mr. Peattie says further that Audubon learned what he knew about botany and botanical painting from Mason, and in his later work only followed "mannerisms" which Mason had taught him.

Joseph Mason was a lad of thirteen when he made the journey to New Orleans. He remained with Audubon for a year and nine months. To have produced the paintings thus accredited to him Mason would have been obliged to create one every five days on an average, within that time finding the flowers, sometimes in remote places, and choosing them for their habitat relationship to the birds, some of which were unknown at the time to Audubon himself. He would have been obliged to start this enterprise, at the age of thirteen, with the complete mastery of a special technique. If Mason in later years had continued such work with the brilliance manifest in the flower paintings of the "Birds" he would have carved for himself a particular niche in American natural history, but there is no evidence that he did so, though he was employed for a time as a museum flower painter in Philadelphia and lived to a considerable age. The sole basis for this charge is an article by Joseph Neal printed in the *New England Galaxy* in 1835, when Audubon had become famous. A more unreliable witness than Neal could hardly be found. Wilful, flighty, a hasty writer, he was continually in hot water because of his habit of casting aspersions upon his contemporaries. He knew nothing of the original circumstances; he said he had the facts from Mason. Neither Mr. Peattie nor Mr. Arthur offers documentation or proof beyond Neal's article.

Some years ago with this charge in mind I examined more than four hundred of the originals of the "Birds," and I was unable to discover the slightest indication that any of the paintings represented the work of two different artists: the handling is singularly of a piece. That from an early date Audubon was concerned with habitat backgrounds is proved by many sketches: in the little wreath-like study of the Kentucky cardinals he gave even more attention to the form and texture of leaves and bark than to the plumage of the birds. But the final answer to this charge lies in the consistent factor of design inhering in all of Audubon's work with the exception of certain late paintings for which the Swiss artist Lehman provided scenic backgrounds, probably because Audubon thought that the large series needed variety or because he was pressed for time: in these paintings—Mr. Peattie has included one of them—the element of design is noticeably absent. It would have been impossible for one artist to create a complex design with flowers and for another to superimpose upon it another complex design of birds, and keep the relationships in line and color fluently established. In some instances a rich design is even more apparent in the original drawings than in the plates, where occasionally a completing leaf or spray was cut off to fit the paper. The whole charge as to Mason's work is an empty one, and I am sorry that Mr. Peattie has so uncritically given it currency.

Mr. Peattie's heated references to the lost dauphin are puzzling: he thrusts them into the opening paragraphs of his biographical notes with the statement that only recently has "the preposterous claim" been made, by "two women biographers." Obviously one of them is Alice Jaynes Tyler, a member of the Audubon family, who I am sure would not call her little book "I Who Should Command All" a biography: in it she has assembled some of the curiously large number of coincidences that have raised the question whether Audubon was the lost dauphin. Mrs. Tyler's book alone might have shown Mr. Peattie that this query is by no means recent. It has a long history. Speculation in regard to it has been common for years in parts of Kentucky and Louisiana where the Audubons lived. Lucy Audubon implicitly believed that her husband was the lost heir of Louis XVI, as did her two daughters, Harriet and Maria. Members of the Bakewell and Audubon families of the present day give full credence to it. The final fact is that Audubon himself apparently believed it, whether at first with his broad touch of humor or with his equally broad sense of romance. He certainly referred to it. The evidence on this point is clear.

The fact that this theory as to Audubon's birth is an integral part of the Audubon story was of course the reason for a few brief allusions to it in a work by the other woman biographer. I feel bound to add that Mr. Peattie's statement that the theory is advanced as a "claim" in my book is not true. It seems to me that Mr. Peattie is rather free with his charges. In my own case this is not important, but I think he robs Audubon of an engaging twist of imaginative energy when he so hotly dismisses the story without the slightest indication that Audubon himself believed it. It is really interesting that one so richly gifted, so buoyant, so unswerving of purpose could carry the load of this idea. It certainly suggests the complexity of his character on even an added scale. To have carelessly argued that the magnificent achievement of the flower paintings did not belong to Audubon is to leave him, in this volume, shorn indeed.

CONSTANCE ROURKE

The Crisis of the West

NOT BY ARMS ALONE. By Hans Kohn. Harvard University Press. $1.75.

THE unity of this volume of occasional essays is achieved by the fact that the essays all revolve about the crisis of our Western civilization before the threat of totalitarianism. Some of the essays trace the historical roots of the present situation. Others vigorously express the author's conviction that the democratic world has been tardy in recognizing the nihilist character of totalitarian politics. Others, again, deal with the unsolved problem of the unity of Europe, for which the Nazi attempt at tyrannical unification is a false solution.

While all the essays are rewarding, the ones which deal with the historical background of the present situation are particularly valuable. The first, on Totalitarian Philosophy, reduces to its component parts the fascist glorification of war as the ultimate norm of existence. With careful discrimination it shows to what degree Nazism is historically related to Prussianism and how far it goes beyond Prussianism in glorifying war. "As is well known," writes Professor Kohn, "Frederick II stated that under Frederick I Berlin had been the Athens of the North (an opinion greatly overstating the case) and that under Frederick William I it became Sparta (an opinion this time much nearer the fact). . . . But though Prussia foreshadowed the totalitarian philosophy of war, its application was limited by the acceptance of the moral standards of Christianity and of common Western civilization."

In a chapter on Austria-Hungary Dr. Kohn portrays the realm of the Hapsburgs as the meeting ground of narrowly Germanic and more cosmopolitan conceptions of empire, the latter of course being echoes and vestigial remains of the Holy Roman imperial tradition. His analysis clarifies the politics of Dollfuss and Schuschnigg and explains why those statesmen thought it possible to use the Catholic tradition as a counterweight against Germanic imperialism and why such efforts could not avail. The debasement of Vienna, once the proud capital of the empire of the east, to a German provincial city is given an added pathos by these historical perspectives.

The study of Czechoslovakia is particularly illuminating because it throws light not only upon Czech history but upon the way history is made. It explains how modern Czech nationalism was indissolubly united to the democratic idea because the Czech historian, Palacky, the mentor of Masaryk and the spiritual father of modern Czech nationalism, reinterpreted the position of John Huss so that he ceased to be a heretic and became the symbol of both the democratic revolt against medievalism and Czech national sentiment.

Professor Kohn's analysis of the failure of democratic peoples to assess the peril of totalitarianism seriously enough, "their complete lack of comprehension of the new dynamic and world-revolutionary forces of National Socialism," is convincing enough but actually not as thoroughgoing as other similar studies which have come from his own pen. All classes, he declares, have shared in the policy of appeasement. The ideas underlying fascism "seemed so fantastic that they refused to believe them." "This illusory optimism was at the root of the disaster which befell democratic nations." In explaining the difference between fascist brutality and the failure of democratic nations to achieve justice he declares that "Englishmen and Americans are brutal because they fail to live up to their philosophy of life; fascists are brutal because their philosophy glorifies hard ruthlessness and domination by force." Both explanations are plausible enough as far as they go. Taken together, they would seem to suggest that the democratic world was too true to its ideals—though of course not completely loyal to them—to understand people who outrage every concept of justice. Does not such an explanation give too much credit to the liberal credos of the democratic world, and does it not fail to assess the real depths of the spiritual weakness behind policies of appeasement? Good people have difficulty in understanding bad people not because they are too virtuous to understand malignant evil but because they are too hypocritical to understand the evil within themselves, which is different in degree rather than in kind from the evil of really "bad" people. This is to say that the democratic world does not understand the negation of justice in Nazi philosophy because it does not understand the precarious and tentative character of all achievements of justice in its own world.

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Dear Mr. Laughlin:

The news that your firm was planning to bring out an English translation of Franz Kafka's novel AMERIKA gave me great pleasure and satisfaction. For me the work of this Bohemian Jew, work wrested from a short, agonized life, has always ranked with the most fascinating productions in the realm of artistic prose. In fact, there is nothing with which it can be compared. The complicated and often disquieting humour of this writing akin to the dream, with its religious overtones and its mixture of the grotesque with the most profound moral seriousness, may at first appear rather strange and inaccessible to readers accustomed to more simple entertainment. But in Europe today admiration for Kafka's artistry is already very great, and it has spread through the upper intellectual strata of many lands. The Swiss writer Hermann Hesse has called Kafka "the secret king of German prose." I have heard such a writer as Aldous Huxley speak with the highest admiration of Kafka's books. And if my congratulations on the cultural service which you are rendering with this publication can increase the number of those who might wish to familiarize themselves with Kafka's singular art, they are most emphatically tendered to you herewith.

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Only in terms of such realism is it possible to assess, among other things, the tendency toward appeasement among the privileged classes of the democracies. It is perfectly sound to absolve Mr. Chamberlain of personal turpitude as Mr. Kohn does. But if the class motives behind his policies are analyzed, one gets a rather sad picture of the degree to which economic interest may prompt treason to a civilization. And an analysis of Communist politics will force the conclusion that other than purely economic motives may prompt men to treason against a civilization.

The will to fight the Nazis must come from an understanding of how precious may be the difference between a little justice and no justice at all. But the ability to fight them, including proper precautions against treason in our own ranks, must come from understanding the similarities between the Nazis and us. REINHOLD NIEBUHR

From Dowson to Auden

POETRY AND THE MODERN WORLD. By David Daiches. The University of Chicago Press. $2.50.

MR. DAICHES has written one of the few tough-minded studies of twentieth-century English poetry. Others have turned it over more sensitively on their tongues, or approached it with more zest and spirit. Scarcely anyone, in fact, has dealt with it more soberly than Mr. Daiches, but then, scarcely anyone has tried harder to explain its impulses, plumb its morality, and chart its direction. Mr. Daiches has not been interested in providing the poetic equivalent of a wine-tasting: what he makes clear is not so much the quality of the poetry as the nature.

His book, as a result, is not so much criticism as analysis, and at times not so much analysis as exposition. In method it can roughly be compared with such a work as "Axel's Castle," though it is certainly never like it in tone. For where, with Wilson, exposition often takes the form of an expert narrative, and analysis is coupled with any amount of aesthetic insight, Mr. Daiches's treatment is faintly pedagogic, his style flinty, his progress careful. But there is nothing academic about his thinking, or insipid about his opinions.

Mr. Daiches begins by picking over the bones of the Victorians, poets who in one way or another affirmed the life about them. He concludes with Day Lewis, Auden, and Spender, poets who rejected the life about them but affirmed the future. All the poets in between rejected the affirmations of the first group without being able to achieve the affirmations of the second. From the Dowsons of the '90's to the Eliots of the '20's there was a constant search for new patterns, new myths, new values, all of which either led nowhere at all or in the wrong direction. The Yellow Nineties group shook off Victorianism by shaking off life itself. Nonconformist pessimists like Hardy and Housman rejected the Victorian spirit but could find nothing else to take its place. The Georgians were content to narrow the old perspective—not so much through mistaking the part for the whole as through deliberately substituting it. Finding the whole of life too vast and too perplexing, they adopted their own little corners of England and pastoralized them. The Imagists "escaped altogether from the world of values . . . by concentrating entirely on technique." The war poets might have returned to a world of values, but the best of them, like Wilfred Owen, were killed.

Retrenchment and escapism thus persisted straight through to Eliot. And though Eliot's was the greatest retrenchment of all, it was so great as to become revolutionary. He threw over a whole tradition in favor of one that had preceded it centuries before, never realizing that it had been abandoned for the same reason that Eliot was abandoning its successor: because it had reached a blind alley. But Eliot, of course, brought valuable things to English poetry. He had a brilliant grasp of his medium. He "gave imagism a dialectic." He endowed verse with qualities that made use of the mind as well as the ear. These had their importance, even though Eliot's intoxication with the past eventually mired him in it; and in an age of flaccid morals, Eliot's positive morality had its importance too. As Mr. Daiches says of Eliot (it might equally be Eliot speaking of Baudelaire): "He believed that it is better to go to Hell than to Limbo, to be positively evil than neither good nor evil."

Mr. Daiches's elaborate study of Yeats, most of it a painstaking attempt to chart all the stages of Yeats's myth-making and system-seeking, is rather more instructive than it is interesting. Perhaps I have always taken a lazy man's way with Yeats, finding him very often a magnificent poet but very seldom a rewarding thinker or theorist. But his constant shopping around for inspiration, particularly in view of what curious shops he visited, has always seemed less important than the fact that Yeats, in the end, invariably came back to himself.

It has been only the Auden group who have squarely faced the modern world, unbeguiled, as Eliot was, by tradition or, as Yeats was more fitfully, by aristocracy. Because the modern world is confused, Lewis and Auden and Spender have been. But they have seen, clearly enough, the things that are wrong with it, and they have found in a revolutionary outlook a way of pushing toward the future. At least they once did. What the war has done to them I do not know, and Mr. Daiches for the most part does not say.

LOUIS KRONENBERGER

Brutocracy Versus Plutocracy

THE REVOLUTION IS ON. By M. W. Fodor. Houghton Mifflin and Company. $2.75.

REVOLUTIONS, unlike wars, are the glamour girls of history. They appear to us as an outbreak of a suppressed ideology or an oppressed people and not merely a a craving for power. Erroneous as this conception occasionally is, it accounts for the failure of comments on the war to mention the revolution behind or linked with the hateful mass massacre.

No doubt a "revolution is on," and gratitude is due to Mr. Fodor for telling us this truth, though we may not share his view of the revolution's goal. Eight chapters of his book, nearly half of it, are splendid journalistic work. The author gathered his facts on the spot with great personal pluck and cleverness. Whether or not we share his opinion that treason and strategic mistakes must bear the brunt of responsibility for the disaster in Flanders, his observations contribute in various ways to a new version of the events leading up to it.

In the second, equally fascinating, half of his book Mr. Fodor propounds the following theses: (1) the current revolution is the child of the French Revolution, "continuing its great equalizing process"; (2) the three European revolutions have the same objective—National Socialism; (3) all aim at the restoration of past glory, that is, the glory of ancient Rome, of the Holy Roman Empire, or of the dreams of Peter the Great; (4) these revolutionary regimes, a product of George Sorel's "direct action," "are actually socialistic." How the three "isms" qualify in political theory depends largely on the terms "revolution" and "socialism," but Fodor's over-simplification has the unquestionable merit of stressing the point that events on the other hemisphere are not just more of Europe's "eternal struggles" or a "struggle against the pluto-democracies," as the fascists and Communists of this country respectively allege to excuse their mutual intimacy with the arch-enemy.

In her introduction to Fodor's book Dorothy Thompson suggests that the author "gives the Nazis too much credit as a revolutionary force," when there is in truth nothing behind Hitlerism "but old-fashioned pan-Germanism and a brutal desire to replace existing plutocratic interests by a Germanic monopoly state capitalism." Careful scrutiny of the three current revolutions reveals neither [illegible] common French ancestry nor a common socialist goal. The French Revolution overthrew feudal absolutism; industrial capitalism, flourishing on its ruins for almost a century, was certainly no revolution. Still less are the current revolutions descendants of the French equalizing process—the author himself emphasizes their "anti-equalitarian nature." In his recently published study of revolution Robert Hunter concludes that "revolutions commence in anarchy and end in dictatorship, which is usually their final phase." It may be that the present ones, starting as dictatorships, are going to end in anarchy. Remembering, however, John Morley's remark that "the first act of the revolutionary play cannot be understood until the curtain has fallen on the fifth," we had better abstain from further meddling in the disagreement between the author and his introducer.

At any rate a revolution is on, not [illegible] new form of government as American appeasers still seem to believe, inspired by the hope that out of gratitude for this misnomer the dictators will protect their vested interests in Europe. Mr. Fodor is probably right in presuming that in Central Europe the revolution brought about by the first World War "had merely gone underground." However, in some of these countries the "revolution" was merely the flight of the rulers from the responsibility for the defeat. Nevertheless, behind the "dynamic gangsterism," in Dorothy Thompson's words, of the dictatorships, latent revolutions do exist. What are their aims?

In Mr. Fodor's view, since "three major states have at least put socialism into practice," socialism is supposed to be the revolutionary objective. Conceding the "totalitarian" dislike of plutocracy, anti-capitalism does not necessarily imply socialism, which in its ultimate sublimation means at all events the primacy of human life and of human dignity over

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material interests. It is Mr. Fodor's opinion that the totalitarian regimes "can be described as state socialist experiments" because "if capitalism is owned and controlled by one supreme body, the state, then it becomes socialism."

I venture to disagree. Hitler, Mussolini, and Stalin are merely personifying the Hegelian idea of an all-powerful state. Furthermore, it would be a desecration of the idea to characterize as socialist a juggernaut crushing enslaved laborers under its wheels. And I wonder if in the socialist state there would be "infamously long working hours," if the workers, instead of sharing the profits, would be fed with "strength through joy" and dreams of racial supremacy and imperial power. Not even the disappearance of "all basis of morality" is a test of socialism. The Shavian assumption that some form of despotism is the logical conclusion of "intelligent Marxism" does not mean that what neo-despotism has thus far produced is socialism, no matter whether Herr Thyssen dislikes it or not.

This erroneous approach, however, does not destroy the value of Mr. Fodor's book. Most interesting are his descriptions of totalitarian nationalism and his advice to American youth to watch the revolution but to keep out of it. The cockles of our hearts are warmed by his wishful thought that masses revolting for freedom with the aid of tanks and planes might defeat the oppressors.

But what next? There is an answer in Dorothy Thompson's—pardon me for the pleonasm—brilliant introduction. "Men who are still thinking in the terms of the nineteenth century . . . of money profit as the measure of value and who praise an individualism which puts personal advantage over any other consideration whatsoever . . . are incapable of envisioning a more reasonable, civilized, just, and beautiful universe, and unwilling to assume the responsibility for creating it." May her words stand not merely as an introduction to Fodor's book but as an introduction to the future of America!

RUSTEM VAMBERY

Sensibility and Luggage

THE EXPENSE OF GREATNESS. By R. P. Blackmur. Arrow Editions. $3.

MR. BLACKMUR is a good critic because he is serious, and has both sensibilities and intellectual subtlety. He has, it is true, in a marked degree, the faults of these virtues. His seriousness is often invalidated by the web of super-seriousness he tends to spin from it. His sensibilities are not always searching enough; he can hedge around with them, and miss the point, while using them with scientific precision. And his subtlety often enervates rather than reveals. He has, as well, extreme faults of style. It is important to deal with his virtues first, because they are the particular ones they are—rare at any time and practically extinct at the moment.

Although he can be completely wrong on matters situated on what he himself would call "the periphery," Blackmur is frequently beautifully right in matters situated at the center. He knows that a work of art is a complex product of human growth and suffering (although he does not quite manage to say this in his aphorism, "Death is the expense of life and failure the expense of greatness"). He is the direct opposite of the critic who throws off banal middle-class remarks to comfort a middle-class audience. He recognizes and admires "speed" in apprehension and expression, while he himself works with great patience and, sometimes, maddening slowness, around, above, and through his subject. He lugs in moral standards to strengthen his critical weight; but these really do not matter, because, as with all sensitive critics, his reactions are at bottom instinctive. He knows what is serious even in American art; and there has been serious American art in spite of the tendency, at present, to push it back and keep it at folk level. Blackmur, fortunately, is the sort of person who instinctively knows that there is a difference between a lyric poem written by a great lyric poet and a Mother Goose song; between a piece of *grillage* of a high period and a well-made doorknob or frying-pan; between Bach's B minor Mass and "Ballad for Americans"; between a song by, say, Hugo Wolf and the most beautiful folksong ever invented by anybody. He knows that the novels written by John Steinbeck, Richard Wright, Herman Melville, and Henry James differ greatly. He knows that "all things excellent are as difficult as they are rare." And he is the kind of person who would never be able to deny knowing all this.

Blackmur, however, has serious lacunae in his special knowledge. And he carries an impeding, almost crippling, amount of extra baggage in the form of a whole critical vocabulary taken over from the moral philosophy so popular in English and American universities since the last war. If Blackmur made a determined effort to throw out of his vocabulary, for good, such words as "synergical," "sordor," "anterior," "quotidian," and, most especially, "heuristic," it would be all to the good. The terms from moral philosophy too, tend to reduce some of his passages to pure Swaheli; the result of superimposing these terms on literary analysis is more befuddling than clarifying. And they are not native to Blackmur's cast of mind; when he lets himself go he tends to think in images. This philosophic apparatus, moreover, is manipulated, often, with a kind of swank unbecoming to a sincere critic.

As his perceptions, for some reason, are likely to be good or bad in alternation, his courage, too, often wavers. He can be courageously offhand and even—surprisingly—flip in dealing with obviously bad poets; on the other hand, he treads rather carefully, mincing every statement into the minutest segments, in order to get around saying something directly damning about someone who, by reason of established position or what not, is not quite attackable. Using his own methods alone, he can be triumphantly right and revealing, in the case of T. E. Lawrence (this essay, in spite of its almost impenetrable structure and style, is the best in the book), while remaining incomplete and even biased in the cases of Yeats and Hardy. He can be both wrong and right, as in the case of Emily Dickinson. Here he does stand up, with a good deal of spunk, for a decent edition of Dickinson's works. But on the other hand, because of what he does not take in, he misinterprets the reasons for her poetry, leaving out whole tracts of her circumstances, such as her psychic slavery to her father. He brings in James, Dostoevski, Gide, and Mann in discussing a novel by Frances Frost. He

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can be bemused by the specious importance of both Henry and Marian Adams. He can, as well, write paragraphs of fine good sense and delicate analysis, such as the paragraph devoted to the proposition, "Assenting to experience is the basis of conviction."

A perusal of some intense, personal, non-philosophic criticism, of the sort contained, for example, in Flaubert's "Correspondence" would do Mr. Blackmur a good deal of good. French criticism of all periods might help him to overcome the more annoying—to the reader—coils and tangles of his subtlety. But he is on the side of the angels, and only needs more impatience, more courage, and perhaps ten more years of varied experience and wider reading, to make him a critic of imposing stature and of the first order.

LOUISE BOGAN

The Tone of Time

SAPPHIRA AND THE SLAVE GIRL. By Willa Cather. Alfred A. Knopf. $2.50.

THE boy who told the story of "My Antonia," finding himself transported from Virginia to the prairies of Nebraska, said, "I had the feeling that the world was left behind, that we had got over the edge of it, and were outside man's jurisdiction. I had never before looked up at the sky when there was not a familiar mountain ridge against it." For thirty years Miss Cather found her clue to the heroic values of life in that Western world of open plains and pioneer struggle; now she goes back, for the first time in her literary career, beyond her Nebraska girlhood to the Virginia of her earliest memories, to a country of older laws and severer customs—to Back Creek Valley west of the Blue Ridge and to the house of Henry Colbert, the miller, and his wife Sapphira, a Dodderidge of Loudon County. The story offers the familiar features of her earlier books: there is the retreat to the past—here 1856—when human dignity and honor were not yet outlawed by the cheap principles and vulgar comforts of modern times; there is the idealizing pathos of distance and lost beauty; there is an epilogue that brings the story twenty-five years nearer—but only to 1881—when time has dissolved old conflicts, clarified their mystery, and healed old wounds by its touch of grace and humility. There is a stoic husband, asking no questions of an unkind destiny; there is an imperious wife who finds herself exiled in the backwoods as earlier heroines like Marian Forrester and Myra Henshawe were exiled in the rough country of the West, self-confounded by her pride and fear of truth, defeating herself rather than allow victory or happiness to others, yet who must finally say, like the woman in Katherine Anne Porter's story, "I was right not to be afraid of any thief but myself, who will end by leaving me nothing"; there is also a young girl, the Negro slave Nancy, on whom Sapphira vents her defeat and jealousy, another embodiment of the spirit of youth and natural grace which appeared before in Alexandra, Thea, Antonia, Tom Outland, and Lucy Gayheart—the pure in heart whom no evil can ever defeat wholly and on whom Miss Cather fixes for her faith in experience in an age of warring egoisms and debasing ambition.

Miss Cather has risked not only a repetition of characters and effects in which her expertness has already passed from mastery to mere formulation; she has duplicated her matter and pathos so narrowly as to make unavoidable the sensation that what was once a sincere and vigorous theme has been subjected to a further attenuation of sentimental argument and special pleading. This effect is emphasized by the insistent plainness and simplicity of manner to which she adheres—that conscious simplicity which at times (in "My Antonia," "A Lost Lady," and "Death Comes for the Archbishop") she has raised to a point of intensity and lyric poignance that forms the only real approximation to Turgenev and Gogol in American fiction, but which on other occasions ("One of Ours," "Shadows on the Rock," "Lucy Gayheart") has lapsed either into an inert and nerveless dulness or into a sentimentality that begs the whole question of creating and substantiating character by means of words, sensation, and observed detail.

Her devotion to the past and its perished beauty has been sincere but inevitably limited by a didactic principle and threatened by the inflexibility of an idealistic convention. Only when her sentiment is toughened by psychological or atmospheric realism has she brought off her pathos successfully, and only when her idealizations have been grounded in a hard sense of physical and regional fact have they missed banality and abstraction. To reread the whole of her work, as I have just done, is to realize how deliberately she has faced her risks in order to win her prizes. It is to see that the subtlety and scope of her themes ("The Professor's House," "My Mortal Enemy") have often failed to find the structure and substance that would give them life and so must remain at the level of a sketch; it is to realize that her novels reduce to a single motive and pattern whose sincerity is undeniable but rudimentary and soon becomes threadbare, repeatedly exposed by a meagerness of texture and sensible realization; but it is to admit at last that in her finest books Miss Cather has brought to a kind of heroic climax and genuine epic meaning the work of the American women who preceded her (Rose Terry Cooke, Sarah Orne Jewett, Mrs. Freeman) and that she has sublimated to its elements a conception of pioneer life which in other hands has generally lapsed into vulgar romanticism and blatant American eloquence.

"Sapphira," by recovering the gravity and lyric ease of her best work and by avoiding the flat prettification of history that nullified "Shadows on the Rock," is Miss Cather's best book in thirteen years and one of the five best of her production. It shows in its central character the tangible passion and struggle, in its secondary characters the honest virtue and credible humility, and in its general atmosphere of fear and obsession a dramatic force that lift the tale out of its exaggerated moralism and dramatic simplicity into its own kind of truth and power. Its people rise above the flat dimensions of moral humors, and there are passages—Nancy's terror, Henry's struggle with his first consciousness of love for her, Sapphira's final surrender—that remind us how much integrity of word and effect is required to justify the hairbreadth compromises with melodrama and sentiment which Miss Cather risks and how she is one of the two or three masters who remain to us in this kind of art. They also remind us that in defining the spiritual forces that have gone

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into the making of our culture she has performed with dignity and profound honesty a service that usually falls into the hands of spellbinders and literary demagogues. At a moment when our spiritual riches, at best not too plentiful, are put to every possible test of confusion and debasement, the part she has played in saving them from the misuses of theory and from the fatuous complacency that easily converts them into a means of conceit and violence is not to be mistaken or underestimated. MORTON DAUWEN ZABEL

The Man Who Leads China

CHIANG KAI-SHEK: MARSHAL OF CHINA. By Sven Hedin. The John Day Company. $3.

A BOOK on Chiang Kai-shek by the distinguished Swedish explorer, Sven Hedin, is an event of some importance. Although Chiang Kai-shek ranks with Gandhi, and possibly Nehru, as one of the few men of this generation in Asia whose position in history is secure, no satisfactory biography of him has yet appeared. His own writings, while significant, are of little aid to the average Westerner who wishes to understand him. Oddly enough, his wife, as a result of her excellent knowledge of English, is far better known and understood in this country than the Generalissimo himself.

Sven Hedin has been a frequent visitor to China for more than forty years. Like most Westerners who have become intimately acquainted with the country and its people, he is deeply attached to China and the Chinese. He has known and admired Chiang Kai-shek for more than a dozen years. Perhaps because of this chronological sequence, his book is more about China than it is about the Marshal, as he prefers to call Chiang. And, by and large, it is a good review of recent Chinese history. The broad outline of events during the past dozen or so years is enlivened by stories of Sven Hedin's personal experiences and those of his associates. Many of these experiences have to do with the little-known but highly strategic parts of China which he knows best—Sinkiang and Inner and Outer Mongolia. These personal stories, including those told him by others, constitute the most valuable part of the book—material which, in many cases, cannot be found elsewhere.

As a biography of China's great war leader, the book, unfortunately, contributes little in information and less in interpretation. Chiang's career is consistently painted in exaggerated terms. His virtues are magnified; his faults ignored. History is repeatedly altered to justify Chiang's role in it, or to cover up his mistakes. The story of his kidnapping at Sian, for example, has been told six or seven times in recent books; but in none, except possibly Chiang's own report, is there a more naive or inaccurate interpretation of events during those historic days. The bloody days at Shanghai in 1927, when Chiang first bolted the Kuomintang revolution, are completely ignored, as is the butchering of tens of thousands of peasants in his subsequent anti-Communist campaign. Having ignored the days when Chiang was on the side of black reaction in China, Sven Hedin naturally fails to explain the peculiar concatenation of circumstances by which Chiang subsequently emerged as leader

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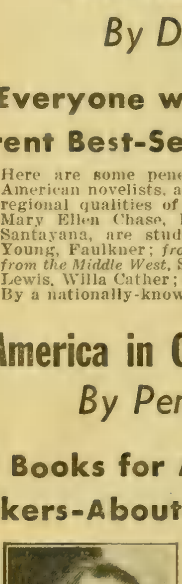

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of a unified China, in which he has faithfully and loyally preserved the united front with the Communists against tremendous odds. It is unfortunate that one who has seen and loved China as Sven Hedin undoubtedly has should have understood so little of the hidden events of these historic years. Despite this handicap he has written a book which no student of China can afford to ignore.

MAXWELL S. STEWART

The Roots of Anti-Semitism

THE GREAT HATRED. By Maurice Samuel. Alfred A. Knopf. $2.

JEWISH FATE AND FUTURE. By Arthur Ruppin. Translated by E. W. Dickes. The Macmillan Company. $4.

IT WAS just three years ago that I spoke about Hitler with George Lansbury at his home in the East End of London. He had recently returned from a long interview with the Nazi dictator, whom he had begged to keep peace. " 'E was quoite a noice chap," said Old George, "and made me put me leg up on the sofa when 'e learned of my lumbago. But when I mentioned the Jews 'e 'it the ceiling. 'Is eyes popped out of 'is 'ead; 'e slobbered at the mouth."

Why was this so? Was it to be explained simply as another case of dementia praecox? This would be a strange aberration for the most coldly calculating mind of the twentieth century. And what shall be said about the millions of Germans who possess the same feelings—and about the anti-Semitism of Mussolini, the Iron Guard of Rumania, and Father Coughlin and his Christian Front? To say that they are deranged is at best to beg the question. What, then, is the nature of their derangement, and why is it directed against the Jews? Maurice Samuel answers these questions in one of the most eloquent books ever written about the Jewish problem.

He establishes the distinction in the first place between the great hatred and the normal difficulties encountered by minorities. Differences in *mores*, the dislike of the unlike, produce tensions which are part of the everyday experience of mankind. As they affect the Jews, Samuel refers to them as anti-Jewish sentiment. But the Nazi creed is not ordinary anti-Jewish sentiment. Listen to Goebbels—"This is the world enemy, the destroyer of civilization"; and to Hitler—"If the Jew conquers the nations of this world, his crown will become the funeral wreath of humanity, and once again this planet, empty of mankind, will move through the ether as it did thousands of years ago."

Obviously these are not like other expressions of racial or religious hatred, not like expressions of Franco-German, German-Polish, or Japanese-American antagonism. "We have left the 'normal' field of human enmity," the author concludes, "and entered the realm of the primitive demonological." If not, he asks, "Why has it become a world cult of such extraordinary power? And whence does it derive its characteristic tone, a terrified and driveling diabolism, absent from all other instances of group intolerance and inaccessible to ordinary modes of discourse?"

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the Christian episode in human history." The philosophy of force which has culminated in National Socialism finds in the life and teachings of Christ, the Jew, the one insuperable obstacle to victory. There was a remarkable substantiation of this thesis in a dispatch from non-Christian Japan which appeared in the New York *Times* of September 25. The Tokyo Federation to Campaign against Christian Organizations passed a resolution branding Christianity as "a device of Jewish origin which is encroaching on the Japanese spirit and must be eliminated." The resolution also said that Christianity "forces men to believe in Jesus Christ in the interests of the Jewish policy of world conquest." And this in a country where the number and influence of Jews are negligible. Maurice Samuel feels that this fanatical fear-hatred of the Judeo-Christian humanitarian morality, not economic or political motives, explains the Nazis' burning of synagogues, their desecration of Jewish cemeteries, their deliberate pursuit of refugees.

This is a valuable contribution to an understanding of the most stubborn and baffling problem of the ages. However, Mr. Samuel has, I believe, oversimplified the subject. Can we dismiss the economic factors when we recall that the most recent wave of anti-Semitism occurred during the severest depression in modern times? And can we be certain that anti-Semitism is not as much derived from Christianity as directed against it? Here, for example, is the concluding section on the Crucifixion in Bishop Gilmour's "Bible History," which is used in thousands of Christian religious schools: "For eighteen hundred years has the blood of Christ been upon the Jews. Driven from Judea—without country, without home, strangers among strangers, hated, yet feared—have they wandered, bearing with them the visible signs of God's curse. Like Cain, they shall continue to wander till the end of the world." It was this conception of the Jew which Hitler, Mussolini, and the leaders of the Christian Front absorbed in their childhood.

"The Great Hatred," however, does prove the fundamentally anti-Christian character of Nazi anti-Semitism and thus becomes, as Thomas Mann has written, "a valuable weapon for everyone concerned with defending the bases of our Western Christian morality." It demonstrates something else equally significant: "What happens to the Jews as a group is not of special importance in the world tragedy. But that which is concealed in anti-Semitism is the fate of civilization." For some strange reason destiny has chosen the Jew to be the symbol of the struggle between progress and reaction in the modern world. By rallying to his defense, Christian civilization can save itself. That is what many Jews tried to tell Christian statesmen before the outbreak of the present war, but to no avail. Now it has become painfully clear that the failure to perceive Nazi anti-Semitism as the spearhead of the assault on the most precious values of Western civilization was a weakness as catastrophic as Munich.

Arthur Ruppin also discusses the Jewish problem, but with the greater objectivity of a scientist. For he is the head of the Department of Sociology at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem and is generally considered the foremost authority on the sociology of the Jews. He here analyzes the complex factors which constitute the Jewish problem, but he is too wise a student to offer a final solution. He does, however, suggest temporary expedients, such as "emigration to any country not closed against immigrants, change of occupation, and birth control." He offers as the most constructive approach to the problem the upbuilding of the Jewish national home in Palestine.

His book is most useful as a comprehensive survey of the legal, economic, and cultural situation of the Jews today. It is not polemical but factual. And the facts which emerge contain the inspiring story of a people that in every age has suffered oppression but has survived by dint of its indomitable will to live. That will to live is now facing the severest test it has ever undergone, for half of the Jews in Europe, where ten of the seventeen million Jews of the world dwell, are in Nazi concentration camps and the other half are in the spiritual desolation of Soviet Russia. The same facts, however, offer the hope that the Jewish people will survive.

PHILIP S. BERNSTEIN

Abraham Flexner

I REMEMBER. The Autobiography of Abraham Flexner. Simon and Schuster. $3.75.

MEN who amass great fortunes—the Carnegies, Rockefellers, and others—become household names. Anonymity is too often the lot of those who, like Abraham Flexner, zestfully deprive these men of their millions, skilfully direct their philanthropies, and so return to society what society has yielded up to them. Whether, in the long run, society gets the better of the bargain may be an open question; it is evident, however, that with Flexner in the offing a millionaire and his money were soon parted.

This autobiography is far more than a delightfully anecdotal account of Flexner's encounters with fabulously wealthy men, and in this sense the excerpts that recently appeared in *Harper's* are misleading. The book is also an impassioned tribute by a son of German-Jewish immigrant parents to the country which made possible his distinguished career. Beyond that, it is an important historical résumé of his association with the Johns Hopkins University during its golden age, the Carnegie and Rockefeller Foundations in the period of their profound influence upon American universities and medical schools, and the Institute for Advanced Study established ten years ago at Princeton.

Many persons who are aware of Flexner's important contributions in one field are surprised to learn of his significant work in others. A venture in progressive education when Flexner was twenty-one, and before those words became a slogan, led him ultimately to found the Lincoln School. His first book, "The American College" (1908), stirred hardly an echo; but "Universities" (1930) exerted a profound influence at a time when Schulz at Reed, Meiklejohn at Wisconsin, Aydelotte at Swarthmore, and others were grappling with spoon-feeding, sterility, and over-organization in higher education. Another study, "Prostitution in Europe," paved the way for Raymond Fosdick's important "European Police Systems."

Flexner's most spectacular and possibly most significant role was that of lay critic and reformer of medical education. His exposure (1910) of third-rate medical schools was sensa-

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tional; "such a rattling of dead bones has never been heard in this country before or since." Among the 155 schools then in existence, the worst "collapsed to the right and left, usually without a murmur"; so that in 1940 we have but 67 Class A schools. Later, in controlling large grants for medical education, Flexner followed relentlessly his ideal of high scientific standards and the somewhat mooted "full-time clinical teaching."

The author views himself with rare objectivity. "I cannot see," he says, "that I have pursued anything but an opportunistic source. I was not a philosopher. I had in my make-up something of a practical idealist. . . . I have been far too busy, and I have carried far too heavy a weight of practical responsibility, to spend much time in subjective thinking." It is often true that those who are essentially men of action become self-conscious when they come to speak of the more intimate and subjective aspects of their lives. One finds this in the first few chapters of Flexner's book, where he gives his *credo* and pays tribute to parents, brothers, and wife. Readers may find this awkward if not a little banal, and there is a didactic note that is dissonant with all that follows. The rest, however, is characterized by wit and warm humor, generous praise for colleagues, and reverence for the great scientists and scholars, here and abroad, whose advice he sought and whose work, in many instances, he so greatly facilitated. A modern Socrates, Flexner has been midwife to scholarship and intellectual achievement.

DOUGLASS W. ORR

Our Military Problems

BATTLE SHIELD OF THE REPUBLIC. By Major Malcolm Wheeler-Nicholson. The Macmillan Company. $1.50.

MORE time should have been taken with this book, for a critical examination of our military problems is at present definitely required. There was, however, no need for the constant and somewhat irrelevant expressions of opinion regarding the present war, most of which this reviewer found to be quite fantastic. Major Wheeler-Nicholson, who has long been a campaigner for army reform, should have seen that his book would have been much improved by more attention to organization.

Ignoring the excellent work of General John McAuley Palmer and others, Major Wheeler-Nicholson holds that no adequate criticism of our military situation has appeared since General Emory Upton's classic "Military Policy of the United States." Since he is a follower of Upton, his book suffers from the usual defects attendant upon the acceptance of that body of thought. A great many of the criticisms contained in "Battle Shield of the Republic" are penetrating and deserving of attention, but the author places too much faith in certain sure cures and panaceas.

For example, one reform which he constantly advocates is the substitution of promotion by merit for promotion by seniority, the system which at present prevails in the army. The fact is brought out that Grant, a very able soldier, would never have arrived at the top had he been forced to depend on promotion by seniority. Specifically Major Wheeler-Nicholson contends that an officer's promotion should be made "dependent upon the comparative record of performance of the unit which he commands." Unfortunately, history demonstrates that no system of promotion can be consistently counted upon to bring good officers to the top; merit tests, like intelligence tests, do not always reveal the best man. Officers with brilliant peace-time records frequently fail in war, and the contrary is equally true. Actual war is the only real test, and it may be remarked that Grant would also have failed to come up under the merit system of promotion.

Again, Major Wheeler-Nicholson has an almost romantic belief in the principle of unity of command. If our national defense were unified under one head, the author believes that all would be well. Yet the Great War of 1914-18 was won by the side which was least unified in command. Before the present war the French had unified their national defense as much as could be desired, but unification failed to be of perceptible assistance. It is apparent that it is on the capabilities of the several individuals at the top rather than on the merits of any particular system that a nation must place its main reliance for security in war.

However, many of Major Wheeler-Nicholson's comments are very sound. "It is time the army came closer to the people," he remarks; and again, "Billions for defense without one cent's worth of brains are going to get us nowhere by the shortest available route." These are the things that make "Battle Shield of the Republic" well worth reading.

HARVEY S. FORD

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JOHN COTTON DANA. By Frank Kingdon. Newark: The Public Library and Museum. $3.

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THE AMERICAN EMPIRE. Edited by William H. Haas. University of Chicago Press. $4.

A symposium dealing with our territories and possessions from the traditional geographical point of view does not promise much; and this volume does not provide much. The authors reassert that our haphazard collection of "colonies" are of dubious value, very expensive to maintain, and poorly administered. They are vaguely aware that naval strategy furnishes the most compelling reason for acquiring, retaining, and expanding such possessions, but they hardly discuss this reason. Political, economic, and social aspects of the subject are meagerly treated. Considering the interest inherent in the material, and its special current importance, it is regrettable to find this a very dull book, with few claims to the attention of either the general reader or the specialist.

DRAMA

At Last

"THE CORN IS GREEN" (National Theater) is the first new play of the season to get a really enthusiastic reception in the press and to look like a hit of something approaching first-class proportions. The author is the English—or rather Welsh—actor and playwright, Emlyn Williams, best known here for his performance in his own murder thriller "Night Must Fall." The star is Ethel Barrymore; the plot concerned with the relations between a determined spinster who sets up her own school in a remote Welsh mining village and the young genius whom she discovers there. In London, where the play was a great success, Mr. Williams took the role of the youth—forcefully played here by Richard Waring—and the story is said to be autobiographical, at least to the extent that Mr. Williams himself was a Welsh boy who, like his hero, won a scholarship for Oxford.

Certainly the piece is not especially novel or especially searching. In fact, it passes rapidly over the incident concerning the momentary rebellion of the youth against the intellectual forcing process to which he is subjected, and it elaborates at great length the incident involving the child born to the village seductress, despite the fact that the latter is familiar theatrical stuff while the former affords the best opportunity of the evening for an original psychological study. But if the play is neither novel nor searching it is human and sincere, and the fact that it is continuously interesting is probably due less to any single outstanding excellence than to the cumulative effect of various simple virtues in the writing and the acting as well as in the general conception.

Few people would be inclined in advance to suppose that a play based upon a social worker's enthusiasm for the three R's was very promising for Broadway, especially since a simple faith in education as a panacea went out of fashion a long time ago. That it actually did find a warm welcome on Broadway is due partly, no doubt, to the fact that the author can speak with the conviction of experience, even more to the fact that he has written a play a good deal brighter and livelier and more cheerful than an outline of the plot would suggest. And he has been able to do that because he has known how to translate his theme into easy theatrical terms without losing the effect of sincerity.

As a matter of fact, "The Corn Is Green" moves pleasantly and easily along because it is about as conventional in method and structure as a play can well be without coming to seem obtrusively according to formula. It begins where one expects it to begin with the arrival of the new would-be teacher, and it introduces both the expected comic servant and the expected opposition in the form of the Tory landowner. Presently temptation enters with the serio-comic seductress just at the moment when a complication is needed, and, finally, the seductress reappears to announce the inevitable baby exactly at the point where any textbook would tell you a last complication is needed. But if Mr. Williams is obviously a man of the theater who is by no means above using tried and true methods, the fact that he is here dealing with material real and important to himself keeps the play from ever becoming as merely theatrical as it might easily be. Add thoroughly sound performances not only by the principals already mentioned but also by all the supporting cast—especially Rosalind Ivan as the comic servant and Thelma Schnee as her daughter, the congenital tart—and you get a sum total which might not seem as important in a richer theatrical season as it does just now but which would, in any year, have a substantial claim to attention.

"Fledgling" (Hudson Theater) attempts quite a little more and accomplishes somewhat less. It is based on a novel called "Follow the Furies" by Eleanor Carroll Chilton, and it is exceptionally solemn as well as almost painfully austere. There is, to be sure, a "mercy killing" and a suicide, but the intention is not melodrama. It is, instead, high tragedy and the presentation of an ethical problem—the problem of God in the modern world and the tragedy which those who think they can live without Him bring down upon themselves. The heroine, in all the pride of her rationalist's creed, drops poison in the medicine prepared for her hopelessly paralyzed mother and then kills herself when she discovers that she

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Dr. Kingdon's affirmation has such timeliness that we hav chosen it for *The Nation's* Christmas card announcing gift subscriptions. To the principles it proclaims we have pledged ou strength. We urge you to join us in making *The Nation's* voic a still stronger voice. Won't you help us to carry our messag of hope and determination to an ever increasing number o thinking Americans by giving *The Nation* as a holiday gift

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Given powerful-enough treatment, the theme might serve for a great play; treated crudely enough, it would certainly make a preposterous one; but "Fledgling" is neither near to greatness nor quite absurd. The writing is neither powerful nor crude. It is merely highbrow. In fact, everything about the play is highbrow, and the chill of complacent intellectuality lies cold upon it. Despite all the sensational action included, it moves at a snail's pace and moves thus, one feels, not because the author cannot make it move faster, but because he is anxious to show that he is writing for people who, like himself, are above the vulgarity of impatience. Where passionate conviction is called for, one gets complacency; where deep emotion should burst forth, only an almost priggish correctness appears; and the result is to make the spectator mildly resentful when he ought to be moved. A young ingenue named Sylvia Weld, who is playing her first lead in New York, does a good job, but "Fledgling" is much too solemn and much too all-embracingly worthy to be really good.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

MUSIC

LISTENING to Schönberg's "Pierrot Lunaire"—superbly done at a recent New Friends concert by Erika Wagner-Stiedry and a small group of players under Schönberg's own direction—caused me to think of Picasso's Guernica Postscripts: what each series is concerned with, it seems to me, what each makes artistically concrete in its own way, its own artistic terms, is tortured human sensibilities. But with this similarity there are differences. There is, to begin with, the difference in the source, the character of the torture that each artist is concerned with—in the one case interior decay, disintegration; in the other externally applied violence and cruelty. There is also the difference in the quality of the experience and emotion that each artist brings to his subject; and the difference, finally, in the two ways, the two sets of artistic terms in which the artists make what they perceive and what they feel about it artistically concrete. It is these differences that make Schönberg's "Pierrot" a masterfully contrived thing of horror, and Picasso's Postscripts constructively, affirmatively powerful works of art—possibly the most powerful works produced by a painter since Cézanne, possibly even the most powerful produced by any artist in any medium in that period.

Among the notable artistic achievements of the period have been the works that artists in different media have produced together—ballets like "Petrouchka," "Les Noces," "The Prodigal Son," "Harnassie." To say this is to place Fokine and Nijinska on a level, in creative imagination and originality, with Stravinsky; Balanchine with Prokofiev; Cieplinski with Szymanovski; and there are people who will not do that. Quite recently a writer—trained in music and sensitive to other arts than his own—expressed to me his inability to stand more than a few minutes of ballet because after that the sameness of the positions and movements became boring. He was thinking of a ballet like "Les Sylphides," and was confessing his inability to observe the differences in the personal styles with which the three ballerinas make those same movements of legs, arms, and bodies—differences which, communicating personality, temperament, emotion as they do, can be as exciting to some people as the differences in styles of tennis players are to others. Moreover, though able to appreciate the differences in the ways writers use the same words, composers the same sounds, painters the same colors, this man was unable to perceive the differences in the patterns created with those movements by Fokine in "Les Sylphides" and the patterns created by Petipa in "Swan Lake." Nor was he considering the difference between "Les Sylphides" and those works in which the traditional ballet movements are only part of a larger vocabulary of bodily movement that is a medium for individual creative imagination and style; and presumably he would not consider the differences between these works—between Fokine's "Petrouchka" and Balanchine's "Baiser de la fée," between this work of Balanchine and his "Cotillon"—considerable or important. But to me, as I observed them last spring and more recently, they were very considerable and very important; and in Balanchine's invention in particular I was made freshly aware of one of the most distinctive, impressive, and exciting of artistic minds—this not only in those strokes of imagination and wit that somebody I know once happily named "fantaisie Balanchine," but in the fascinating things he makes out of the traditional movements. The pas de deux of the twirling ballerina supported by male dancer that one sees in every classical ballet occurs in every work of Balanchine, but each time as something newly and beautifully imagined: it is the series of wonderfully strange movements of the "Hand of Fate" episode in "Cotillon"; it was the seduction, ending in the interlocking of the two bodies, in "The Prodigal Son." (I must add that much of the original detail of "Cotillon" is missing from the work as it is danced by the De Basil company nowadays, and that "The Prodigal Son" is being given with new choreography by Lichine in place of Balanchine's for Diaghilev's 1929 production. I should add also that Lichine, very grand as the company's choreographer, and aware that he is its only brilliant male dancer, is appearing in only one ballet each evening, assuring himself a personal triumph without any concern for the seriously decreased effectiveness of the other ballets. And this effectiveness is further decreased by an incompetent orchestra.)

Listen while you look at that strange pas de deux in "Cotillon," and you will hear the strangeness of Chabrier's music. This is one instance of what Lincoln Kirstein has pointed out so well in his discussion of Balanchine (pages 22-24 of "Blast At Ballet")— that Balanchine does not merely *use* music as a framework on which to pin movement, but that the movement begins and ends as an expression of his interest in, his feeling for the music, and that his musicianship is "esssentially, not literally poetic"—which is to say that the choreography is not a literal visualization of the patterns of sound. "He would never have been so naive as to reiterate the individual air-turns of the opening of the fourth movement of Massine's 'Choreartium,' where a brave attempt is made to connect the dance-steps with the initial ascendant chords of Brahms, [but] only up to the place where the symphonic structure becomes too complex for a choreographer to follow literally." Instead he exhibits "an extraordinary instinctive gift for finding the quality of coherent gesture to fit the exact shade of quality in the chosen music. . . . The gestures have a quality of independent rightness exhausting the motor impulses in the music and in the lyrical substructure of concepts on which the music is founded."

All this provides illuminating parallels for the consideration of what is done in "Fantasia"; but that will have to wait.

B. H. HAGGIN

Letters to the Editors

Plain Words Wanted

Dear Sirs: The second paragraph in Miss Kirchwey's fine editorial To the President-elect should have been underlined in red ink. We are all "tired of large words." We want to know what they mean "in translation." There is nothing so soothing as a flow of fine words—and nothing so dangerous if we do not know to what actions they will lead.

Please permit an old *Nation* reader to express his wish that you will ask our political leaders ever more frequently and insistently, "Just what do you mean by this fine phrase?"

KARL F. MUENZINGER

Boulder, Colo., November 25

Mr. Nevins's "Rockefeller"

Dear Sirs: Because I am happy to count both Allan Nevins and Gustavus Myers among my friends, I deplore Mr. Myers's review of Mr. Nevins's recent book, "John D. Rockefeller: The Heroic Age of American Enterprise" (*The Nation,* November 9). Mr. Myers's reputation is secure as the historian of the great American railroad fortunes, but he is in error if he assumes that the formula he applied so tellingly in the case of the railroad barons ("huge stock waterings, stock jobbings, regular debauching of politics, great frauds and swindles, briberies, evasion and defiance of law," etc.) is equally applicable to our early industrial capitalists.

With Mr. Nevins's basic assumption—that Rockefeller's generation was the creative age of American capitalism—I am in complete agreement; indeed, it is one of the themes of my own recent book. Rather than being a carelessly contrived book, I think Mr. Nevins's is thoughtfully and sparely constructed. It is singularly free from prejudice; not a single nasty incident in its subject's career is glossed over or excused, and Rockefeller is revealed as the ruthlessly unfair business competitor that he was. To this extent, Rockefeller cannot be dissociated from the Goulds, Drews, and Fisks of his time.

But Rockefeller—like Carnegie, McCormick, Henry Ford later—was more than that. He was a great industrial innovator: he was constantly preoccupied with new techniques of production, he expanded his markets notably at home, he cut costs, reduced prices, and had no truck with the security-market manipulators at any time. His preeminence, like that of Carnegie in steel and McCormick in agricultural implements, was due to the fact that he conformed to the pattern of the enterpriser of classical economics.

I agree with Mr. Nevins that he was a member of the heroic age of industrial capitalism; I agree with Mr. Nevins (and so does Mr. Myers) that the advent of finance capitalism terminated this age. In such perspective, Mr. Nevins's biography of John D. Rockefeller is an outstanding contribution to American economic history. LOUIS M. HACKER

New York, November 18

Dear Sirs: Mr. Hacker puts me in the position of implying that Mr. Nevins's "John D. Rockefeller" was a "carelessly contrived book." Quite the contrary, it was too well contrived in its purpose to make Rockefeller loom as a super-eminent personage, and to convert an age of grabbing into a "heroic age." Nor did I accuse Mr. Nevins of prejudice; my comments dealt with his *attitude,* which predetermined the texture of his treatment and conclusions. Furthermore, Mr. Nevins or Mr. Hacker notwithstanding, the practices that I outlined as prevailing in the period in question applied to industrialists as well as to railroad magnates, as was specifically shown in my book, which Mr. Hacker suggests applied to railroads only. Stock watering, as I said, might not be imputed to Standard Oil, but that company suctioned off the public's money just the same, making Rockefeller a billionaire and his colleagues multi-millionaires. Mergers and consolidations of other corporations were signalized by huge stock waterings, and a number by stock jobbing and other evils. This occurred before as well as after what is called the advent of finance capitalism.

If the myth of the "heroic age" is to be judged by the careers of the early industrialists, then the picture is not essentially different. McCormick lobbied a bill through Congress to extend harvester patent rights—the means he used were set forth in a report of a special Congressional investigating committee. The Carnegie fortune waxed great on secret railroad rebates, high tariff protection, and oppression of workers, as witness the great Homestead strike. The progress of various successful industrialists who became multi-millionaires ran along similar lines. Such were the times now thus transformed into the "heroic age." Obviously such a claim cannot be taken seriously.

What Mr. Hacker regards as the merit of industrialists, their ability to devise new modes of production, etc., only magnified their power to draw vast fortunes from the consumer. If that era was so "heroic," then generations of Americans have been sadly mistaken in proceeding against monopoly and intrenched and concentrated wealth.

GUSTAVUS MYERS

New York, November 25

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THE *Nation*

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The Shape of Things

MARSHAL BADOGLIO, ITALY'S FOREMOST soldier, has been let out, not because he bungled the Albanian campaign, but because he opposed it in the first place. It is unhealthy to be in a position to say "I told you so" to a dictator. Probably his successor will not make the same mistake since he is reputed to be a "political" soldier and good party yes-man. The other changes in the Italian military and naval high command are less easy to explain except in so far as the general lack of success of Italian arms makes recourse to new blood an obvious expedient. But even the most competent leadership is going to have its work cut out in reestablishing the balance in Albania. With the capture of Agyrokastron, the Greeks have consolidated their positions and are now advancing cautiously but steadily in the direction of the Albanian oil fields. Rumors of anti-fascist riots continue to seep out of Italy, and the admission in a leading party organ that the regime has been unable to curb rising prices suggests one cause of discontent. And now the British forces in Egypt are increasing their pressure on Graziani's stalled army. The large-scale raid on the Italian flank has yielded a large number of prisoners and seems to have imperiled the Italian position at Sidi Barrani. If the Libyan army proves infected with the Albanian dry rot, this move may develop into a major offensive.

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THE DEBATE IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS on a motion favoring an immediate attempt to seek a compromise peace served three purposes. It knocked on the head rumors of peace feelers emanating from Lisbon, Vichy, and Rome; it provided new proof of the robust survival of democracy in Britain; it demonstrated the extent of national solidarity behind the government's policy of maintaining the fight until Nazism is broken. The motion was put forward by three members of the Independent Labor Party, whose arguments received a perfectly orderly hearing before being almost unanimously rejected in the lobbies. They proposed that Hitler should be approached now with the offer of a peace conference on the basis of acceptance by both sides of "the restoration of freedom in all countries" and of a common pool of material resources "to bring about a new civilization in the world." The lofty optimism of these proposals suggests blind ignorance of the nature of Nazi ideology. The statement by John McGovern, mover of the resolution, that Britain today was nearer to totalitarian government than it had ever been before shows a sad lack of appreciation of the realities of totalitarian rule. In reply Clement Attlee, speaking for the government, said with marked understatement: "Probably this debate is one which would not be tolerated in any other country at war." That is the crux of the matter. If German pacifists were allowed to speak their minds freely and denounce Hitler's ambitions, then a compromise between Germany and Britain might be possible, for the two countries would again be recognizing common values. But between totalitarianism and democracy there is no means of communication save by the broken bridge of appeasement.

*

PROPOSALS FOR EXTENDING CREDIT TO Franco continue to be reported and denied. Such a move would be the most hopeless attempt at appeasement yet on record. Aside from the ethics of helping a dictator who has instituted one of the most brutal regimes in Europe, what concerns us is the utter futility of a course which would be based on the assumption that General Franco is free to decide whether he will enter the war. Nothing could be farther from the fact. With a huge German army poised on the Spanish border, Franco must enter the war when Hitler gives the word and on Hitler's terms. If, frustrated in the Balkans, Hitler decides tomorrow that he must seize Gibraltar in order to bolster his ebbing prestige, Franco will have no choice but to participate in the attack. If, on the other hand, Hitler prefers to wait until Spain has accumulated foodstuffs, gasoline, and other needed supplies, Franco can wait. Britain's experience with Italy last spring should provide a clear answer to anyone who professes to hope that Spain will remain out of the war if we provide it with sufficient supplies. Hitler has other plans for Spain, as he had for Italy.

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THE CHARGE THAT THE WALSH-HEALEY ACT is obstructing the placing of defense orders has been given considerable prominence in the daily press. Basis for the charge is alleged to be found in the annual report of Rear Admiral Ray Spear, chief of the navy's Bureau of Supplies and Accounts. Regarding the facts there can be no dispute. Specific cases cited in the report show the difficulties encountered by the Navy Department in placing orders for equipment because of employers' objections to complying with the provisions of the Walsh-Healey Act, particularly in the matter of hours of work and payment of overtime. From this the inference is drawn, in the press, that the law is a menace to the national defense and should be changed. A careful reading of the report does not, however, justify this conclusion. It indicates, on the contrary, that in an effort to controvert the wages and hours provisions of the Walsh-Healey Act, now practically identical with the Labor Standards Act, the manufacturers of certain articles needed for defense engaged in an organized sitdown strike. The report naturally does not use such harsh words in describing the difficulties encountered in placing a contract for 2,000 aircraft clocks, but the uniform opposition to accepting contracts requiring compliance with the provisions of the Walsh-Healey Act strongly suggests what, if labor were involved, would be called conspiracy. The fact that obstruction of this type was confined to a few industries reinforces the suspicion that it was not spontaneous. The President has power under the Selective Service Act to deal with situations of this kind.

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THE UNSCRUPULOUSNESS OF COMMUNISTS and their capacity for mischief make it all too easy to slide into an attitude of indifference toward such organized red-hunts as the Rapp-Coudert committee is now sponsoring in the New York City school system. The disposition to give the green light to these enterprises is dangerous, even when they are conducted with a greater show of decency than the Dies committee allows. They serve to obscure in the public mind the simple fact that membership in the Communist Party is not a violation of the laws of this country or of any of the forty-eight states. Communists, like Republicans and Buchmanites, may, in the pursuit of their peculiar interests, violate the law, and when they do they should be prosecuted. A legislative committee bent on uncovering violations of the law is justifiable and may be useful, but so far the Rapp-Coudert committee has been nothing of the sort. It appears to be interested solely in "exposing" Communists as such. If any violations of the law, in letter or in spirit, have figured in the proceedings, they must be chalked up against the committee itself, which has sought to compel witnesses to testify, in private and without counsel, before a one-man subcommittee without allowing them a transcript of their testimony; which has ordered trade-union officials to hand over their membership lists, and permitted witnesses to damage professional reputations without being subjected to cross-examination. It is too bad that not one of the accused has seen fit to come forward and say, "Yes, I'm a Communist. What of it?" That might bring matters to a head and confront the committee with a real issue in place of backstairs gossip. But who supposes that the Couderts and the Dieses are looking for real issues?

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ALTHOUGH THE ST. LAWRENCE SEAWAY and power treaty may encounter bitter opposition in the Senate when it is resubmitted by President Roosevelt, there seems little danger that the 1934 rejection will be repeated. The President is on strong ground when he insists that both the navigation and the power aspects of the project would contribute substantially to the national defense. Opening of the Great Lakes to navigation by deep-sea vessels would give the United States protected ports far in the interior of the country. And this, as the President points out, would permit the creation of new shipbuilding facilities in sheltered sections of the country. Fully as important would be the creation of a vast amount of new, cheap power available for use in congested industrial areas. Economically, the project was felt to be sound enough in ordinary times to justify financing it by private capital alone; under present circumstances it should pay for itself in a comparatively short period. Politically, the prospects for the project have been materially improved by the withdrawal of the opposition of Ontario's Premier Hepburn. While the temper of the new Senate has not manifested itself, a reversal of the 1934 verdict seems assured.

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ANY ADVANTAGE THAT CHINA MAY GAIN from the recent American loan will be more than offset if shipments of strategic war materials from this country to Japan are continued. Despite much discussion of the possibility, no embargo has yet been placed on the export of petroleum or ordinary gasoline. There has been no interference with the shipment of copper. Nor has action been taken even to stop the export of zinc and steel, two metals desperately needed in our own defense program. The *Wall Street Journal* reports that zinc and brass fabricating plants all over the country are being forced to curtail work needed for the defense program because of a shortage of zinc attributable primarily to huge shipments to Japan. In the case of steel, a serious shortage hampering all types of defense work is expected to materialize within the next six months. The new facilities which are being constructed are not expected to be completed in less than nine months and may possibly take much longer. Under the circumstances, quite apart from the question of arming a potential enemy, it is only sound sense to restrict exports until the emergency is past.

FOR THE SECOND TIME WITHIN A YEAR THE Supreme Court, speaking through Justice Black, has interfered to bring justice to a Negro in the South. On last February 12—Lincoln's birthday—the court set aside the conviction of four Negroes in Florida for murder on the ground that their confessions had been obtained by third-degree methods. This time it set free a Negro convicted of rape, and it did so on the ground that the Texas county in which he was convicted discriminated against Negroes in picking its grand juries. "For racial discrimination to result in the exclusion from jury service of otherwise qualified groups," Justice Black wrote for a unanimous court, "not only violates our Constitution and the laws enacted under it but is at war with our basic concepts of a democratic society and a representative government." The decision shows the court again going beyond the words of a statute and even the intentions of those enforcing it to the actual result. The Texas statute does not discriminate against Negroes. The jury commissioners testified that their failure to put any Negroes on the jury involved in this case was not intentional, if discriminatory. Justice Black ruled that the conviction must be reversed whether the discrimination was "accomplished ingeniously or ingenuously."

Financing Britain

IT IS time for us to engage in some cool, realistic thinking about the problem of financing British purchases in this country, and to do that we must grasp the meaning to Britain of American planes, steel, and other war supplies. These goods do not represent merely an addition to a margin of safety: they are the one hope of establishing that material superiority over Germany without which British courage and will to win cannot produce victory.

The question has become urgent, not because British dollar resources are now exhausted, but because they are largely pledged to meet contracts already signed for deliveries stretching well into 1942. To offset losses through air and submarine raids and to keep pace with increased German production in the occupied territories, Britain must be able to expand vastly its purchases in America, and it cannot go ahead making commitments unless it is able to insure payment. For instance, it has become essential for Britain to supplement its shipbuilding capacity in order to offset the dent which sea warfare is making in the merchant marine. It is buying, at inflated prices, all the serviceable American ships it can get, but it also needs hundreds of new vessels, and our yards are already booked nearly to capacity. Plans are therefore being drawn up for the construction of new yards to be financed by the British government at a tentative total cost of $750,000,000. This illustrates the enormous sums involved in keeping Britain supplied with the absolute essentials of victory.

In recent days British representatives have been meeting with Administration officials, and there have been many hints that something is going to be done. It has been suggested that a way may be found of getting around the provisions of the Johnson and Neutrality acts through the instrumentality of the Export-Import Bank or the Stabilization Fund. We sincerely hope there will be no resort to such hole-in-the-corner tactics. The time has come to face the issues, and we look to the President to present a concrete program to Congress and to explain his reasons to the people at large by means of the radio.

The first item in such a program should be the repeal of the Johnson and Neutrality acts, which are doing nothing to keep us out of war but are acting as a pair of self-imposed handcuffs hindering our declared policy of "all aid short of war." But do not let us think that repeal, by itself, would solve Britain's financial problem. It would enable a private loan to be floated if terms could be arranged with the bankers. In the last war a bond issue was floated with British-owned American securities pledged as collateral. British holdings of United States stocks and bonds in September, 1939, were estimated at around $1,000,000,000, but subsequent sales have reduced this total by something like a fifth. The remainder would cover a loan of perhaps $600,000,000. But obviously this would add nothing to existing British resources; it would only assist their quick mobilization and prevent losses through forced liquidation in a poor market. At best, therefore, it only means postponing for a short time the problem of finding new financial resources.

One proposal which is meeting with a certain amount of press support and will undoubtedly find advocates in Congress is that the United States should buy from Britain its Atlantic and Caribbean colonies. It is suggested that the value of this "real estate" for defense purposes would make it worth while to pay a really generous price. The promoters of this idea, however, fail to take into account the fact that the inhabitants of these colonies do not want to be sold and would rather be British subjects than American wards. Nor has any consideration been given to how such acquisitions would be fitted into the American economy. Are they to be brought within our customs boundaries, or are we to use them simply as fortresses without taking any responsibility for the welfare of their inhabitants? We trust that further discussion of this plan will expose it for what it is—a piece of half-baked imperialism.

We should also like to enter a caveat against a government loan to Britain unless the contract is so drawn as to prevent a new war-debts controversy. Such a loan would, in effect, be a loan of goods and should be repayable only in goods. Hence the rate of repayment after the war would depend on our willingness to facilitate the entry of British merchandise.

But even if this safeguard could be introduced, we should prefer outright gifts or subsidies to loans. Either the interests of this country are vitally affected by the outcome of Britain's struggle or they are not. If we have only a sentimental stake in the war, if it is a matter of indifference to our future whether Britain goes down to total defeat or, faced by hopeless odds, buys peace by adopting totalitarian government and agreeing to further Hitler's world empire, then we should neither give nor lend money. But the whole "short-of-war" policy, which has been indorsed by the vast majority of Americans, is premised on the belief that the defeat of Hitler is our vital concern. This being so, is our aid to Britain to be confined to the filling of profitable contracts and the granting of loans on a strictly business basis? Britain is not sparing itself in this fight. Its people are paying daily in blood, sweat, and tears. Surely if their victory means to us what we say it does, we are prepared to see that they do not fail for lack of dollars.

Food for Nazi Victims?

ELSEWHERE in this issue of *The Nation* will be found two articles presenting opposing views on the question of feeding the populations of the German-occupied areas of Europe. Both are persuasive; both are humanitarian in the truest sense of the word. In this country we have large surpluses of wheat, corn, and other foods, much of which may soon go to waste. In Europe there are millions of persons who, if not actually faced with starvation, are threatened with undernourishment, illness, and an abnormal death-rate if they do not receive aid. The ones who will suffer most are the wholly innocent—mothers, children, and invalids in the occupied countries. Yet any aid given will, in some degree, weaken England's one reliable weapon—the blockade—and thereby play into Hitler's hands.

This is a heartbreaking issue, all the more difficult because we still lack the information that is necessary to a final decision. We have, for instance, widely varying stories as to the extent of the food shortage in Europe. Mr. Possony is inclined, on the basis of careful study, to minimize the deficiency. Dr. Hamilton gives no figures, but assumes a condition comparable to that which existed in Germany in 1919 after more than four years of war. Equally unknown is the extent to which American food, if sent, would make it possible for Germany to drain supplies from the conquered territories. We know that Germany has already confiscated large amounts of food in Denmark, Norway, Holland, and France. We know that within recent weeks substantial amounts have been shipped from Spain to Germany, despite an unquestioned shortage of food in Spain. We do not know to what degree American food distributed to the occupied areas could be kept from Germany by careful supervision. Obviously, any distribution of food will lighten Hitler's burden and increase the productive value of the occupied countries. But there would undoubtedly be a difference between the effects of a distribution of food by, say, the Quakers, and the effects of its distribution by an organization functioning under the politically ambitious Mr. Hoover, who has set up a committee composed largely of persons known for their anti-British bias to supply food to the "five small democracies."

Before deciding whether we should or should not use our influence to induce the British to weaken their blockade, even to a limited extent, it seems imperative that we first obtain authentic information on these points. The actual food situation in the occupied areas can be determined with fair accuracy if Germany is willing to allow the facts to be known. It should also be possible to find out to what degree Germany is prepared to cooperate in allowing an efficient, neutral supervision of the distribution of food. Such information can be had only by sending an able, responsible investigating commission to Europe. We have scattered information—from the Quakers regarding France and from Jewish organizations regarding Poland; but the type of information we need can be obtained only from the German and British governments by an official or semi-official delegation. Even if one feels in advance, as Mr. Roosevelt apparently does, that food should not be sent, such a conclusion would be far more convincing if it were based on the investigation of an impartial commission.

But even if general relief cannot be given without endangering England's, and therefore Europe's, one hope of victory, there may be ways of extending limited aid under adequate safeguards. It might be possible, for instance, to feed the children and the sick under some such supervision as the Quakers could provide. Neither children nor the infirm can be transformed into productive workers for the Reich. For this reason they are unlikely to be cared for if the food situation becomes as desperate as some observers have predicted that it will. Furthermore, it should be possible to work out some provision for feeding the refugees and political prisoners in the concentration camps. Reports indicate that these unfortunate victims have been getting little to eat under ordinary circumstances. If the situation became worse, they would almost certainly starve without outside aid. Food for special groups such as these would hardly make a dent in the British blockade.

It may be, of course, that Great Britain would oppose even such restricted aid to the victims of Nazi aggression. But the real obstacles are likely to be interposed by Germany. Hitler may feel that it is unwise to allow any neutral group to know the true conditions in the occupied areas. He may be afraid to permit the democracies to gain the prestige that would accrue from feeding hungry children, the ill, and the oppressed. If the Third Reich is determined to starve its subject populations rather than allow assistance from abroad under rigid political safeguards, the sooner that fact is known the better. Before committing ourselves let us have the full facts so that we can judge the issue on its merits.

Watch Joe Kennedy!

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

THE appeasement forces in the United States begin to coalesce, to harden into organized bodies, to find leaders and spokesmen. Soft, vague peace-lovers are being sloughed off or, if their names have value, are attached as camp followers. The tough ones remain. Two of the toughest, who may well emerge as leaders in a movement which must draw influence and financing from the right and members from the left, are John L. Lewis and Joseph P. Kennedy. Follow the course of these two men from today on. Both are strong and determined and devious, and they know what they want. Ostensibly they want peace for their country—even if that peace rests finally on the sword-point of triumphant fascism. In practice this means that they will prevent by all the means in their power the continued increase of American aid to Britain. They will try to spread a mood of defeat, contempt both for Britain's chances and the cause for which it is battling. They will try to make us lose faith in ourselves, in the vitality of our institutions and our power to defend them. In short, whether deliberately or by accident, they will work for the victory of the Axis.

The organization through which they will work will probably be the America First Committee. As far as I know, neither man is now a member, but the committee is well organized, well backed, and staffed with a collection of expert big-time appeasers, including William R. Castle, Jr., Henry Ford, and Charles A. Lindbergh. Kathryn Lewis is also on the national advisory board of the committee and may be assumed to represent her father's views, since they coincide to the last detail with the America First program. As for Kennedy, he can hardly become an active member until his resignation as ambassador to Great Britain has been accepted. Why the President failed to accept it the day it was submitted is a mystery. Perhaps he hoped the title would serve as a partial curb on Mr. Kennedy's infinite capacity for indiscretion. If so, he should have known better. The Ambassador's outspoken nature is as notorious in London as it is in the United States, and not even his equal facility in denying his quoted remarks has offset the effect of his irresponsible babblings while in office. Surely it would be better to allow Kennedy to spread defeatist propaganda as a member of the America First Committee than as ambassador.

Watch these three: the committee, the ex-envoy, the ex-labor leader. They are all dangerous, and it takes no prescience to assert that they will soon be found working together.

The probable role of John L. Lewis will be discussed in a later issue. This week I want to review very briefly the record of Joseph P. Kennedy. He was, to start with, nor has he ceased to be, essentially a Wall Street man with a flair for successful stock manipulation. His record prior to his selection by President Roosevelt for head of the SEC was as innocent of any taint of public service as that of Wendell L. Willkie. He is able and energetic, a personal friend of the President's, and was a large contributor to the Roosevelt campaign in 1932. Those were his qualifications for high office. He served as SEC chairman for a year or so, performing a function of appeasement for which he was obviously qualified by conviction and temperament. Then he went to the Maritime Commission, where he tackled a well-nigh hopeless job realistically and without any marked success. He got on badly with labor, well with the industry, and at least demonstrated an unusual degree of frankness in publicly reporting on the true state of maritime affairs. His appointment as ambassador to the Court of St. James's was greeted with good-humored tolerance even by liberals, including *The Nation.* Among rich men of no diplomatic experience—the type traditionally chosen for the most important diplomatic post in the service—he seemed more human and independent than most. One could not foresee what effect the impact of fascism and war would have on the mind of a Boston Irish-American turned big business man.

The full facts were revealed by Munich. Whether it was by Kennedy's advice that Mr. Roosevelt made his well-intentioned and ill-fated attempts to bring the dictators to reason I do not know. The New York *Times,* in an editorial laboriously whitewashing the Ambassador, insists that he "played his part to the full" in that effort. It is certain, in any case, that at the time of Munich he stood solidly with the appeasement elements in the British government; it is certain that he took the same view when the showdown finally came in 1939. His close associates in England were the arch-capitulators, Montagu Norman and Sir Horace Wilson and Sir John Simon, and, of course, Chamberlain himself. It will not be forgotten that soon after his appointment Kennedy told a friend with disarming candor, "I'm just like that with Chamberlain. Why, Franklin himself isn't as confidential with me as the Prime Minister."

Kennedy's recent record has been definitively set down by Joseph Alsop and Robert Kintner in the New York *Herald Tribune*. I'll quote a few paragraphs which sum it up perfectly:

> After the war began he bombarded the [State] Department with repeated expressions of almost unalloyed defeatism. Sometimes these were too extreme to suit Kennedy himself and he would then telephone the department and ask that his previous day's cable be read in the light of another dispatch. But unless his former associates are wilfully misrepresenting him Kennedy's warning to the President that Britain was utterly worthless as an ally, sent a few weeks before his return, was fairly typical of his regular output.
>
> Since Kennedy's return to this country his course has been pretty difficult to follow. For example, at a luncheon with a number of extremely influential men in New York just after he landed he was understood to say that "Britain is busted." Yet unless the President misheard him, or misquoted him to the Treasury, he warned the President while he was in Washington against being deceived into extending financial aid to Britain by any false British pleas of exhausted resources.
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> Again, although the Kennedy pattern appears to be a leading business man, politician, or publisher frightened into something approaching a fit, he has flatly denied being a defeatist. Fortunately, however, there is Kennedy's Boston interview to throw light on the situation.
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> It was in this remarkable interview, first printed in the Boston *Globe*, that Kennedy most fully admitted the public to his secret mind, covering Norman with grease, denouncing such British leaders as Ernest Bevin as the precursors of "National Socialism," and declaring frankly that Lindbergh "is not so crazy either."
>
> The interview was written by Louis Lyons, a highly reputable reporter and one of Kennedy's oldest journalistic friends. It was read to Kennedy on the morning it was printed, when one of the *Globe* editors telephoned him for comment on the death of Neville Chamberlain. Kennedy offered no objection. It was again read to him the same afternoon when British newspapers and news services requested permission to quote it. On this occasion Kennedy was specifically asked to approve the quotations appearing in the interview and willingly consented to do so. Yet a day or so later, after he found himself in trouble, he blandly repudiated the same interview he had twice heard and passed on, declaring it was not authorized and tended to misrepresent him. Under the circumstances, one wonders what weight to attach to Kennedy's subsequent loud disclaimers of defeatism and appeasement tendencies.

Another talented pair of Washington reporters, Drew Pearson and Robert S. Allen, have added a few items of Kennediana in their own syndicated column. They say that the Ambassador at a private gathering in Hollywood repeated his conviction that Britain was as good as defeated and that the United States should help Britain only to gain time for its own rearmament. And he said that Hollywood should stop making films offensive to the dictators. The column also reported that Mr. Kennedy had visited California in order to call on William Randolph Hearst, "to consider a proposal by banking interests that he join the Hearst newspaper enterprises." (It may be noted, incidentally, that this item was omitted from the column as it appeared in the New York *Mirror*, a Hearst tabloid.)

The basic motive behind Joseph P. Kennedy's peace-through-appeasement program emerges clearly from his record and from all the reports. It is evident that his passion for peace is rooted in a contempt for democracy, that his desire to appease the dictators is linked with a strong fear of socialism and the power of labor. Kennedy wants no truck with an England that is moving along the lines described by Ralph Bates in this issue. He prefers a policy of surrender in the interests of reaction. He may well become the most effective American agent of the appeasement elements that were determined to use Willkie as their leader. Mr. Kennedy will go along without even threatening to kick over the traces.

CONTENTS

THE SHAPE OF THINGS 589

EDITORIALS:

FINANCING BRITAIN 591
FOOD FOR NAZI VICTIMS? 592
WATCH JOE KENNEDY! by Freda Kirchwey 593
BEHIND THE FORD CONTRACT by I. F. Stone 595

SHALL WE FEED HITLER'S VICTIMS?

FEED THE HUNGRY! by Alice Hamilton 596
RELIEF, LIMITED by Stefan Th. Possony 597
THE DUTY OF THE EMIGRE by J. Alvarez del Vayo 599
THE INDIVISIBLE WAR—III by Ralph Bates 601
THE DECLINE OF BOSS HAGUE by Will Chasan 605
IN THE WIND 607
A NATIVE AT LARGE by Jonathan Daniels 608

BOOKS AND THE ARTS:

NOTES BY THE WAY by Margaret Marshall 609
THINGS IN THE SADDLE by Hans Kohn 610
MR. HACKETT'S SECOND COUNTRY by Keith Hutchison 611
AMBASSADOR TO THE HEMISPHERE by Eliot Janeway 612
VITAMINS by Hugh H. Darby 613
RECORDS by B. H. Haggin 614

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Behind the Ford Contract

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, December 9

EDWARD F. McGRADY has many friends here. He was labor trouble-shooter for Newton D. Baker in the last war and for Hugh Johnson during the NRA. His appointment to a similar position under Secretary of War Stimson has won wide approval. This is the story of the first of the hot potatoes he must handle. His friends say that he thrives on them.

The story concerns Henry Ford and the readiness of the Administration to keep its word to labor. "In times of emergency even more than in ordinary times," Secretary Stimson told the A. F. of L. convention at New Orleans on November 18, "the responsible trade union is an indispensable instrument of national well-being because through it the free cooperation of labor is enlisted and assured in the national task which confronts us." Presumably the Defense Commission agrees. For in the statement of labor policy issued by it on August 31 it said that "all work carried on as part of the defense program should comply with federal statutory provisions affecting labor." The Wagner Act was specifically mentioned in that statement as one of the statutes to be enforced on defense contracts. Ford, with no fewer than six Labor Board decisions outstanding against him, one of them already upheld in the United States Circuit Court, is the country's foremost violator of the Wagner Act. Yet he has just been awarded his second contract.

This new contract involves some unusual angles here brought to public attention for the first time. The excuse for the first contract, awarded the day after the election, was the desperate need for plane engines. Ford was given a $122,000,000 contract for some 3,000 air-cooled Pratt and Whitney engines. There is no such excuse for the second contract, which was cleared by the Defense Commission on November 27. This is a $2,000,000 contract, of which $600,000 is for light five-passenger cars and $1,400,000 for trucks. Both cars and trucks could have been purchased elsewhere. If Mr. McGrady will investigate that part of the contract which is for trucks he will find that certain officials of the Defense Commission and the War Department have gone out of their way to favor Ford. He will learn not only that the award of this contract to Ford has angered labor's representatives on the Defense Commission and precipitated a bitter behind-the-scenes fight but also that it has disgusted many ranking officers of the army. For Ford is being permitted to "muscle in" and reap the benefit of an important new development in mechanized warfare, with great peace-time potentialities, although the army itself and a small manufacturer cooperating with the army did the pioneering. Mr. McGrady will discover that the Defense Commission cleared the Ford contract even though Ford has yet to meet the army's specifications for these trucks. Pressure is now being brought to bear by Ford and by his friends on the commission and in the War Department to change the specifications to meet what Ford can produce rather than what the army needs.

The "trucks," as they are called in the Defense Commission release, are actually not trucks at all but a new type of four-wheel-drive midget car which can serve many purposes. It can go cross-country. It can be used for reconnaissance. It can be converted into a moving machine-gun nest. It can bring up supplies to men and fuel to tanks. The idea for such a car seems to have originated several years ago with Lieutenant Colonel Robert G. Howie, stationed at Fort Benning, Georgia. It was scoffed at in military circles until the German attack on the Low Countries and France showed that the Nazis were using a similar vehicle. The Quartermaster Corps remained skeptical until Charles H. Payne, assistant to the head of the Bantam Automobile Company at Butler, Pennsylvania, managed to reach Harry Woodring, then Secretary of War. Woodring saw the possibilities in this midget military vehicle. A technical committee representing ordnance, infantry, cavalry, and Quartermaster Corps went to the Bantam plant. Plans were worked out by army officers and Bantam. Bids were asked in June for seventy cars. Only Bantam and Willys Overland bid, and the former was awarded the contract. Bantam built the seventy cars within the time limit set, and they met with an enthusiastic reception when they were given a test about six weeks ago at Fort Myer.

The Ford Company had been watching developments closely. Ford representatives appeared at the Bantam plant after the first contract was awarded. I am told that they said they were not interested in bidding on the midget military car but wanted to see if they could sell Bantam the Ford motor or any parts. They examined the drawings and discussed plans with Bantam officials. After the test at Fort Myer the army decided to order 1,500 cars for extended field tests. The order was to go to Bantam, but the Quartermaster Corps made an informal commitment to Ford and Willys Overland for 500 cars each. The Quartermaster Corps was overruled, and the contract for the 1,500 went to Bantam. The contract was cleared on November 25. Meanwhile influence had been brought to bear on the Defense Commission, and the Defense Commission in turn brought pressure on the army. It was decided to "develop other sources of supply" and to give a contract for 1,500 each to Ford and Willys-Overland provided they could meet specifications. The most important specification is that of weight, which is set at 2,000 pounds so that the car will be light enough to be picked up by its crew. The Willys-Overland car is said to be 400 pounds heavier than that; the Ford about 200 pounds heavier. Yet a contract was cleared on November 27 for Ford, and a revision upward of the weight specification is being sought.

Huge orders for ten-and-a-half-ton trucks go to General Motors on the ground that to give one manufacturer a large order permits "standardization." But although 8,000 or 10,000 of these midget cars are all that the army is likely to want, the orders are to be split among three manufacturers on the ground of "developing additional sources of supply." Ford may or may not be able to meet specifications and begin production at once. Bantam needs the order, and Butler, Pennsylvania, needs the extra employment. Bantam could concentrate on the midget car and turn out all the army needs within a year. To give the work to Bantam would spread defense work, reward a small manufacturer for cooperating with the army, make it unnecessary to award another defense contract to a Wagner Act violator.

Behind Ford's eagerness to get the contract is the hope that after the war this midget car can be developed into an all-purpose farm machine which can pull a plow by day and take the family to the movies at night. The "bottleneck" is the Spicer axle used in these cars, and the next step will be an attempt to obtain priority for Ford on the axles. This contract, though cleared by the Defense Commission, cannot take effect until Ford meets army specifications or the specifications are changed. There is still time to show labor that the Defense Commission and the War Department intend to keep their promises.

Shall We Feed Hitler's Victims?

[*The two articles which follow are not presented as a debate but rather as two answers to a highly controversial problem.* The Nation's *own views on the subject are discussed editorially in this issue.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

Feed the Hungry!

BY ALICE HAMILTON

THE Quakers are asking for help to send food to France, to the Low Countries, to Norway. We answer their plea with a refusal, because to send food would be to weaken the British blockade and thus perhaps bring about Britain's defeat, or at least prolong the war. We say that if we try to feed the conquered countries we shall be feeding Germany, since even if Hitler does not commandeer our supplies he will be able to keep for his own people the food which, without our help, he would be obliged to send to those countries. If it is really impossible to help these people without indirectly helping Germany, then throughout this winter we shall have to watch the inevitable starvation of thousands of helpless people, especially the "sick persons and young children" whom for centuries Christians have commended to the care of a merciful God.

Many Americans who are quite as kind and pitiful as I am believe that this is the right thing to do, but they do not know what mass starvation is, they have not seen it with their own eyes as I have. The memory of it has been so burned into my mind that now, after twenty-one years, I cannot keep silent if that weapon is to be deliberately used again. In June and July of 1919 I went with Jane Addams and Carolena Wood, a Quaker, over a large part of Germany, to see what the blockade had done to the people. It had just been lifted, for though the terms of the Armistice had called for its lifting in November, that promise had not been kept. Not until peace was signed in June was food allowed to go in, for the victorious powers knew that the Treaty of Versailles would never be accepted except under the compulsion of starvation. We had heard in Paris that every time the German government hesitated or refused, a mob would form in the Alexanderplatz, a mob of the starving, and march to the Wilhelmstrasse clamoring for peace and bread.

Before we saw Germany we had seen the devastation in France. It was terrible enough, but it was the destruction of buildings made of bricks and stone. In Germany we saw the slow destruction of people of flesh and blood, and that is far worse. As I think back I see hospital wards full of children with multiple bone tuberculosis, with great masses of tuberculous glands such as no American doctor ever sees nowadays, with tuberculosis of the lungs, and the form called lupus, "the wolf," because it eats into the skin, forming deep ulcers. I remember an outdoor hospital in Frankfurt where naked boys lay in the sunshine, the only thing that the blockade could not shut out, their ribs and shoulder blades showing through their skin, their arms and legs like sticks.

I remember their midday lunch, a bowl of soup made of coarse meal—12 per cent bran—and green leaves with a few drops of vegetable margarine. I can see a little village in the Erzgebirge where the kindly schoolmaster told us of the terrible "turnip winter" of 1917, when the potato crop failed and for weeks Saxony had no food in its markets except white turnips. In that village there were children of three years who had never been able to learn to walk, boys of thirteen and fourteen who were little old men, shrunken and weazened.

Is it true that if we send food to France the Germans would take it? The Quakers say it is not true. Ex-President Hoover says it is not true. The Quakers are even now distributing to the people of unoccupied France food which they buy in Switzerland and Portugal, and they have no trouble at all with the Germans. Fifty-six Quakers are over there directing relief, and surely their word can be trusted. The Polish Relief Commission* and the Red Cross tell us that the Germans have helped, not hindered, relief in Poland. Moreover, the Quakers are ready to promise that, should the Germans commandeer their supplies, they would at once withdraw, and their record in Spain proves that they can make a most effective protest.

The defenders of the blockade quote statistics to show that in the near future the occupied countries will be so close to starvation that there will be uprisings against the Germans and this will help to break Hitler's power. But starving people have no strength to revolt, and the day of uprisings of unarmed mobs is past. What can street barricades do against tanks and machine-guns, to say nothing of bombing planes? It is true that in the last war the blockade did succeed in starving the Germans, but now, with most of Europe under the sway of Germany, this does not seem possible. Surely it is the conquered countries that will suffer most; probably they alone will know extreme privation.

One wonders what our own position will be after this war is over. We shall have to live with these countries, and it may be hard if we have won the hatred of a whole generation. The French, the Dutch, the Belgians, the Norwegians know that we have a surplus of foodstuffs which we would gladly be rid of. What will be their feeling toward us if we make no effort to send it to them who need it so sorely? In 1919 one of the most tragic things I found in Germany was the cynical disillusionment of the people, who had thought that when the war ended, starvation and hatred would cease and a new Europe would begin. The soldiers came back home to find wife and children starving, and then followed six months of an even tighter blockade, and then Versailles. Who can say how much the resentment engendered by this bitter experience was responsible for Hitler's rise? As the food stringency increases through the winter, the people of the conquered countries will come to resent the blockade more than they do the German occupation, for when you are hungry and your children are crying for bread, you can think about nothing, literally, except food. May not this turn them more toward the Germans, away from those responsible for their hunger?

This war is being fought to save the values for which civilized people stand—not only for freedom and justice but for mercy and a belief in the supreme worth of each human being. If we choose as our weapon starvation, not of the fighting forces but of the most helpless, are we not destroying the very values we seek to save? We may tell ourselves that as soon as the war is over we will hasten to bind up the wounds, to feed the hungry, to win back our friends. But we cannot bring the dead back to life or hope to drive out the spirit of bitter resentment in the survivors.

The Quakers and the Red Cross and Herbert Hoover and the refugees from the conquered countries tell us that the hungry can be fed if we will help them and induce the British to permit our foodstuffs to go through. All our instincts, all our traditions bid us do this. If we refuse, we are yielding to a policy that is cruel and un-Christian and at the same time needless.

Relief, Limited

BY STEFAN TH. POSSONY

CAN America send food to the people in the countries conquered by Germany without aiding Germany and Italy and weakening the British blockade? This is a question with which American public opinion is deeply concerned; it can be answered only after a thorough examination of the facts and after the following preliminary questions have been answered: What kind of foodstuffs does Europe need and in what quantities? How can the distribution of food be reliably supervised? What direct and indirect effects would such food distribution have upon the German war economy?

Chief attention is focused on the conquered countries of Northern and Western Europe, which must import agricultural products and which normally have a food deficit of about 25 per cent. Hitherto this deficit has been made up partly by imports from other European countries—for example, synthetic fertilizer from Germany, feed corn from the Balkans—and partly by imports from overseas. The entire region at present under Axis control—that is to say, Germany and Italy, most of the Balkans, Poland, and the conquered countries of Western Europe—has, with normal crops, a food deficit of 12 to 15 per cent (figures of the Deutsches Institut für Konjunkturforschung). Since the last crop was probably far below the average, the present deficit in Axis territory must run to approximately 20 per cent. This deficit is chiefly in high-grade foods, such as fats, meat, fish, fruit, and milk, and in feed and phosphate fertilizer; grain, potatoes, vegetables, and sugar are probably available in sufficient quantities.

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* See the letter from Maurice Pate in *The Nation* of November 9, 1940.

One way of coping with this shortage is through rationing, which can be carried out in Western Europe within certain limitations without impairing the general health. In addition, the food requirements can be shifted to products raised at home which were not consumed as long as more palatable items could be imported from abroad. Production can also be increased almost everywhere, especially the production of grain, vegetables, goats' milk, and rabbit meat. This can be done in France by the utilization of large areas of fallow land and the intensified cultivation of subsistence gardens; in those countries which have hitherto been unfamiliar with scientific agriculture—that is, all countries except Germany, the Netherlands, and Denmark—it can be accomplished by the application of Germany's huge surplus of potash and nitrate fertilizers. The use of synthetic fertilizer can make agricultural production rise by leaps and bounds despite the lack of phosphates, which have been cut off by the blockade. It should be understood, furthermore, that existing shortages may be met, at least until the next crop comes in, by the supplies in storage.

It seems clear, therefore, that the per capita calory consumption in countries under Axis control need not necessarily decline greatly, certainly not to the point of famine. Vitamin consumption, however, is likely to fall steeply, and it is here that the real danger lies. Germany is staving it off with synthetic vitamin compounds, undoubtedly with a measure of success. But this procedure has certain limitations: not all vitamins can be manufactured; production cannot meet the quantity requirements; synthetic vitamins by no means eliminate the need for natural vitamins. Synthetic foodstuffs, moreover, give rise to indigestion and stomach ailments, partly because they provide insufficient bulk. Nor should one forget that general conditions in the Axis regions—lack of soap, warm water, and heat, the use of unheated bomb shelters, and the psychological irritants resulting from the war—have increased the demand for nourishing foods.

The results of a diminution and deterioration of the food supply are seen first in weakened nervous and physical resistance and lessened working capacity, then in acute hunger epidemics, and finally, when the supply has fallen below a very low limit of calories, in famine and death. The phase of weakened resistance is shown most quickly by children, pregnant women, nursing mothers, and sick people. Supplies of food at present available in the Axis regions exclude any danger that the third phase will ever be reached; even the second is highly unlikely as things are today, though resistance to disease may be noticeably lowered in regions where an already undernourished population is put on short rations, as in Poland.

Emergency action to counteract a lessened working capacity is unnecessary and would merely serve to injure Great Britain. Conditions in Europe today certainly do not demand it on a large scale provided the Continental transport system functions and the Nazis distribute evenly all existing foodstuffs. The Central European transportation network has suffered greatly since the outbreak of the war and is of doubtful capacity. Many local breakdowns are caused by the bombs of the RAF. On the other hand, the freight load has fallen since the disappearance of a front in France, and many towboats have become available for inland and coastal shipping. As for fair distribution, it is certain that Germany and Italy will take for themselves whatever they need; it is equally certain, however, that they will try to prevent famine in the occupied territories which serve as bases against England. If they wish to protect their soldiers from infection they will have to feed the native populations too. In spite of sensational reports to the contrary, no real undernourishment is visible except in Poland, and the present far from critical situation is not likely to become appreciably more acute for some time.

How can food distribution be supervised? That depends in great part on the extent of the proposed distribution. During the World War, when the problem was to feed seven or eight million people in Belgium and northern France, there was reasonably effective control. That it was not as effective as is claimed is shown by the following remark of Princess Blücher, the wife of a high official in the German Foreign Ministry: "I can add that England, without knowing it, is paying for our dinners, for the food that we are able to obtain generally comes from Belgium and was sent to feed the Belgians" ("Notes Intimes"). If Britain continued to permit the supplies to go through, this was chiefly because even greater infractions than those that occurred would hardly have mattered. During the World War for every Belgian or Frenchman supplied with American food there were some fifteen starving Germans and Austrians. Today for every person in the conquered western and northern states there are but two and one-quarter Germans and Italians—only one and one-half if Eastern Europe is added to the West and North. If food were sent to the European population today, any diversion of it by the Axis would benefit ten times as many Germans and Italians as were benefited during the last war. And since today it is not a question of feeding a mere seven to eight million persons, but of feeding forty-five million in Western Europe and an additional twenty to thirty million in Eastern Europe, control would be proportionately more difficult.

In the World War, moreover, control was tied up with certain political realities that no longer exist today. The Comité Nationale, which supervised food distribution in Belgium, enjoyed the confidence of the British and was regarded by the Belgian population almost as a substitute for the Belgian government. Under present conditions it is unthinkable that the Nazis would tolerate such a committee. The only committee that could operate today would consist of Quislings and de Mans, and such a committee would certainly not command the confidence of Great Britain. Effective control could be exercised only by means of a large staff. If this staff were loyal to England or composed of neutrals, Germany would hardly tolerate it; if it were composed of persons loyal to Germany, England would have no guaranties.

Control of large-scale food distribution in all or most of the countries occupied by Germany seems, therefore, hardly practicable. Alleviation of an acute emergency in a limited region, however, offers fewer difficulties. Certainly supplies could be sent to maternity and nursing homes, hospitals and kindergartens, milk could be dispensed in schools, and food could be distributed to prisoners of war if Germany would admit supervising agencies made up of neutrals enjoying the confidence of the British.

Even if control were air-tight, it cannot be doubted that large-scale relief for the subject peoples would benefit the German war economy. Germany can make excellent use of well-fed skilled workers and through them of the industrial plants of the conquered regions. And it would rejoice at the chance to commandeer foodstuffs from the countries under its control. Its utilization of the increased working capacity of those countries—a factor of great importance which England could under no circumstances permit—could be prevented only if relief were restricted to persons not engaged in work, such as babies, nursing mothers, and sick persons. It is erroneous to suppose that the receipt of food might prevent the migration of skilled workers to the Reich. This migration will take place if and when Germany needs workers regardless of the available food supplies. Finally, the argument that American supplies would increase the chances of a revolutionary uprising do not require refutation; Hitler would not permit the supplies to go through if this possibility existed.

Of the high-grade foodstuffs that Europe needs to combat malnutrition this country has only limited amounts for export. Part of these limited quantities would presumably be sent to the twenty million Frenchmen in unoccupied France; part would have to be reserved for England, whose health requirements are much more gravely threatened than those of any other country except Poland. Thus little would be available for the occupied regions in any event. The United States cannot think of eliminating malnutrition from a population almost as large as its own. It can contemplate no more than relief for children, pregnant women, nursing mothers, sick persons, and prisoners of war; the general population can be helped only in those depressed areas which are seen to be nearing the famine phase. Since it is impossible to foresee where shortages will be most severely felt, relief campaigns should be organized only as the crises arise.

The Duty of the Emigré

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

SINCE the fall of France the ranks of the anti-fascist émigrés in the Western Hemisphere have been greatly strengthened by the arrival of men snatched from totalitarian vengeance. In spite of legal obstacles and bureaucratic red tape, it has been possible to save lives whose loss would have impoverished the common treasury of culture and art.

Left behind in the occupied territory or in regions only nominally free are still many of our best fighters, who turn desperate eyes toward the sea in search of ships that never arrive. Among them are a hundred thousand Spaniards, men to whom the road across their own land to Portugal has been closed since the beginning of the war. They live in constant danger of being delivered over to Franco. In the past six months about five hundred of them have been returned to Spain through the cowardice of the French authorities or the brutality of the Gestapo. Some have already been executed. The fundamental duty of solidarity unites those who have been saved and those who await help, and this obligation has the same force whatever may be the nationality of the refugee—the title of anti-fascist being the only valid qualification. There can be no doubt about this duty; surely every refugee who has crossed the frontier of death feels bound to lend all aid to the work of rescue.

With respect to what I believe to be another duty of refugees—the duty of active participation in the anti-fascist struggle—opinions differ. Frequently people who are generously inclined to aid the refugees trapped in Europe retreat from any action that is not purely humanitarian.

I have heard more than one distinguished émigré argue that gratitude to this country for the hospitality accorded refugees obligates him to keep silent, to abstain from all political activity. This attitude ignores the universal character of the struggle imposed upon the world by expanding totalitarian aggression; it fails to recognize that in this decisive period there is no zone of spiritual neutrality in which a free man can take refuge without deserting his own cause and betraying the country which opened its doors, not to a tourist, but to a fighter against fascism.

The present conflict between progressive forces and totalitarian insanity takes on the same character everywhere. The outcome of the battle will have the same consequences for the people who are today fighting vigorously against the Nazi armies, for those who have already fallen under the domination of Hitler, and for those who have not yet experienced foreign invasion or seen treason successful within their own country. If it is incorrect to speak in a restricted sense of "the Battle of England"—as it was incorrect to speak of "the Battle of Spain" three years ago, as if its outcome affected only the armies which faced each other on the battlefield—it is equally unrealistic and dangerous to believe that the active assistance of the United States in the defeat of fascism is a family question involving Americans only. The battle for democracy is our battle—the battle of the Spanish people, the French people, the German people, of all people who cherish freedom—whether the military encounters take place over England or over a country where air-raid warnings have not yet been heard.

Time is short, and the chances of winning the war against Hitler are still too problematical for anybody to allow himself the luxury of relying only on the gallant efforts of the RAF or the Greek infantry to bring about victory. Behind this year of war which is drawing to a close lie four years of costly errors for which no democratic country can honestly disclaim responsibility. The people who brought about the present situation still exercise their dangerous influence in circles where foreign policy is made.

Under ordinary circumstances the question whether Lord Halifax should continue to hold the portfolio of Foreign Secretary would be one which concerned British subjects alone. But if the Battle of England is our battle, we who carry the responsibility for the death of half a million Spaniards are morally obligated to denounce the stupidly childish policy of appeasement of Spain which today dictates the position of the British Foreign Office. Men whose past record includes a "Munich" are scarcely entitled to ignore the advice of those who from the first day clearly understood that temporizing with Hitler, Mussolini, and Franco must inevitably end in a total war fought under the worst possible conditions.

Anti-fascist émigrés have a knowledge born of experience and a fighting spirit which should be used in the common cause. We do not seek to intervene in the internal politics of the country which has received us. We ask only to take our rightful place in the general struggle against Hitler, on the outcome of which depends the fate of our own people. In a word, instead of remaining inactive, simply as tolerated guests, we have the duty to participate in this last great battle. And there can be no doubt that this is the last. The margin of errors which can still be rectified grows smaller every day. A few more grave mistakes, and everything is lost; 1941 may be the decisive year.

This war is as much a political war as a military war. Time does not permit us to sit back and wait for the day when fifty thousand planes will take the air above the countries dominated by Hitler. The need to help England with the greatest possible speed and determination is obvious. But the military effort must be reinforced with political effort. Not by arms alone, but by revolutionary politics and diplomacy can Hitler be defeated.

The people who today are living under Hitler's terror—including the German people—must be led to revolt against his intolerable despotism. As I write these lines I think of Spain. For in fact Hitler and his *Gauleiter*, Franco, are the same. I cherish the belief that this war, which actually began in Spain, may end in Spain with a victory for democracy. From France, from Holland, from Norway, through a hundred apparently insignificant details, comes a message of hope. Even the Italian reverses in the eastern Mediterranean can be explained only by a spirit of revolt among the Italian peasants and workers, who seem to be more interested in defeating Mussolini than in advancing on Athens. More than an orderly retreat, it is mass desertion, clear sabotage in the classic form through which an army in opposition to the policy of the nation expresses its resistance.

The possibility of a revolutionary uprising in the occupied territory and in the countries within the German sphere of influence is no mere refugee invention. It is a reality for a not too distant day, provided that British-American policy does not apply the balm of appeasement. Unfortunately there are many types of appeasement, just as there are many types of typhus. Not long ago it was reported from London that certain elements close to the Foreign Office look upon Salvador de Madariaga as the man who might reconquer Spain for the democracies. The idea is grotesque. It is an insult to the British aviators who are risking their lives at this very moment, an insult to the heroic people of London and to the half-million Spanish fighters who lie buried in the soil of my country. Politically Señor Madariaga is a Spanish joke in exceedingly bad taste. We might as well try to make a revolution in France with Sacha

Guitry, if that entertaining comedian of the French bourgeoisie had left his country out of personal dislike for Laval or Bergery. But the everlasting appeasers will go on looking in every hotel, bar, and university of Europe and the Americas for archdukes and charlatans to whom they can safely confide the rebirth of a Europe that must go farther to the left.

Here is where the political duty of the émigrés becomes tangible and immediate. They must contribute to the revolutionary process in every way possible. But in order that their intervention in the general struggle against Hitler may be efficient it must be preceded by a union of all true anti-fascist forces in a single fighting front. That can only be achieved by the formation—here in the United States where its action could exert the broadest influence—of a sort of Central Council of the Emigration, composed of those men from the different European countries who have a record of struggle and a courageous vision of the Europe of tomorrow. There is no time to wait until the divergent tendencies within the national refugee groups crystallize in a single aim. Each national group carries within it the poison of its own internal quarrels. Nothing divides men more sharply than disillusion and defeat. I have lived through the tragedy of three emigrations. When Mussolini came to power, Italian political refugees in Europe, with whom I was in close contact, appeared to be more interested in apportioning blame for past mistakes than in seriously fighting against the Fascist regime. After 1933 the German refugees outdid the Italians; each of the old German parties split into three or four distinct branches which furiously abused one another. Then came the Spaniards, and I am not sure—in spite of three years of war which united the people with indestructible ties—that we are not the worst. But in spite of differences which divide the national groups, union is possible around a program of action that will discard negative criticism, prepare the way for the people's revolt against Hitler, and lay the basis for the new United States of Europe.

To work effectively, the Central Council of the Emigration should have at its head a few men—it is not intended to be a caricature of the League of Nations or a new P. E. N. Club—whose task would be to organize political work in the different European countries in the degree to which this work can be promoted from abroad. It would be responsible for informing the American public and anti-fascists in general about the true situation in Europe and for interpreting facts according to their real political meanings. The very existence of such a council would eliminate much of the lamentable confusion which makes possible such a fantastic proposal as the restoration of the monarchy in Spain, or some other insane project recalling the days of Versailles when little states were created at the caprice of the great powers.

This is surely an idea that lies close to the heart of everyone conscious of the responsibility resting upon him by virtue of the fact that he has been saved from the concentration camp and is free to work for a better world. But every day that is allowed to pass without putting the project into effect weakens, perhaps irreparably, our chances of ultimate victory.

The Indivisible War—III

BY RALPH BATES

British Labor Does Its Job

AT THE present moment, when even conservative observers of the war are beginning to realize that Britain must call upon movements of revolt in the conquered countries, we hear talk of a revolution having already occurred in England. This article, which is based upon the view that a revolution occurs when new classes, and their parties, either assume power or indelibly set their stamp upon social effort, will attempt to estimate the effects of the war so far on the social structure of Great Britain. It will thus be a brief study of the momentum of the British Labor movement, for the deepening of democracy and the removal of conservative and imperialist hindrances to the successful prosecution of the war will only be accomplished, in my opinion, by the ability of the Labor Party to radicalize itself, to take over effective direction of the war, and to carry popular opinion with it.

It happens that in the whole of the period following Versailles the British Labor Party has very adequately summed up, and represented, both in its strength and its weakness, the British dissent from the conservative view of society. The Labor Party has always clearly recognized that peace and prosperity would not be achieved under capitalism, but it has sensed rather than perceived the dynamic of European history. The weakness of the party has been that it has not developed a body of theory. Yet that has also been a source of strength. By refraining from those ill-executed somersaults which have characterized the so-called Marxists of Britain, the party has never isolated itself from mass opinion.

The public sentiment which the Conservative Party was able to utilize in furtherance of its foreign policy was the profound desire for peace. The disillusionment that followed the First World War, the Conservative and Liberal violation of war-time promises, and the perversity of the post-war foreign policies of Conservative governments similarly strengthened the pacifist tendencies of the British Labor Party until eventually a resolution—moved by Sir Charles Trevelyan, who was not of the working-class, trade-union core of the movement—calling for a general strike in the event of war was passed by a Labor Party convention. The year of its adoption—1933—was significant. Thereafter, as the danger of fascism was better understood, militant pacifism declined. Gradually the emphasis was laid upon new forms of collective security, which at successive annual conventions became ever more clearly defined. At the same time the party, always thinking realistically, perceived that collective security had a maximum and a minimum objective. The first was to preserve peace by building up a powerful block of non-aggressive states, including the Soviet Union. The second, an inescapable corollary of the first, was by means of such alliances to defeat the Axis should Hitler go to war. As early as 1936, therefore, the Labor Party began to recognize the need for developing military resources, and by 1938 it had definitely assented to rearmament.

Labor's support for the present war was not a consequence of its membership being stampeded into belligerence, much less of any betrayal by the leadership. In the preparatory period its approval of rearmament had not been conditional upon the reactionary British government's concluding an alliance with the Soviet Union or upon any self-liberalization of the Tory Party. The result was that both the party and the Trades Union Congress immediately announced their support of the war. The realistic view prevailed. The slow-moving wisdom of the party had grasped the profound dialectic of history. Its views, once it understood that dialectic, can be summed up in these memorable words:

> [The party has never hidden] and never will hide its detestation of fascism and its readiness to take part in any struggle, political or *military* [my italics] to secure the defeat of fascism. For it recognizes that the victory of fascism represents not only a conquest of markets, colonies, sources of raw materials, etc.; it also leads to the forcible destruction of every democratic right and liberty that the working class has fought so bitterly, at such cost and sacrifice, to win from its class enemies.

But these words, strangely, are not those of the Labor Party. They are taken from the September manifesto of the British Communist Party, in which that party "hurled the workers into the imperialist war." On September 14, indeed, the leader of the British Communists even criticized the Labor Party for having, because of its lingering pacifism, sought to hold back the declaration of war for a few hours.

Not only was Labor's assent to the war a foregone conclusion, but, in addition, the war-time policy of the party, its whole conduct and technique of support, was determined by the steps it had taken in the interest of the working class before the war broke out. The Labor Party had ample reason to foresee that the Conservative Party would adopt measures damaging to the movement and to democracy. As early as 1938 it had therefore set about preparing its defenses. Only one example can be given here. In the early part of 1939 it became known that the government was planning the compulsory distribution of dock labor in the event of war. The Transport and General Workers' Union, of which Mr. Bevin is the head, was asked to assent to the formation of mobile battalions of dock laborers. About the necessity of moving dock labor from the east to the west coast there was never any doubt in the mind of Labor. However, the trade unions, deeply mistrustful of the government, insisted that it should be done under a civil authority in which the union should have place and upon a voluntary basis. In general, all these questions arising out of the need for reorganization were submitted to a special conference of the Trades Union Congress on May 19, 1939, and the General Council's report, outlining the technique of war support, was approved by 3,923,000 votes to 550,000. Of the minority, a great part objected only to certain features of the proposed plan.

At the outbreak of the war Labor expressed its distrust of the government, and in doing so adequately reflected public opinion. That the Conservative Party, by and large a dangerously perverse and incalculable agglomeration of business men, was primarily responsible for the war was the opinion of a great majority of the working class. That the Chamberlain government was inefficient, for all its arrogant boast of a monopoly of administrative intelligence, the war itself was to make clear. Labor thus refused to join Mr. Chamberlain's government, for by joining a government excessively staffed with appeasers, incompetents, and reactionaries it would have surrendered all guaranties of its preservation and would have gained no power to enforce measures necessary for the winning of the war. The party weakened its position, however, by agreeing not to contest by-elections. No doubt the fear of splitting the Conservative Party, which at that time might well have placed even more power in the hands of the appeasers, was the underlying reason for the electoral truce.

On the industrial side the movement at once began a steady and constantly augmenting effort to permeate the new administrative apparatus of the country. The relations between the ministries and the trade unions, with certain exceptions, were far from cordial. Just as Mr.

Chamberlain had declined to defend Britain upon the basis of collaboration with the other European democracies, so now he was incapable of calling upon the democratic dynamic which alone could win the war. Naturally enough, the outbreak of hostilities gave rise to a spate of legislation, which inevitably, so far as the Acts of Parliament were concerned, could only outline general principles. Their concrete formulation was left to orders and regulations. How complex was Labor's task of vigilance may be realized from the fact that by May, 1940, the 40 new acts had required 700 orders and 400 regulations, an enormous number of which affected the movement in one way or another.

The government was slow to draw upon the trade-union movement and dilatory in the elaboration of administrative machinery. On October 5, 1939, for instance, the T. U. C. had proposed the formation of a Trade Union Advisory Committee, and after half-hearted dickering this was accepted. Even then the official practice was not to call this committee together. In general, Mr. Burgin, Minister of Supply, in the words of the Labor Party, "combed the Directory of Directors and the more recent editions of Debrett for the personnel of the Supply Council, while for his area officers he has resorted to the quarterdeck and the regimental mess."

In many cases Labor pressed for admission to committees and obtained it, but no legal provision was made for the concession, and to a large extent administrative power was withheld. Reluctance and distrust were the keynotes throughout. The Prices of Goods Act of 1939 is a case in point. Only at the second reading on October 19 was Labor able to obtain representation. The Export Council was another, though here some executive power was obtained. The Miners' Federation, again, approached the Mines Department concerning the organization of fuel supply. Not until the breakdown in the first winter of the war showed the need for serious effort did the government take adequate steps. The Coal Supply Act of April 5, 1940, then set up a Coal Production Council upon which three trade-union representatives sit. The T. U. C. also obtained places upon the central and regional food councils and upon the advisory committees for the control of raw materials. In this case, however, the controls, despite Labor's objection, remained exclusively in the hands of the ministries. That has since been changed by Mr. Morrison. During his occupancy of the Ministry of Supply three employers and three T. U. C. delegates have been added to the controls. Sharp fights have sometimes occurred, as in the regulation of the fishing industry, where the powerful Transport Union under Mr. Bevin was able to secure a total reorganization of the government scheme. The unions are now strongly represented on the Fisheries Advisory Council. In one other case, that of shipping control, the last I shall quote, the unions concerned on September 28 actually proposed the creation of a new ministry, which was eventually done. A constant struggle was necessary to safeguard the interests of seamen exposed to the dangers of war. The final debate in Parliament, on March 18, 1940, demanded by Labor, greatly damaged the Chamberlain government.

To sum up, the government's attitude toward the Labor movement was negative. It sought, on the whole, to make limited use of Labor on advisory rather than administrative committees. The Conservative Party, or, to put it simply, the capitalists of Britain, were jealous of surrendering any control whatsoever. Many of them at heart did not want to fight. They would have welcomed a "palace revolution" in Germany and a false peace that would have left fascism intact.

As in the American Civil War, the course of military events eventually gave irresistible urgency to demands which had their origin in social conditions. Within the Labor movement two opinions had been gaining ground throughout the spring of 1940—that the right-wing Conservatives then in office were incapable of winning the war, and that Labor's policy of refusing to enter the government was damaging the party in public esteem. It was, none the less, altogether impossible to collaborate with the appeasers. The failure in Norway at last split the Conservative Party and made possible the formation of a new Cabinet in which Labor would not be compelled to play a subordinate and undignified role. At the same time the strongest warning must at once be given not to regard this as a "revolution" or as justifying the irresponsible optimism about the future expressed in many liberal circles. It was a guaranty of democracy and a step in the right direction. That is all. Real and significant changes have taken place, but there is still absolutely no assurance that in the event of peace the Conservatives will not be able to drive Labor from its immensely valuable but vulnerable positions.

The attack upon the appeasers, vigorously sustained by the Labor movement, suffered certain illuminating changes as a consequence of the fall of France. Previous to that event, or to the public comprehension of it, certain trade conventions had demanded the dismissal of the appeasers. As late as the first week of July the National Union of Railwaymen had unanimously called for such a solution of the national problem. Mr. Bevin, commenting upon the French disaster, had spoken clearly:

> The conflict [he said] resolved itself on the Continent not as a war between nations but as an international civil war . . . and let this be said for the working people, even the Communists, there is no evidence in Norway, in Holland, in France, or in Belgium that any part of the working class, whatsoever the political party might have been, operated as a fifth column. The fifth column came from higher up.

At the convention of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain, held a little later, the resolution formerly moved by the Labor Party calling for the expulsion of the remaining appeasers was put forward by the Communist leaders of the South Wales Miners' Federation and rejected by the other mine fields, undoubtedly on Labor Party recommendation. It has been said that this temporary reversal of attitude was due to the deep and almost universal distrust of the Communists. As soon as the Soviet Union had obtained gains in Poland, the Communist Party, with its usual subordination to Moscow, had suddenly declared the war to be imperialist and British democracy to be no better than German fascism, which upon one occasion the London *Daily Worker* described as a mere bogy. However, the change at the Miners' convention probably grew out of a fear of pressing the right-wing Conservatives too far. For the Chamberlain supporters, in the historic May debate, had possessed a majority in the House. Alarmed by too severe an attack they might have withdrawn support of Mr. Churchill's government. That, I think, was the belief of the Labor Party.

The establishment of the new administration on May 11 effected enormous changes in the country. The magnitude of the effort which now had to be made brought forth drastic legislation. The total mobilization of all resources, decreed in the Emergency Powers bill of May 22, made demands upon the working class which could never have been fulfilled had not Labor itself obtained important positions in the Cabinet. Labor willingly accepted longer hours and submitted to industrial-mobilization schemes when these were to be controlled by its most powerful and clearsighted representative, Mr. Bevin, as Minister of Labor. Trade-union collaboration became a living reality, and to a great extent its very character was transformed. More and more legal provision was made for it. It became less a matter of optional consultation than of administrative control.

It is utterly untrue to say that the unions have weakened themselves by this acceptance of responsibility. The Conditions of Employment and National Arbitration Order of July 18, under which Labor gave up the right to strike, also made it compulsory for employers to observe trade-union conditions. The terms of the order, which minutely regulate arbitration and which are subject to revision at the close of the year, were largely drawn up by the T. U. C. and the Employers' Federation. The rise of living costs, more or less inevitable during war, have not been counterbalanced by adequate wage increases, but the unions have not lost their militancy. In recent weeks four major organizations in the railway, shipping, and engineering fields, angered at the employers' refusal of legitimate increases, have asked the government for arbitration of their demands by the tribunal appointed for that purpose. In that tribunal Labor has representation. On the analogy of previous appeals under Mr. Churchill's administration the unions will obtain a compromise verdict in their favor. Already Mr. Morrison and Mr. Bevin have announced that excessive hours, rendered necessary by the negligence of Mr. Chamberlain, are hindering rather than augmenting production. They are being reduced, and this process will continue.

In two vast fields the new government has not yet accomplished those transformations which are vitally necessary, and on both counts Labor will be compelled to make a fresh drive toward effective intervention. Despite the drastic measures taken, no real plan for the thoroughgoing exploitation of resources has yet been evolved. The observer cannot fail to note that it is the structure of capitalism itself which interposes obstacles and which has so far resisted serious amendment. Manufacturers in industries not organized as trusts are still thinking in terms of competition. The massive bulk of the great trusts has to some extent prevented the full use of resources. The nature of the problem is obvious. The danger to national unity which its solution necessarily presents is not less so. At some moment when the bitter logic of the war has made the next step self-evident, capitalism itself must be amended in the direction of socialism. It would be too much to expect a complete transformation of Britain during the war; nevertheless, the problem throughout is that which the American Civil War presented to the Radical Republicans, the problem of imparting to the war effort the quality demanded by its origin and inner reality. To refuse support, or to shirk the task of creating morale by transforming democracy, because changes are not instantly made would be to repeat the error of Garibaldi, who made his aid conditional upon Lincoln declaring a forthright abolitionism. Marx and his socialist followers were of a more realistic mind. As for the Radical Republicans, Mr. Hacker says of them:

> . . . the Old Radicals (supported by the New Radicals) were ruthless. Over Lincoln's protests they passed through Congress the Confiscation Acts of 1861 and 1862. They drove Lincoln into issuing the Emancipation Proclamation. They established their own so-called Committee on the Conduct of the War (in Congress) and hounded the President until he got rid of weak generals and was ready to prosecute the struggle relentlessly. They clamored, until they were successful, for the arming of the Negroes and their use in the Union's armed forces. ("The Triumph of American Capitalism.")

A similar part must be played by British Labor. To a very great measure it *has* done its duty.

As yet the transformation of British foreign policy lags behind the social adaptations carried out within the country. But on the achievement of this depends not only the successful prosecution of the war but the future welfare of the world. The Labor Party has once or twice raised in the House the question of war and peace aims, but to no great effect. Its own ideas have been publicly stated, in necessarily abstract form. The elaboration of schemes for a Federal Union or a new League of Nations is not a very realistic enterprise at present. What is necessary is that Labor, and with it all progressive opinion, shall gain the power to support its general principles in any situation that may develop in Europe. Wars nowadays terminate in revolutions or in great modifications of society. Since the reconstruction period in Europe is bound to be one of turmoil and confusion, daring of mind and imaginative liberation will be necessary if the reactionary classes are not to thwart the hopes of mankind.

The present struggle is an imperialist war, but it is also an anti-fascist war, and it should have labor's support in this country, for there is now no danger of fascism developing in England. Even if the important social changes which the exuberant optimists have by anticipation proclaimed do not occur during the war, Labor and progressive opinion have already conquered such positions that the defeat of the Axis will of itself liberate the peoples, particularly the working classes, of Europe and produce radical phenomena.

[*This is the concluding article of Mr. Bates's series.*]

The Decline of Boss Hague

BY WILL CHASAN

THERE are people in the inner circles of New Jersey politics who predict that Boss Frank Hague will quietly abdicate within the next six months. Some say that he will stand for reelection as mayor of Jersey City next May, to give his constituents a chance to demonstrate their enduring trust and affection, and then resign immediately. The Boss is tired, they say, and wants to step down.

Whether these predictions will find confirmation in the coming months is of much less importance than the accumulating evidence that Hague's grip on New Jersey politics has already been loosened, and that the influence of the nation's most powerful and disreputable political boss is definitely in decline. The November elections, which were mistakenly regarded by many as an indication of Hague's continuing strength, proved exactly the opposite. They revealed widening cracks in the foundations of his machine and created the conditions for its further disintegration. The three components of any successful political machine, in the order of their importance, are ability to get out the vote, control of patronage, and the loyalty of lieutenants to the man at the top. In the November, 1940, elections the Hague machine lost large blocks of votes, forfeited the control of state and federal patronage, and observed numerous signs of disaffection among its lieutenants.

The Hague organization extends across the state of New Jersey, but it is based on Hudson County, of which Jersey City is the stronghold, and has concentration points in Bergen and Passaic. An examination of the vote in these counties shows huge shifts, the significance of which has been overlooked by most post-election analysts. In Hudson County the plurality for Charles Edison, Democratic candidate for governor (now governor-elect), dropped 23,000 below the plurality given in 1937 to A. Harry Moore, water boy for the Hague machine. The Roosevelt plurality fell off 69,000 from the 1936 vote, but this, for obvious reasons, is a less accurate guide to New Jersey's internal political alignments than the gubernatorial vote. In Bergen County the Republican plurality shot up from 6,000 to 49,800—a major political disaster under any circumstances. The swollen Republican lead, however, was no real surprise to political insiders, who had watched the campaign go on without any active participation by county leader Jack Breslin's Democratic organization.

Unlike Hudson and Bergen counties, Passaic County showed no defections. In fact, the slim plurality gained by the Republicans in 1937 was erased, and Edison went ahead by 2,400 votes. But this was not due to any effort of Hague's lieutenants. Edison's Passaic plurality was the work of an alert, aggressive Trade Union Committee for Roosevelt, Wallace, and Edison, led by the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, and the textile unions.

What labor did in Passaic it did throughout the state. Under the sponsorship of Labor's Non-Partisan League, in each county the American Federation of Labor, the C. I. O., and the Railroad Brotherhood unions were brought together for joint campaign activities—with salutary results. Hague did not "deliver" New Jersey. Without the labor vote the staggering losses in Hudson and Bergen would have been enough to topple the Democratic state and national tickets. Hague lost New Jersey in Hudson and Bergen; labor won it in Passaic, Mercer, Essex, and Camden. This is freely acknowledged by Edison's campaign managers; in fact, political leaders of both parties feel that labor emerged from the 1940 elections a first-rate political force, perhaps holding the balance of power in the state. What this means for Hague's political fortunes is clear.

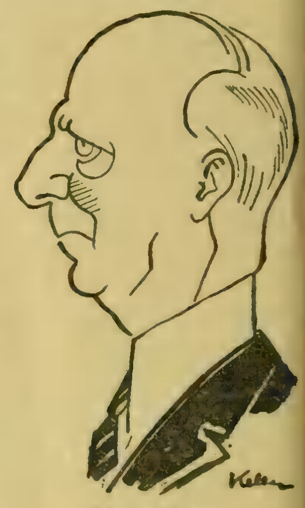
Hague's dominant position in New Jersey politics was made possible in the past by his ability always to amass in Hudson County a plurality sufficiently large to capture any Democratic state primary and most gubernatorial elections. This enabled him to hand-pick the Democratic candidate for governor and thus to control the very considerable patronage at the governor's disposal. Hudson County's strategic hold on the governorship made it necessary for the lesser Democratic leaders to apply for patronage through Hague. Aided by an uncommonly shrewd trading instinct—Hague's ungrammatical speech amuses his enemies, but his political cunning has more often caused them chagrin—the Boss used his formidable advantage to build his fences all over the state; until recently only one Democratic organization in New Jersey of any account had more than a semblance of independence. This was the Middlesex County organization of Attorney General Wilentz and State Senator Toolan. Middlesex had independent strength because it was the only large county except Hudson which regularly returned a Democratic delegation to the state legislature. Even Middlesex had to work with Hague, but it did not follow Hudson County docilely as did other sections of the party.

This arrangement, which had enabled Hague to rule the Democratic Party for the last twenty-one years and the governor's mansion for fifteen of these (in normally Republican New Jersey!), was sharply upset in the November elections. For the first time since 1919 a Democratic governor who is not "a Hague man" will take over at Trenton. A quiet, firm, capable man, with genuine, if limited, liberal views and undoubted integrity, Charles Edison, the governor-elect, was never a Hague choice. He was first suggested for the governorship in September, 1939, when he was Secretary of the Navy, at a meeting of the state executive committee of Labor's Non-Partisan League. The suggestion was taken up by liberal Democrats and Republicans, and was finally forced upon Hague by New Dealers in Washington, who feared that any candidate bearing the onus of Hague sponsorship would lose the state for Roosevelt. It now appears to have been a shrewd estimate.

After Edison was nominated, Hague's deputies tried to assume direction of the campaign, but they were rebuffed. Edison and his advisers, apparently from the start, wrote off a good deal of the normal Hague plurality, and decided that the outcome of the election would be determined by the labor vote.

Under Hague the Democratic Party's normal attitude toward labor was one of hostility. This attitude effectively blocked the only channel through which there could be any infusion of new life into the anemic Democratic groups outside of Hudson County. With the rural vote and the heavy commuter vote going to the Republicans, the Democrats' only hope lay in acquiring greater support from New Jersey's big but politically apathetic industrial population. The barrier to cooperation with labor was partly removed when the Supreme Court in June, 1939, upheld the C. I. O. in its fight for free speech, and Hague, acquiescing in the decision, made a truce with the C. I. O. leaders. This permitted increased labor participation in Democratic politics, a trend that was greatly accelerated by Edison's campaign and election.

As a result the Democratic organization in the state as a whole has been strengthened to the point where Hague, whose own elastic pluralities in Hudson have been diminished by Republican election reforms, can no longer dictate the outcome of Democratic primaries. A combination of Middlesex County, Mercer County, where two Democratic assemblymen were elected with labor backing, and Camden County, where three assemblymen were elected in the same way, could probably defeat Hague. In addition, other county leaders who have resented Hague's arrogance are undoubtedly now ready to turn against him. Indications of this were visible during the campaign. The Hague office admitted a fear that it was being double-crossed by its Gloucester County allies. In Bergen County a revolt has been brewing against the leadership of Breslin, Hague's lieutenant.


Mayor Hague

Other sections of Hague's political domain are expected to break away now that the Boss no longer has the means with which to bludgeon recalcitrants into line. It appears fairly certain that he will receive little federal patronage and no special favors from Trenton. Those close to Edison have allowed it to be known that Hague will be treated with no greater consideration than other county leaders. They have also hinted that Edison would like to let out a great many of the incompetent Hague appointees who clutter Trenton offices.

So the Boss seems headed down. Years ago he may have been able to plunder the graveyards for a plurality large enough to confound his enemies. Election reforms have altered the situation. He may hold on indefinitely in Hudson County, but his reign in the state is coming to an end, and his loss of power in the state will inevitably affect him even in Hudson County. It is probable that he will retire. There is a good reason. The extravagances of his machine have brought Jersey City to the edge of bankruptcy, and the days ahead do not promise to be pleasant.

Meanwhile strange things are happening in New Jersey. After eight years the New Deal seems finally to be percolating down from Washington. The Democratic Party, with its strong new labor elements and with Edison at its head, is taking on a liberal tinge.

In the Wind

SIC TRANSIT: On November 29 the Detroit *News*, an ardent Willkie pre-election voice, published three paragraphs about Mr. Willkie's jaunt from Florida to New York. The item was buried in the obituary columns.

WHEN THE PRICE of milk went up recently, a cooperative store in Brooklyn put a sign in its window saying that its dairy saw no necessity to boost rates. Several representatives of large milk distributors called to urge the manager of the store to remove the sign. They failed. A short time later the co-op's supply of milk vanished from the sidewalk.

THE THOMAS GIBSON SERVICE, reputed to be the oldest financial advisory service in the country, was pretty gloomy before election about the "danger" of a Roosevelt victory. It now tells its clients that "the Senate is prepared to reassert the authority of Congress as a coordinate branch of the government, and apprehensions of the development of a domestic dictatorship come more and more to resemble the demons conjured up by an over-active political imagination."

THERE WASN'T A PEEP of protest when William Green's salary was jacked up at the A. F. of L. convention—from $12,000 to $20,000. One reason, it is said, is that a lot of A. F. of L. leaders are expecting salary increases as a result of rising union incomes, and they thought it was nice to have Mr. Green's go up first.

WAY DOWN SOUTH in New York: "Forty-eight of the Bronx's fifty-four candidates who were processed last night too late for camp spent the night in the Concourse Plaza Hotel. The six others, Negroes, went to the Harlem Branch of the YMCA."—From a story about draftees in the *World-Telegram*, November 28.

PROPHECY: Coughlin's *Social Justice*, commenting on the C. I. O. convention, announced that "four years hence one will not be surprised to find a C. I. O.-nominated and -dominated candidate elected to the Presidency of the United States on the Republican ticket." *Social Justice* is being pro-C. I. O. these days, although still worried about "pagan" elements.

IN AN ADDRESS before the New York State Congress of Parents and Teachers, as reported by the New York *Herald Tribune*, Dr. Ignatius Taubeneck said: "Women of this country must stop playing the fascist game of bridge and have more children if we are to preserve democracy in the world. Let's not fiddle while Rome burns."

LIBERAL NEW DEALERS are talking definitely about raising funds to buy the Hearst newspapers. David K. Niles is the leading spirit behind the move.

[The $5 prize for the best item submitted last month goes to Thomas Walker of Detroit for the item about Willkie printed above.]

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A Native at Large

BY JONATHAN DANIELS

SO FAR as I can find out, hardly anybody cares anything now about Fred E. Beal. He is just a fat, sunburned convict working in the laundry and in the fields at North Carolina's Caledonia Prison Farm. He is no longer the symbol of red revolution. He is no longer a menace to angry industrialists. The word "Gastonia" is no longer vivid in the vocabulary of America. So nobody cares. Beal is just a man in prison. The fact that a good many people think he was never guilty of the crime for which he was sentenced is beside the point. The fact which he emphasizes is that while many Americans are ready to carry banners for a member of their own group in a prison, or for any dramatic actor in a dramatic cause, great interest in an individual who symbolizes nothing but injustice is rare.

It is true that Beal has just been given what is called "clemency" by the Governor of North Carolina, who was one of Beal's prosecutors when he was sentenced after the killing of Chief of Police Aderholt at the culmination of the Gastonia textile strike of 1929. The Governor, who goes out of office in a couple of months, cut Beal's sentence on the ground of his good behavior in prison so that he will get out of prison five years from today. Obviously that good-behavior record would have stood for the next governor to act upon. Almost automatically it would have won consideration. Action on it at this time served only to say that the Governor declined to free the prisoner he had helped convict. The only man who gets anything out of the decision, so far as I can see, is the present governor, Clyde R. Hoey, who conceivably may have some bad memories of his part in prosecuting Beal. It was a procedure which put as much emphasis on atheism and radicalism as on murder. The trials were spectacles. The sentences satisfied fears. The Governor's act takes the shape of magnanimity. But the magnanimity still leaves Beal a convict.

Give the Governor credit: he says he still thinks Beal is guilty. Give him credit, also: in the book in which Beal told his story, from the Gastonia strike and trial to his disillusionment with communism, he called the Governor "self-righteous," spoke of his "prurient curiosity," and described him as "looking for all the world like a quack-medicine barker, with his winged collar and chocolate-brown swallow-tailed coat." The fact remains that the Governor knows that nobody yet knows who fired the shot which killed the policeman, and he knows that the firing in the night from strike headquarters followed the destruction of former strike headquarters b a mob. (No member of this mob was ever arrested.) Maybe the Governor believes, as he said in his recen "clemency" statement, that the strike was part of a "Communist uprising."

Other facts deserve remembrance, nevertheless. In the trial in which Beal was convicted that year, seven men were sentenced to long prison terms for the death of one man (seventeen to twenty years for Beal). In the same year in North Carolina eight textile strikers or strike sympathizers were killed, and nobody was punished fo killing any of them.

All that is history now. The world moves on. The Gastonia strike is forgotten. It is not even mentioned in the economic and social history of the town which has been published under the editorship of a textile manufacturer. The liberals at home and abroad seem to have forgotten also. A few remember, but they are overwhelmed by newer, more intellectually fashionable causes, and they are unable to arouse interest in others.

It is not surprising. Certainly Beal is just a little effeminate-looking fellow doing the washing of other convicts. Maybe he is even, as some say, a rat who snapped at the capitalists and then ran out on the Communists. But he is a man, and he is unjustly in prison (The Prosecutor-Governor does not agree to that.) The little ex-Communist is a cipher in injustice in a world overwhelmed with vaster oppression. He is the Mr. Zero of liberal causes in the United States.

He is guilty now of being undramatic. And that is almost, it seems, a greater crime than being poor, or being unpopular. But in his obscurity he raises the question whether anybody in the United States is seriously interested in justice as such—in justice merely. No good no any harm would be accomplished by turning Beal loose He is just a man, getting on in his forties. He'll be about fifty when he comes to the end of the time left for him by Governor Hoey's "clemency." His yellow stubby hair by then will be gray.

So far as I know he has nothing to commend him bu his innocence—again Governor-Prosecutor Hoey does not agree. I doubt that that is sufficient. He is not a cause He is just a man. And that is not enough for either enthusiasts or liberals. He does not give them a show in a world of bombs and planes. His case is undramatic, individual, and out of date. He is not a show worth staging In the American mind he is buried alive.

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

Jotes by the Way

FIND IT rather amusing that Henry Seidel Canby, perhaps the most dignified of our literary statesmen, conlers the romance of Robert Jordan and Maria in "For hom the Bell Tolls" one of the "perfect love stories in odern literature." In my review of Hemingway's book I ought in one minority report to the effect that Maria was only unreal character in the book and that the romantic eat-love-at-first-sight was unconvincing. Maria has no ornic relation to the main story; moreover, in the course of a ng book full of characters who grow as we read—like ures coming toward us—into human beings with whose rsonalities and fates we become almost painfully involved, ere is absolutely no development in the character of Maria. e is a ready-made pawn—symmetrical and submissive—om Pilar pushes into Jordan's sleeping bag and whose action begins and ends just there. The love scenes read as they had come out of a tap turned on and off at will, and emingway's attempts to out-Joyce Joyce are pretentious and t. The love story, in other words, borders on pulp, though pulp magazine would allow such frank descriptions as emingway's to appear in its pages. That is why I find the oture of Mr. Canby, who would not touch *True Stories* th a ten-foot pole, amusing. Hemingway's treatment of omen and love is ridiculous but not amusing, because the t that Maria is a complete blank mars his book as a whole d in particular undermines the characterization of Jordan.

It may be objected that if Maria fails to become real, the ner woman in the book, Pilar, does not. But Pilar's reality s little to do with the fact that she is a woman. It is her asculine characteristics that predominate and make her inesting. The test of Hemingway's capacity for creating a oman character is Maria. He fails that test and in the ocess reveals an attitude toward women and love comunded of adolescent naivete and what seems to be an ually adolescent, belligerent condescension toward women human beings. As if in revenge against women, who baffle n, he forces Maria to occupy the role of a sexual connience and at the same time contrives to put her on a destal. It is hard to say which is worse from the artistic int of view. Maria is sure-fire, of course, with American ders, including Mr. Canby, and her unreal presence in a ok rich in other characterizations so obviously based on se and creative observation even raises the suspicion that was deliberately invented. I should prefer, in a way, to lieve that; but I suspect that the real explanation is even s to Hemingway's credit as a mature writer. I can't help eling that Maria actually represents Mr. Hemingway's, and r. Canby's, conception of woman as she is or should be—ich is pretty discouraging.

HAVE A MEMORANDUM from George Joel on liver Wiswell," the latest novel by Kenneth Roberts, ing of the Slicks" (slicks are magazines printed on coated paper which pay authors a minimum of ten cents a word). Mr. Roberts, who has built up his reputation and his prosperity on sugar-coated versions of early American history which have had a tremendous popularity, has chosen this "patriotic" period, of all others, to launch a book which presents the American Revolution from the Tory point of view.

> Some of our more vigilant educators [says Mr. Joel] have banned Dr. Rugg's books because he hints that the social and economic standards of America could stand improvement. What will they do about a book, bound to be more widely read than textbooks, which states that the only people who supported the American Revolution were "the human dregs of the country," which labels John Hancock a smuggler and Sam Adams an embezzler and describes our forbears as "pockmarked, furtive-eyed, shambling, hoarse-voiced peasants"?
>
> I've come across a clue here and there that casts some doubt on the notion that the motives of the American revolutionaries were purely idealistic. It seems the colonists objected to being exploited, underpaid, underfed, badly housed. Mr. Roberts, without denying these facts, objects to their method of expressing themselves. They were in the main uneducated, rude, and uncouth; they had, in other words, the common faults of those who fight desperately for survival. The common people never seem to find time to learn manners, and Mr. Roberts does not like people who lack manners.
>
> I don't like Oliver Wiswell. He is a very stuffy fellow. If he were living today he would be a Union League Club Republican; and if you transplant his story to a modern setting, you have a diatribe against the democratic concept of life.

That apparently is exactly what Mr. Roberts had in mind in writing "Oliver Wiswell." He is said to be one of our most violent present-day tories, a distinction he shares with the professional patriots of the Daughters and Sons of the American Revolution. But perhaps he has outsmarted himself. He has presented the D. A. R. with a nice dilemma. The Daughters would undoubtedly agree with his opinion of the underprivileged, but they can hardly be expected to admit that their treasured ancestors belonged to the great unwashed. Mr. Roberts should have chosen another revolution. In any case it will be interesting, as Mr. Joel suggests, to watch the career of Oliver Wiswell, particularly in Hollywood.

LINGUISTIC NOTE: A letter from Oslo relates that German soldiers in Norway are equipped with a German-Norwegian phrase book, edited by one Lieutenant Colonel F. Sulzberger, which contains the following sequence of questions and commands in the section designed for soldiers on duty—there is another section for general use.

> Are you the mayor (minister, teacher, manager, etc.)?
> Open all the cabinets.
> Where is the cash?
> How many crowns are there?
> Write down the amount here.

> Have you any money anywhere else?
> I confiscate all funds.

There is the whole story of the occupation of Norway and other countries by the Nazi gangsters abroad. The new order of robbery is being carried out with true German thoroughness; and one may even be amused, in a sinister way, by the strong odor of bureaucracy that rises from these minute, systematic instructions for looting.

IT SEEMS that readers are complaining about the fact that books are getting almost too heavy to hold. For that reason Harper, I am informed in a publicity note, decided to issue a small thin-paper edition of "Mark Twain in Eruption" as well as the larger regular edition. This small edition, according to the release, was sold out before publication. I hope that readers will go right on complaining and that publishers will heed the complaints. A book that is small enough to stick into a pocket, printed in good type and flexible as to cover, is ingratiating in itself, but the tendency has been all the other way. Competition for the reader's attention has fostered sheer exhibitionism in book-making, especially in the matter of size and thickness of paper. So-called "fine books" are likely these days to be big books. What is needed is well-designed small books. This is a cause that might well be taken up by the *Dolphin,* "a periodical for all people who find pleasure in fine books." The *Dolphin* was originally the annual of the Limited Editions Club. It is now to be issued as a "quadrimestrial" magazine, and I have been meaning for some time to report that I find its first issue very engaging. It is concerned only with The Book. There are articles on The Printer as Author, Edward Lear (with illustrations and quotations), a detective story in which the sleuth uses as a clue a forged copy of the "Hypnerotomachia Poliphili," a discussion of Persian book-making, a sharp little essay on typography by George Bernard Shaw—he has strong opinions about that too. The final item is The Purloined Letter, by Poe, here printed in a type that has never been used before. The *Dolphin* will include such a reprint in each issue. When a dozen have appeared they will be bound into a book free of charge. But won't it be a big book?

MARGARET MARSHALL

Things in the Saddle

THINGS IN THE SADDLE. By George Norlin. Harvard University Press. $2.50.

AMERICA'S DILEMMA: ALONE OR ALLIED? By Norman Angell. Harper and Brothers. $1.75.

ALL OUT! HOW DEMOCRACY WILL DEFEND AMERICA. By Samuel Grafton. Simon and Schuster. $1.

PRESIDENT GEORGE NORLIN of the University of Colorado was Theodore Roosevelt Professor at the University of Berlin for the academic year 1932-33. On November 5, 1932, he delivered his inaugural address in Berlin on "Understanding America." This lecture, forming part of the present volume of essays, is worth rereading at this time. Dr. Norlin, born on the American frontier, living and teaching in a western state where the memory of the frontier is still alive, interprets American history as a mar from frontier to frontier. "Every frontier in American histo represents in greater or less degree a revolt against exploit tion and tyranny and a reassertion of the worth and digni of the human being." The goal of this march is the Ame can dream of creating a soil and climate where every hum personality, according to its capacity, may flower and fruitful. The dream must be reckoned with by anyone w wishes to interpret the past of America or foretell the dir tion of America's future. While Dr. Norlin thus tried explain America to the German students, they staged a t multuous welcome for him to the Third Reich.

Dr. Norlin watched National Socialism mount into t saddle. Being a scholar and a trained observer, he cou penetrate beneath the surface of the "sinister flood with sublimation of the savage in man and its deliberate mobili tion of that savagery against all the moral restraints a decencies which civilization has built up to make human l tolerable on this not too kindly planet." Since his return has tried to tell his fellow-Americans of the new ideas whi are trying to ride mankind. Most of the essays in his bo speak of the irreconcilable clash between democracy, whi he interprets in the opening essay in the light of Lincol thoughts and actions, and its "brutish opposite," agai which democracy must ride, armored and weaponed. A mi tant defense of democracy against the fascist counter-revo tion is the frontier on which America now finds itself.

Two other books set forth with remarkable clarity a incisiveness the necessary conditions for a successful fight this new frontier. One deals with America's foreign poli the other with its domestic policy. The first is by a man w has spent many years of a fruitful life in the quest for pe and in an effort to convince other men that peace, lasti peace for all nations, can be had if men are ready to pay t price. Norman Angell puts before the American publ which he knows well from the many years he spent here a laborer and farmhand in the West, the dilemma that fa America at present. His book discusses this burning questi with a profound understanding of the common man's po of view, with logic and clarity, and with a far-sighted gr of immediate realities. Every American should read at le this one book on foreign policy.

Angell's thesis, that America can have security and pe if Americans are ready to pay the price, is echoed, wit different accent, by a younger writer, an American journa who concentrates on the domestic effort and policy nee for the preservation of democracy. Samuel Grafton's br pamphlet is written with a telling force; some of the thi it says ought to be learned by heart by everyone who ta democracy seriously and realizes the present unique thr against it. "The test of our fortitude is not whether we fight like the devil once we get into the trenches, but whet we can place the trenches where we want them by muscu thinking." "Historically, democratic rights did not come i the world to be protected by the people; they were crea to protect the people. It is American democracy which protected the American Civil Liberties Union," and not v versa; "with no attempt to disparage that organization it be said that, in a genuinely undemocratic setting, its mem would have been hanged long ago. They were able to od work for democracy because we had it. In a Hitler rmany, where such an organization would be most useful, is not possible to have one."

Grafton is one of the very few who understand that in the uggle against totalitarian fascism every action must be lged by its effect upon this struggle, that there are no lated and no neutral actions, that life and business cannot on as usual, that fascism is a unified world-wide system iich thinks and acts as a system, to which democracy must ply a democratic rebuttal on a similarly systematic level. mocratic civilization dare not lose this struggle, "for when loses, it loses everything, and perhaps forever." No revo- ion is possible against a victorious fascism; the people nnot rise against a system built on the resolve, and armed th the necessary ruthlessness to carry the resolve through, it the people shall not rise.

Mr. Angell has written a mature book on America's for- gn policy in the present situation. With the restraint of ex- rienced age he restates a creed often stated before and oved true by the course of events. Mr. Grafton has thrown t a revolutionary appeal full of fervor and faith. He ad- onishes American democracy that only *more* democracy, a ilitant faith in democracy refusing all weak-kneed com- omises with fascism, can achieve the conquest of the new ontier, which is not an American frontier only but, in the epest meaning of the American dream, a frontier for all ankind.

HANS KOHN

Ir. Hackett's Second Country

CHOSE DENMARK. By Francis Hackett. Doubleday, Doran and Company. $2.50.

F YOU want a textbook on the social and economic organization of Denmark (pre-April, 1940), this is no book r you. Nor will you be wise to look here for a topographi- l guide. But if an urbane and civilized writer's appreciation an urbane and civilized society appeals, go to your book- ller at once.

You will find a revealing picture of Denmark, although ie almost totally devoid of photographic detail. Mr. Hackett an impressionist with his own somewhat oblique methods pointing the high lights and low lights. Don't be sur- ised to find him constantly shooting off at a tangent and turning, many pages later, in a grand parabola to his main ieme. Inevitably he has much to say about Ireland, and if ie book were indexed, which God forbid, England, France, id America would have many entries. There are numerous iecdotes about people—Jane Addams, Arnold Bennett, ansen, Mike Collins, and Judge Julian Mack, to mention ily a few in a catholic list. All of this may seem to have ry little to do with Denmark, but actually these digressions lay an integral part in explaining why Denmark is civilized id how it got that way. They help to explain, also, the ansformation of Francis Hackett the somewhat raw young ish nationalist, who would have been infuriated by the ourgeois virtues of Denmark, into Francis Hackett the mel- wed cosmopolitan, who found in that small country a aturity of mind and spirit, a tolerance and an adult gaiety, which he could not fail to respond.

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HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS
Cambridge Massachusetts

I am glad to record that this book does not neglect the more material qualities of the Danes. Some of its most eloquent pages are devoted to Danish food. The coffee and cheese receive a well-deserved tribute, but why is there no mention of Danish fish except for a rather unhappy episode with an eel? Has Mr. Hackett never tasted those tiny, delicate shrimps which, poured in a pink shower on a piece of bread thickly spread with the best butter in the world, make the perfect appetizer?

Mr. Hackett was happy in his adopted country and his book reflects that happiness. Yet it underlines the tragedy which has overtaken Denmark, and it hits hard at aggressors and those who condone their deeds. The following passage scores a bull's, or should we say, an eagle's eye:

> There are those who, when themselves outraged by kidnappers, ask for every penalty the law can give them. It is strange they can be willing to see whole nations kidnapped and expect those nations to pursue appeasement. All those nations ask for is to be given back to their own direction, to be given back while there is still life in them and while they can make their voices heard. How deaf the inner man must be who cannot hear that cry!

KEITH HUTCHISON

Ambassador to the Hemisphere

THE AMERICAN CHOICE. By Henry A. Wallace. Reynal and Hitchcock. $1.

DURING the recent campaign Mr. Willkie did a great deal of talking, much too much, some of his supporters said. Yet one of the most unsatisfactory aspects of his candidacy was revealed not by his words but by his silence on one of the crucial issues facing the United States today. This is the problem of hemispheric defense and hemispheric economic, educational, and political cooperation. Mr. Willkie's failure to rise to this issue may be explained on many grounds. The most obvious is the very limited background with which he came to the campaign. Another—suggested by his violent attack on a navy purchase of $8,000 worth of Argentine beef—was probably his fear of alienating millions of farmers producing the same products as Argentina, Canada, and other countries in this hemisphere. But the most important reason for Mr. Willkie's silence is more complicated and cuts deeper—right into the issue of which social forces are for appeasement of the Axis and which are against it. The test is not willingness to help England or to build up national defense; few Americans oppose either. But willingness to defend Staten Island is an academic issue, if only because if and when the time comes the Axis will be traveling in this direction by a different route, the southern one. The real litmus paper for appeasers is Latin America. For it is there that the Axis is setting the stage for its first post-war offensive. Genuinely anti-appeasement forces are all for going to work now to give the impoverished and desperate countries of Latin America the wherewithal to resist this offensive. They are for building a two-way economic conduit between South and North America. But the appeasement groups—from Little Italy to Wall Street—are for doing nothing about Latin America now, and they will be for an American Munich if ever the grasp of the Axis reaches the River Plate

This is the main theme of Henry Wallace's new book, as it was the theme of his tireless campaigning. And no higher tribute can be paid our new ambassador to Latin America than this simple statement of fact. For in order to arrive a this hemispheric position Mr. Wallace has had to make two decisions agonizing to a politician: he has had to admit tha a previous stand of his was wrong, and he has had to ac contrary to the wishes of his own pressure group, the farmers *Nation* readers will remember that in a series of articles published early in 1939 I took Mr. Wallace to task for involving himself in a war with Latin American farmers by dumping produce in Europe, and then for dumping crops in Latin America itself. Mr. Wallace went off on this tangent because the European crisis had cut off the American farmer from vital export markets. But as I pointed out, the crisis had hur the Latin American economy even more, and Mr. Wallace' short-sighted remedy was tending to deepen the world crisi by driving Latin America's politically dominant agrarian into Hitler's arms. Mr. Wallace has now completely reversed his position. The policy of the United States is now, intelligently, to let Argentina and Canada have first chance at the British market for foodstuffs, and to make a beginning a developing new domestic outlets for our surplus crops; much of the credit for this about-face is due Mr. Wallace's forcefu assistant, Milo Perkins, who developed the promising Stamp Plan for domestic distribution of our crop surpluses.

Mr. Wallace makes a strong plea against trade with Hitlerized Europe; he well knows that the only way to trad with Hitler is either to subsidize his purchases or to b drafted into the Axis. But, as he says, the Latin American economy is almost completely dependent on its old European market. There are two solutions. The first is for the United States to invest in a long-range program to develop rubber, metals, timber, drugs, and other materials of which it can get its money's worth in unlimited imports from Latin America. The other is to help the people of Latin America to exploit their abundant resources for their own use.

In this connection Mr. Wallace draws a stimulating analogy between the people of Latin America and those of ou own South. He points out that in Germany, France, England and Northwestern Europe generally there are 24 to 25 children under 14 years of age in every 100 people. In Latin America there are 40 children under 14 in every 100 people In our own South also—as in Russia and Japan—children under 14 outnumber the older people, are in fact three time as numerous as those over 50. Mr. Wallace observes that in 1840 this was true of Vermont, New Hampshire, Illinois and Indiana; at that time these states were more prolific tha any nation in the world is today. Mr. Wallace's very practica vision is of the entire hemisphere's youthful, energetic, underprivileged areas coming into their own, thanks to financia aid from the older, wealthier areas in the United States which are in economic trouble right now for lack of investment outlets.

During the campaign Mr. Wallace was the victim of muc baiting as "just an idealist," which of course he is—withou the "just" and without the sneer that explains the quotatio marks. But apart from his magnificent record as an administrator of the Department of Agriculture's organizationa ientific, and economic services to farmers, he has all along ncentrated on one practical matter which all men of vision ree is acutely urgent. This is described in the chapter called il Defense, which might have been subtitled The Influence Erosion on Our History. The chapter recalls that Patrick enry in his day told the Virginia Assembly that "he is the eatest patriot who stops the most gullies." It quotes what ashington, Jefferson, de Tocqueville, Andrew Jackson, ell, Theodore Roosevelt, and a host of scientists from uxley to Shaler to the late Libert Hyde Bailey (of Cornell) d to contemporary experts have had to say about the rrifying destruction of our top soil. For as he says, "top il is not immovable or static. It is a semi-fluid, forever oving, forever changing its form. The wind whips at the ier parts above, and even in humid parts, moves top soil. en more insistently and seriously the push of water drawn wnward by gravitation keeps top soil moving and chang-g. And once top soil is drowned, in a stream or lake or er or in shoals under the sea, it is dead soil, lost to farm-g. For soil, like man, must breathe the air and receive sunine direct to stay alive and produce issue ashore." You can el Henry Wallace's religion in these quaint, moving words. nd you can see its practical results all over the country iere "up-and-down" contour plowing is being introduced o make running water walk, or creep, to store a far greater rt of it in that greatest of reservoirs—the soil; and to do is by making the soil and its crops provide millions of tural little dams as impediments to run-off." Here, on mil-ns of small farms, the practical idealism of Henry Wallace finding its most enduring expression.

ELIOT JANEWAY

itamins

ITAMINS: WHAT THEY ARE AND HOW THEY CAN BENEFIT YOU. By Henry Borsook. The Viking Press. $2.

N RECENT years there has been a flood of vitamin preparations on the market, in capsule form. While the sale of ese capsules has been adequate from the commercial stand-int, a bad impression has been created in the public mind. uite frequently the objection is arised, "Where did our refathers get their vitamins from? Certainly not at the ugstore," the implication being that vitamin pills are a ere fad. The answer, of course, is twofold. First, our fore-thers had nutritional diseases that we see only rarely today; d, secondly, we may need to pay special attention to our tamin supplies because we eat many more processed foods an they did and the processing quite frequently destroys e vitamins.

Mr. Borsook's book contains a lucid account of the nature the various vitamins and the food sources from which ey can be obtained. But it is more than a book on vitamins; covers the entire field of nutrition with special emphasis the accessory food factors. Not only does it give the food quirements of adults, but it handles extremely well the oblem of child nutrition. I should like to suggest it as quired reading for directors of camps, both army and mmer.

HUGH H. DARBY

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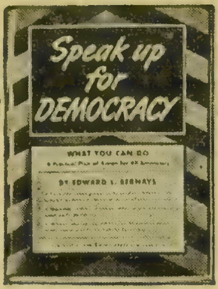

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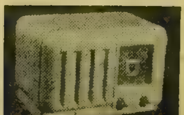

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Tschaikovsky: Songs; Maria Kurenko; Set 678, $4.

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Wolf: Songs; Lehmann; Set 613, $2.75.

COLUMBIA

Bach: Clavier Concerto in D minor, arranged for violin; Szigeti and New Friends of Music Orchestra under Stiedry (poorly recorded); Set 418, $3.50.

Beethoven: Piano Concerto No. 4; Gieseking and Saxon State Orchestra under Böhm; Set 411, $4.50. Piano Sonata Op. 101; Gieseking; Set X-172, $2.50. Neither performance rates with Schnabel's.

Handel: Concerto Grosso Op. 6 No. 6; Weingartner and London Symphony; Set X-154, $2.50.

Haydn: Symphony No. 104; Beecham and London Philharmonic; Set 409, $3.50 (I prefer the Victor set). Andante and Variations in F minor for piano; Ernst Victor Wolff; 69876-D, $1. Piano Sonata in D; Wolff; Set X-158, $2.

Mozart: Symphony K. 385 ("Haffner"); Beecham and London Philharmonic; Set 399, $3.25. Symphony K. 425 ("Linz"); Beecham and London Philharmonic; Set 387, $3.50. Symphony K. 504 ("Prague"); Stock and Chicago Symphony; Set 410, $3.50. Overture to "Don Giovanni"; Beecham and London Philharmonic; 70365-D, $1.

Sibelius: "The Swan of Tuonela'; Stock and Chicago Symphony; 11388, $1.

Smetana: String Quartet, "From My Life"; Curtis Quartet; Set 405, $4.50.

Stravinsky: Suite from "Petrouchka"; Stravinsky and New York Philharmonic; Set X-177, $250. "Le Sacre du printemps"; Stravinsky and New York Philharmonic; Set 417, $4.50.

Tschaikovsky: Violin Concerto; Milstein an Chicago Symphony under Stock; Set 41 $4.50.

Wagner: Prelude to Act 3 of "Tristan un Isolde"; Weingartner and Paris Conservatory Orchestra; 69805-D, $1.

GAMUT

Mussorgsky: Songs and Dances of Death Rudinov; Set MS-5, $4.50.

JAZZ

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Jelly Roll Morton Orchestra: "West En Blues" (Bluebird 10442).

Jess Stacy Orchestra: "I Can't Believe Tha You're in Love with Me" and "Clarine Blues" (Varsity 8132).

Jess Stacy: "You're Driving Me Crazy" an "She's Funny That Way" (Commodor 529).

Earl Hines: "Rosetta" and "Glad Rag Doll" (Bluebird 10555).

Bix Beiderbecke Orchestra: "Goose Pimples" (Columbia reissue 35664).

Bessie Smith: "Cold in Hand Blues" (Columbia reissue 35672), "Baby Doll" (35674).

Louis Armstrong: "Potato Head Blues," "Knockin' a Jug," and others (Columbia C-28).

Benny Goodman Orchestra (1933): "Moonglow" (Columbia reissue 35839).

Red Norvo Septet (1934): "I Surrender, Dear" (Columbia reissue 35688).

Christmas records include John Jacob Niles's Victor set (718, $3.50) of early American carols and folk songs, with thre that are especially fine: "When Jesus Lived in Galilee," "See Jesus the Savior," and the Cherry Tree Carol. The Trapp Family Choi sings a number of Bach Chorales moderately well (Set 713, $3.50). And Columbia offers fine record of the Strasbourg Cathedral Choi singing "Les choeurs angéliques," "Qu'en un instant," and "Cantate Domino" (70372-D, $1).

B. H. HAGGIN

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"Will Americans Fight— and for What?"

Letters to the Editors

vil Rights in Oklahoma

ar Sirs: Twelve Oklahoma County idents are facing ten to twenty years the penitentiary on charges filed un- the long-forgotten state criminal- idicalism law passed in the days of Palmer raids. I have recently been eased on $20,000 bond after spend- nearly three months behind bars in Oklahoma County Jail.

The wave of war hysteria in May nulated the organization of various ra-legal organizations. Sheriff Goff Oklahoma County organized a Civil ard numbering some thousands to it out fifth columnists, the only own activity of which has been trail- various individuals. Manager Quinn Oklahoma City organized an Emer- icy Defense Battalion, nominally to ready in case of "rebellion," but in ctice dedicated to the same activity.

As was to be expected, the Commu- t Party was one of the victims of the npaign. In June a gang of young men ke up a Communist Party meeting l forcibly stole some hundreds of oks and pamphlets on display in the gressive Bookshop in the next room. ather" E. F. Webber, a fanatical ngelist radio preacher, announced days later that "Communist litera- e had come into his possession, it not matter how" and held a public ok-burning the following week. It is eresting to note that among the books len were several copies of the Con- ution of our country.

During this same period a number of lividuals seen visiting the Communist ty office or talking to officials of the mmunist Party were placed under ar- t on charges of "vagrancy." I had asion at this time to visit the police ce in connection with a relief crisis e and was greeted by the Chief of ice, Mr. Smith, in the presence of a nber of other members of the Work- Alliance, with: "I don't care about at the Supreme Court says or what n the Constitution. We are running lahoma City, and I won't have any keting in Oklahoma City."

Then, on August 17, came simultane- raids on the Progressive Bookstore, Communist Party office, and the vate homes of eight individuals, with arrest of about ten others. The rch warrants used were liquor search warrants—this is a dry state. Those arrested were thrown into the city and county jail under pseudonyms supplied by the police and held incomunicado in solitary confinement for days without any charges being placed against them. When we were finally taken before a judge the following week, bond was set at $100,000 each for five of us, and at $50,000 for seven others.

The preliminary hearing showed that the state's evidence consisted solely of books and private papers, most of the books being available in the library of the University of Oklahoma. However, we were all bound over to court.

On September 30 Robert Wood, state secretary of the Communist Party and a candidate for Representative-at-large on the Independent ticket, was brought to trial for the alleged possession of books advocating the crime of criminal syndicalism. The jury sentenced Wood to ten years in the penitentiary and a $5,000 fine after a two-week trial which culminated with the county attorney calling Wood "a Judas Iscariot paid with thirty pieces of silver from the Soviet Union in Moscow."

Alan Shaw, twenty-two-year-old city secretary of the Communist Party, is now on trial charged only with "membership in the Communist Party."

Where this will lead to may be judged from the fact that the city police, following the Wood conviction, raided one private home in this city and carried off as "subversive literature" Tolstoy's novel "War and Peace."

The Oklahoma Committee to Defend Political Prisoners is cooperating with the International Labor Defense on the appeal in the Wood case and in defense of the remaining victims. Wood and eight others are now out on bail reduced to a maximum of $20,000. The bail first set added up to over $850,000.

ELIZABETH ZELENY GREEN

Oklahoma City, December 2

Presenting "Usona"

Dear Sirs: I have had my attention called to words from Freda Kirchwey's pen: "Obviously all the American countries are equally 'American,' and the tendency of the United States to apply the term to itself alone is properly resented throughout the rest of the hemisphere."

For a score of years I have been troubled about the word America as used to designate the people of the United States. For a while I used "Unista" and "Unistatians" but that did not seem to appeal to the intelligentsia. I feel sure that "Usona" (United States of North America) is just the word we need and ask you to consider using it in *The Nation.* No matter how good an invention is, someone has got to advertise it, and the standing of your publication would soon bring it into use among people that like to be exact in the use of words.

JOHN B. BRANCH

Auburn, Maine, December 6

Efficient Government

Dear Sirs: Twenty years ago I subscribed to a daily newspaper of Republican leanings because it seemed to me to be patriotic and fair-minded. Two months before the recent election this paper changed its policy to suit its politics. It twisted news to favor its candidate, shunted to obscure columns important national happenings that might damage his interests, featured those that could be interpreted to his advantage. No item was too small for its attention if it could be turned to the disadvantage of the President or the members of the Cabinet or the government. No cartoon was too ingeniously cruel or patriotically profane for its use.

I telegraphed my protest: "What a chance for the undercover enemies of our country! Can we hope to cancel such a revelation of disunion after the campaign is over?"

Many newspapers told us all that a change of government would do great things for us. Some harped on the inefficiency of the present Administration. I began to figure up what this government, in the past seven years, has done for me. Here are the items:

Two letters which I wrote to the White House were acknowledged the day of receipt. One was referred to another department, which also communicated. In reply to my request for a letter to a consular officer abroad, the State Department sent me a circular letter, signed by Secretary Hull, to all consular officers, and advised me that "it would be safer in case of war." A recent request for an address was answered by the Under Secretary in a courteous letter. The Department of Agriculture has always replied fully and at once to my requests for information. Sometimes it has included data obtained from the outside to save me correspondence. When I reported a case to the Narcotics Division, it made a search as suggested, and inspectors came to see me. The Treasury Department, to which I wrote complaining that very little new money was to be had hereabouts at the time, answered by the next mail giving me the entire story of how old money is disposed of. I wrote the Post Office Department asking for the extension of a rural route a short distance to take in the house where I now live. Within a month it was done.

I am neither a politician nor a prominent citizen. If I get this service from our government everyone else does too.

GENEVIEVE W. MASON

Fairfield, Conn., November 27

Help Wanted!

THAT OLD STEEL HELMET

Dear Sirs: Steel helmets are urgently needed by the civilian population of England, according to cable advices to the American Committee for Defense of British Homes. Civilians are endangered not only by bomb splinters and machine-gun bullets during air raids, but also by falling shrapnel from anti-aircraft guns. Reports indicate that the incidence of head wounds is very high.

It has been estimated that there are still several thousand steel helmets in this country, souvenirs of the last World War. Our committee, which has been receiving contributions of small arms and binoculars for shipment to British civilians for defense of their homes, will be glad to arrange for shipping steel helmets also.

Every American who owns a gun, binoculars, or steel helmet can aid the British defense by sending it to the American Committee for Defense of British Homes, 10 Warren Street, New York.

C. SUYDAM CUTTING,
Chairman

New York, December 5

DESPERATE MISERY

Dear Sirs: A tragic message just received from Switzerland by the American office of the World Council of Churches (in process of formation) makes dreadfully clear the effects of the most recent German action with regard to refugees. The cable reads: "Desperate misery non-Aryan refugees from Belgium, Baden, Palatinate, etc., deported to Camp de Gurs, Pyrenees, imperiously calls for our common help. Financial help means great relief. Our efforts insufficient. Please appeal strongly to churches and Christians for immediate support. (*Signed*) Professor Karl Barth, Basel; Professor Emil Brunner, Zurich; Dr. Alfons Koechlin, Basel."

Gifts for this purpose should be sent to the Committee on Foreign Relief Appeals, 297 Fourth Avenue, New York City, designated for European refugee relief.

HENRY SMITH LEIPER,
Associate Secretary

New York, December 4

GIFTS INTO WAR RELIEF

Dear Sirs: We wonder if *The Nation* would care to pass on to its readers an idea for converting Christmas-gift expenditures into aid for war-relief and refugee organizations.

The department-store counters are beginning to be loaded with back-scratchers, toilet water, imitation leopard muffs, embroidered sofa pillows, and smoking sets. Soon the organs will be thundering from Woolworth's to Wanamaker's to excite the shopping hordes into spending thousands of dollars for "exchange" of gifts. A few will be deterred by the pictures that flit through their minds of dazed children with fear in their faces and women trundling household goods along European roads.

We suggest that such persons send to their friends cards notifying them that a gift had been made in their name to such-and-such war-relief or refugee organization. The addresses of four of the organizations willing to participate in this plan are: The American Committee for Christian Refugees, 287 Fourth Avenue, New York; The American Friends Service Committee, 20 South Twelfth Street, Philadelphia; The National Refugee Service, 165 West Forty-sixth Street, New York; The International Relief Association, 2 West Forty-third Street, New York.

GEORGIA BALL, MARGARET LEAHY,
PAULINE BAKEMAN, DOROTHY T.
PEARSE

Washington, December 3

FOR CHINESE ORPHANS

Dear Sirs: Perhaps the most pitiful by-products of the war are the homeless, destitute, and orphaned children. There are so many now in the world that I fear we may forget the thousands of Chinese children awaiting rescue.

Mme Chiang Kai-shek has worked miracles in the efficient organizing of her orphanages: $12 in United States currency will feed and clothe a chi for a year; $20 will, in addition to year's maintenance, provide a chil training and education.

The China Aid Council, 200 Fif Avenue, New York, is selling Mayli tea in many cities throughout the cou try. All the stores which are cooperati do so without deducting any comm sion so that the full profit may go rectly to the orphans. Mayling Te consist of three brands of China tea- Jasmine, Keemun, and Lapsang So chong—as well as Darjeeling, the cho est of the India teas. They are packed half-pound tins, as well as in gay, litt lacquer-red samplers containing tv ounces of each of the four brands.

Who can resist this opportunity enjoy choice tea at a reasonable pri and at the same time know that ea half-pound tin one uses supports o of China's orphans for a week?

BETTY GRAM SWING

New York, December 6

CONTRIBUTORS

ALICE HAMILTON is professor eme itus of industrial medicine in th Harvard Medical School. She lived f many years at Hull House.

STEFAN TH. POSSONY is an Au trian editor and writer now living this country.

J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO, before h became Spain's war-time Foreign Mi ister, had been one of Europe's ou standing journalists.

RALPH BATES served for more tha a year in the Spanish Republican arm He is the author of "The Olive Field, "Rainbow Fish," and "The Fields Paradise."

WILL CHASAN is associated with th publicity department of a national lab organization.

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ELIOT JANEWAY has written exte sively on economic subjects for *Harper'* *The Nation*, and other publications.

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THE *Nation*

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

OLUME 151 NEW YORK · SATURDAY · DECEMBER 21, 1940 NUMBER 25

The Shape of Things

HE ATMOSPHERE OF A PHILLIPS OPPENHEIM mystery still hangs over the events leading to the lownfall of Laval, but General de Gaulle's scornful hrase, "a palace revolution," seems the best summary f what has occurred. The Vichy government is a nest of ntriguers, all reactionary but each fighting for his own hand. Since none has any popular following, each must ry to capture the support of Marshal Pétain, the one eally national figure in the government. And since ower in France now rests ultimately on German approval, each must curry favor with the Nazis. Laval, an xtremely cunning politician, grasped the situation early nd maneuvered himself into the key positions, becoming Vice-Premier and heir-apparent, Foreign Minister nd controller of press and radio. In his negotiations with the Nazis he was prepared to meet almost any demands, but Pétain, while ready for a large measure of ollaboration, drew the line at taking part actively in he war. Thus Laval found his own standing with the Nazis imperiled by inability to deliver on his promises nd attempted through a coup to gain full control of he government. He overreached himself, however, and ave an opening to his enemies in the Cabinet which hey were not slow to seize.

*

HE APPOINTMENT OF FLANDIN, AN OLD postle of appeasement, is an indication that no drastic hange in policy is intended. But the problem of reconciling Nazi demands for an active instead of a passive nti-British policy with Pétain's rigid ideas of the limits nposed by national interest and honor remains to be olved. That is why Herr Abetz has hastened to Vichy. Hints have meanwhile appeared in the German press that terner measures—even full occupation of the country—may follow if Vichy continues to be unaccommodating. At the same time, better terms may be offered to France or a military alliance now that Italy has proved a broken eed. But could any government carry the French people, who did not want to fight against Germany, into a war n the side of Germany? It seems very unlikely after rance has experienced six months of the "New Order."

LORD LOTHIAN WILL BE HARD TO REPLACE, for he had become popular in Washington and the straightforward way in which he put the British case in press interviews and speeches made it impossible to paint British propaganda as a sinister mystery. His last address was a frank appeal for aid coupled with a reasoned argument for the belief that the fates of British and American democracy cannot be separated. His death at a time when vital negotiations were in progress is a severe blow to Britain. It is necessary to name a successor quickly but hard to find the right man. The new ambassador ought to be someone who knows America well, whose devotion to democracy is beyond doubt, and who is able to interpret for us the social renaissance which is growing in Britain under the rain of bombs. Few of the men mentioned in press speculations here and in London seem to measure up to this specification. One name heavily tipped is that of Sir Andrew Duncan, now Minister of Supply, who seems to us an almost perfect example of the wrong man for the job. He is an able business man, corporation lawyer, and organizer of industrial combinations who would no doubt feel at home in the Bankers' Club but would be unlikely to react sympathetically to the atmosphere of New Deal Washington. Nor should we feel more enthusiastic about Lord Halifax, to whom the aroma of appeasement still clings obstinately. Other names mentioned include Anthony Eden, David Lloyd George, and Sir Archibald Sinclair. Mr. Eden's prestige has risen since he took over the War Office, and he would be a popular choice in this country, but he is still a promising young man rather than a statesman. Mr. Lloyd George, in spite of his age, is a virile personality and would certainly be an eloquent spokesman for Britain. But probably the best of the three would be Sir Archibald Sinclair, who as leader of the Liberals has proved himself a militant and pertinacious democrat.

*

THE GRAVE LAG IN OUR DEFENSE PROGRAM was revealed by William S. Knudsen speaking before the National Association of Manufacturers and in his letters to the managers and employees of the machine-tool industry. It should be a matter of concern to every American. Plane production, which was to have been

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1,000 a month by January 1, is still only about 700, and most of the planes now being put out are of the lighter variety. At least one important airplane factory is producing fewer planes than it was last year at this time. No more guns or machine-guns are being turned out now than six months ago. Four light tanks are being produced a day, but the larger medium tanks will not be available in quantity until next summer. At the same time Secretary Stimson revealed that delays in construction work in the camps would cause postponements of from one week to two and one-half months in calling up the National Guard and drafted men. Attempts are being made to blame the entire lag in defense on labor disputes, although Secretary Stimson declared that they were not responsible for one per cent of the delay in the camps, and there have been few labor difficulties elsewhere. Mr. Knudsen very sensibly asked why the national-defense plants should be blacked out from Friday to Monday. By some this will be taken as an argument for increasing the work week over the forty hours now provided by law. But machines can be put into continuous use without disturbing the basic work week for labor. As Mr. Knudsen declared, "we can train the men" to operate the machinery. It is up to management to make the arrangements.

*

HOPE FOR REPEAL OF THE NEUTRALITY ACT in order to give increased aid to Great Britain is heightened by the forthright plea of Representative Sol Bloom, chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, that it be rescinded immediately. At the same time Representative May, of the House Military Affairs Committee, has announced that he will introduce a bill on the first day of the next session to repeal the Johnson Act. Elimination of these two burdensome laws is clearly necessary if effective aid is to be given Great Britain in time to stave off Germany's spring offensive. Secretary Morgenthau very properly declared last week that he would not consider making a loan to Britain in the face of the clear prohibitions contained in these two laws. Subterfuges, however laudable in intention, should be avoided in a matter of such gravity. Congress alone has the authority to see that Britain receives the full assistance, short of war, that this country is capable of providing. In view of the emergency, it should face this issue before considering any other legislation.

*

SWEETNESS AND LIGHT WAS THE DOMINANT theme of the annual Congress of Industry of the National Association of Manufacturers. The sweetness was reflected in the association's magnanimous offer to "cooperate" with local school authorities in finding a way by which the concept of private enterprise might be inculcated in the schools. Local business men were urged to "get in closer contact with school boards and individual teachers . . . for the discussion of mutual problems." Apparently the light is to be applied in the form of a torch to such of the 800 public-school textbooks as are found, with the assistance of Ralph W. Robey, to be "prejudicial to our form of government, our society, or to the system of free enterprise." Several officers of the association, speaking at the concluding meeting, urged its members to show personal evangelistic fervor in the great "crusade" which lies ahead. The purpose of this crusade is to convince the people that "free enterprise is the base and bulwark of all the freedoms of the common people." Behind this rather naive and unhistorical concept lay a none too well concealed determination to make use of the national emergency to check social gains of all types. To this end speakers urged, among other things, a weakening of the Wagner Act, abridgment of the right to strike during the emergency, and a broadening of the income-tax base, with higher rates in the lower brackets. A crusade, but hardly a new one!

*

THE PLACING OF IRON AND STEEL PRODUCTS on the list of articles which can only be exported under license is apparently intended to serve as a warning to Japan rather than as an immediate bar to further aggression. Since the ban on the heavy grades of scrap iron went into effect some months ago, Japan has been buying abnormally large quantities of steel products. The current ruling does not stop shipment on Japanese purchases, but it limits future exports to the "usual or prewar exports" and gives the government power to clamp down on all exports in case of further Japanese depredations. No action has yet been taken to check the outflow of copper and zinc, although Japanese purchases of these metals are perhaps an even greater menace to our defense program than its purchase of steel. Within the past week Japan is reported to have been buying large stocks of copper, and its zinc purchases have forced a reduction in the output of a high-grade alloy steel badly needed for the defense program. As a result of the orders which have been issued by the President under the May Defense Act, the United States has gained the power to cripple Japan's war machine. But as long as we continue to provide oil, copper, zinc, lead, and a normal quota of iron and steel products, Foreign Minister Matsuoka can afford to say, as he did last week, that Tokyo will be the judge as to whether or not we are "minding our business" in aiding Great Britain.

*

THERE'S MORE THAN ONE WAY OF SKINNING a cat or crippling an independent newspaper. The Chattanooga *News-Free Press* and two of its officers were convicted in the United States Circuit Court last week on charges of conspiracy to violate the Sherman Anti-Trust Act by writing advertising contracts which carried a clause stipulating that the firm involved could not advertise in any other afternoon newspaper in the field. George Fort Milton's new paper, the *Evening Tribune*, was taken into bankruptcy by this outrageous clause. His first paper, the *News*—now embalmed in the masthead of the *News-Free Press*—failed about a year ago as the result of a slightly different but just as effective attack. It had won the hatred of the power trust and assorted reactionaries by its vigorous support of the New Deal and particularly of the Tennessee Valley Authority. The TVA survived, but the *News* went under. The story of its strangulation was told in *The Nation* at the time. A hundred days later Mr. Milton launched the *Evening Tribune*. It lasted five months. Mr. Milton thereupon brought a complaint against the *Free Press* contracts. He won his point; it is, so far as we know, the first criminal conviction of a newspaper for unfair tactics, and it should discourage such practices. But the victory must seem rather empty to Mr. Milton, for Judge Darr of the Circuit Court blandly stated that in his opinion the clause had been inserted in the contract without intent or guilt of "any moral wrong" and fined the convicted corporation and its two officers one cent each. There is still freedom of the press in Chattanooga—for the *Free Press*, as long as it speaks for the right people.

*

TRADE UNIONS WHICH MAINTAIN CLOSED-shop contracts and then insist on high initiation fees from new members seem to us to be playing into the hands of the enemies of labor. A recent witness before the Tolan committee investigating the problems of migrant workers told how he had been asked to pay an initiation fee of $300 in order to join the Brotherhood of Electrical Workers and so become eligible for a job at Fort Belvoir. C. F. Preller, representing Local 26 of the brotherhood, admitted, when called before the committee, that this was the regular fee, and explained the high level by saying they had found it insured "a better class of mechanics." They were willing, he continued, to accept $50 down and after that $1 a day until the $300 was paid off. Even with this concession the fee is prohibitive for a man who has been unemployed for any length of time and who has no guaranty that the job will last for more than a few weeks. Only a minority of unions appear to charge exorbitant entrance fees, but these have recently been in the limelight owing to the prevalence of the practice in unions with members working on defense building jobs. In many important organizations, both A. F. of L. and C. I. O., there is either no fee at all or merely a nominal one required as evidence of good faith. We believe unions which set up financial barriers to membership should reconsider their position. The practice has an unpleasant smell of medieval-guild monopoly.

*

THE DETAILS OF VICHY'S ANTI-JEWISH LAWS as published in the *Journal Officiel* show them to be even more restrictive than was originally indicated. Everyone who has three Jewish grandparents, or two Jewish grandparents married to each other, is subject to the specified restrictions. Jews are barred from all elected bodies, from membership in the government, from judgeships, and from numerous specified administrative positions. They are not permitted to serve as officers in the army, navy, or police, and are barred altogether from the teaching profession. Entrance into other professional activities such as journalism, radio, and dramatics is severely restricted. About the only concession to the Jews which differs from the restrictions prevailing in Germany is permission to serve in the "liberal professions," subject to quota restrictions and a complete prohibition against their holding office in professional societies. If Herr Hitler has not yet ordered complete conformity with the Nürnberg decrees it is probably because he wishes to preserve German superiority in the arts of oppression.

*

THAT HIGH-POWERED POLITICAL MACHINE of Wendell Willkie's which rode roughshod under all opposition a month ago is still going strong. And still in reverse. Shortly after the election the editor of *The Nation* received a note signed by Mr. Willkie advising her that a message which she never sent had "touched him deeply," had indeed conveyed "a heartening faith in the principles" for which he stood. Now the edge has been taken off this tribute by the revelation that equally warm messages have been going out to victorious Democratic candidates who somehow got on the Willkie mailing lists. These are nice form letters in which the Republican champion tells of his happiness on learning of the election of so-and-so and adds: "It was because of the splendid efforts of you and others on the firing line that the Republican Party made so good a showing." At least ten of these went out to triumphant Tammany men, who had the time of their lives drafting cute replies welcoming Willkie back to the Wigwam. It's all extravagantly unimportant, and we only mention it to show that when it comes to real starry-eyed botching the professors of the New Deal can't bat a lash in the company of the streamlined Willkie entourage.

*

NO DOUBT NASSAU IS BORING; EX-KINGS, moreover, never figured in those lists we used to draw up in a happier day of the things we'd take to a desert island. We don't blame Wallis Windsor for using an infected wisdom tooth as an excuse to spend a few days in fabulous Florida. But when we note that the sedan carrying Wallis and her hard-won Duke from the hospital to a tower apartment in the Miami Biltmore Hotel for a post-operation "rest" was loaded with twenty-seven pieces of luggage—they were *not* marked Bundles for Britain—we can't help wondering how the news will be received in the shelters of London and the shambles of Coventry. It only remains for the Duchess to write a book on that old theme, "Did I ever tell you about my ostentation?"

The Italian Debacle

THE rout of the Italian army in Egypt following the equally spectacular defeat in Albania may prove to be the turning-point in the war. The German failures to carry Britain by assault when it was at its weakest last summer or to bomb it into surrender this fall were the first signs that the victorious onslaught of the Axis could be checked. But the Battle of Britain was essentially a defensive action, and wars are not won solely by defense. In Albania and Egypt, Greece and Britain have turned to the counter-offensive and have proved to the world that there is at least one weak spot in the totalitarian front.

Since Italy fought without assistance from its partner, it may seem that German prestige is not involved in the débâcle and that the Nazi war potential is not seriously weakened. But Germany in the recent past has made much of Britain's inability to assist invaded allies; now that argument will snap back in Hitler's face. The spirit of the conquered peoples will be reinforced. The neutral countries will be encouraged in their efforts to resist Axis pressure. The idea of inexorable destiny with which Hitler has attempted to endow his "New Order" has been challenged.

These are some of the wider consequences of the Italian defeats. There are also immediate strategic gains for Britain which are worth consideration. The foremost is the removal of the threat to the Suez Canal, which not long ago appeared to be in serious danger. Even if the pursuit of Graziani's legions is halted near the Libyan frontier, and even if Mussolini is able to send reinforcements across the dangerous narrows between Sicily and Tripoli, it will still be a long while before any new invasion of Egypt becomes practicable. The carefully prepared bases, the long-accumulated stores for that operation are in British hands. Tens of thousands of soldiers have been captured, and the morale of the whole Libyan army has suffered a wound which, at best, will take many months to heal. At the same time the supposed Axis plan for a flank attack on British positions in the Near East has been nipped in the bud. More than ever, the eastern Mediterranean is a British lake, and it will not be surprising if the Italian outpost in the Dodecanese Islands, now deprived of all hope of succor, surrenders in the near future.

The question is being asked: Will these disasters put Italy out of the war? The answer seems to depend largely on internal reactions. The frantic efforts of the Fascist press to minimize the British and Greek victories, while at the same time preparing the people for bad news, are good evidence of the disquiet felt in Rome. So too is the campaign which is being launched against the fainthearted, the slack, and the "pro-British," and the attempts to rally the masses to the regime by the pretense that fascism is fighting in behalf of the revolutionary proletariat. But, despite censors, the news from Albania and Libya is spreading in Italy, and, despite propagandists, Italian enthusiasm for the war, never more than lukewarm, grows colder. All hopes of a short, cheap, and profitable war have faded. Frequent British raids on Turin and Naples are evidence that the country is not immune from attack; high prices and diminished rations are reminders of the power of the blockade.

The unpopularity of the war among Italians is one of the obstacles which Germany must face if it attempts to come to the rescue. Mussolini has lost face at home and abroad; he will lose more if too ostentatious assistance is pressed upon him. If German troops are sent to help out in Albania, their wearied and disheartened allies might gladly leave all the fighting to them, and to send any considerable force into Italy itself would be to invite popular uprisings and to promote disaffection in the Italian army. So far as Libya is concerned, the British fleet stands in the way of any sizable reinforcements, and the utmost that Germany could do would be to detach some part of its air force. But this in turn might mean lessening the pressure on the British Isles.

The extrication of the Italians in Albania would appear to demand the organization of a large-scale expedition and would require the use of a corridor through either Yugoslavia or Bulgaria or both. It seems unlikely that Yugoslavia would now acquiesce, and even Bulgaria is unwilling to risk war with Turkey in order to oblige the Axis. Thus a German attempt to outflank Greece through either of these two countries might provoke resistance on a scale which would call for really formidable numbers. It is an undertaking from which Hitler may well shrink, particularly in the depths of the Balkan winter, when conditions are a severe discouragement to *Blitzkrieg* tactics. Apart, then, from the dispatch of a moderate number of planes, there seems little that Germany can do at the present time to pull its partner out of the mire. The one possibility would be a diversion through Spain. But Italian troubles will hardly have increased Franco's eagerness to join the war, nor will they have reduced his price—a large chunk of

French Africa. Laval, there is good reason to suppose, was willing to pay, but Laval is out, and that is a sign that Pétain will continue to draw a line when it comes to appeasement. He has one good card in his hand—Weygand's colonial army—and with most of the Italian trumps taken, that card has increased in value. So we see that the Italian defeats, which the German press pretends to regard with indifference, actually impose obstacles to a number of German moves. The first grand attempt to cut British imperial lines has failed. Once again it may be necessary to try a frontal attack on the main citadel, the strength of which is many times greater than it was six months ago.

Models to Avoid

IN THE last war the Department of Justice sought to keep control of prosecutions under the Epionage Act and similar statutes in its own hands. It not only tried to prevent separate action by the states but even instructed the various United States attorneys throughout the country not to submit such cases to a grand jury "without first obtaining the approval of the Attorney General." A circular sent out by the department to United States attorneys on May 23, 1918, explained that prosecutions of this kind "should not be permitted to become the medium whereby efforts are made to suppress honest, legitimate criticism of the Administration or of government policies; nor should it be permitted to become a medium for personal feuds or persecutions." The Department of Justice felt that "protection of loyal persons from unjust suspicion and prosecution is quite as important as the suppression of actual disloyalty." As former Attorney General Cummings and former Assistant Attorney General McFarland said in 1937 in their discussion of this period in their book "Federal Justice," such prosecutions are "a dangerous weapon in the hands of vindictive or fanatical prosecutors." Wilson's Attorney General, T. W. Gregory, did his best to prevent these abuses. Despite his efforts, as another of his war-time circulars (No. 851, on June 19, 1918) testifies, state authorities often made unauthorized arrests under federal law and held persons for "weeks and even months" without notifying the United States marshals or attorneys in their districts.

It was with a consciousness of these past abuses that on April 29 of this year Attorney General Jackson established the new "Neutrality Laws Unit," which was to have "responsibility for control of all prosecutive action growing out of violations or charges of violations of laws relating to neutrality, foreign enlistments, treason, sedition, espionage, sabotage, or kindred offenses." The dangers involved were noted by the Attorney General in his address to the conference of state law-enforcement officials held at the Department of Justice building in Washington last August. The Attorney General, particularly in connection with aliens, said that "hateful treatment or oppression or harassment would tend to make sullen enemies of those who wish to be good Americans and would make them a potential fifth column." As a result of this meeting a Federal-State Conference on Law Enforcement Problems of National Defense has been established in Washington. Unfortunately, the committee in charge of this conference is made up of officials whose record on civil liberties does not inspire confidence: the Governors of Rhode Island and Maryland, the Attorneys General of California and Virginia, the Speaker of the House of the Pennsylvania Legislature, the executive director of the Council of State Governments, the president of the Interstate Commission on Crime, and Chairman Sumners of the House Judiciary Committee. The last, a believer in "Anglo-Saxon supremacy," is rabidly anti-labor.

No doubt the Department of Justice intended by its August meeting to keep state action against "subversion" and "sabotage" under control. But it only succeeded in stimulating it. Although matters connected with national defense are intrusted to the federal government by the Constitution and we have ample legislation left on the statute books from the last war, four model "anti-sabotage" and "defense" bills have been drafted by the conference for submission to the state legislatures. One is entitled "A Model Sabotage Prevention Act"; another, "A Model Act to Provide for a State Guard." Both are so drawn as to invite the very abuses and dangers the Department of Justice has sought to avoid. The first would make a criminal of anyone who "intentionally . . . impairs . . . [or] interferes . . . with . . . property with reasonable grounds to believe that such act will hinder, delay, or interfere with national defense," or conspires to commit such an act, or induces another person to commit such an act, even though the act is not committed. A newspaper editor who supports a strike for a wage increase in a defense industry might well be held guilty by some state authorities of violating this act, and he could be sentenced under it to ten years in prison plus a $10,000 fine. Similarly punishable is one who "intentionally makes or causes to be made or omits to note on inspection any defect in any article with reasonable grounds to believe that such article . . . is intended to be used in connection with national defense." This also is appallingly loose, and though the model act provides that it may not be used to impair the right to collective bargaining, that provision might well prove but a pious gesture under conditions of intense war-time hysteria.

The dangers of this anti-sabotage bill are brought into sharper relief when it is coupled with the new model act for a state guard. This state guard would be empowered to catch "saboteurs" and to pursue them into other states. Members of the guard while on duty would be immune from arrest for anything except treason or felony. Imagine what could have been done in the Vultee strike with an anti-sabotage bill of this kind and a state guard of the kind one would find in California.

We have ample federal legislation to cover sabotage, and if more is needed it can be obtained. In the light of our experience in the last war it is the duty of the Attorney General to fight the enactment of such state legislation. "It has been the view of this department," Attorney General Gregory said in his 1918 report, "that every act of arbitrary and unnecessary interference with the life, habits, and occupation of the citizen would lessen efficiency, disturb order, and weaken public confidence in the American standards of justice." We commend those words as warning to Attorney General Jackson.

Help for the Joads

NOBODY knows how many thousands of migrants are roaming the highways of the nation in search of work. During the past few months the House Committee Investigating Interstate Migration has gathered a great deal of information about these destitute citizens, but the surface of the problem has barely been scratched. The tobacco belt, the mines and oil fields of the southern Appalachians, the ghost towns throughout the country—all these potential sources of further migration were, largely for lack of funds, either neglected or scantily studied by the committee, which under the able chairmanship of Representative John H. Tolan is now holding its final hearings in Washington.

In the course of its investigations the committee examined a great number of witnesses—planters, government officials, sociologists, and many victims of the changing economy of the South. While the stories of the migrants themselves were tragically uniform accounts of following the crops, of hopeless family wanderings that netted at best $300 a year, of farmers turned scab in the industrial cities of the North, the testimony of the experts was diverse and even contradictory. Some accused cotton planters of using government acreage-reduction payments to buy tractors, which were promptly used to cut down a labor force already cut down by the crop reduction itself. Where there were 30,000 tractors in use in the South in 1930, there were 100,000 in 1938. And while some of the witnesses who appeared before the Tolan committee contended that the effects of mechanization had been negligible, figures submitted by the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union concerning their own membership clearly reflect the disintegration, for one reason or another, of the plantation system. In 1934, 90 per cent of the union's members were share-croppers or tenants; by 1937, 60 per cent had become day laborers; and today 75 per cent work for wages on the plantations of Missouri, Arkansas, and Mississippi. H. L. Mitchell, who has furnished us with the figures in connection with the S. T. F. U., points out that the rapid turnover in its membership is a measure of the extent to which these workers have become migrants. Although 100,000 farm workers have held membership in the union, the largest number ever enrolled at one time was 40,000.

Some of the Tolan committee's witnesses were disposed to believe that further migration will be checked by the expansion of defense industries, but the consensus was less hopeful. The migrants of today have lived for years below the subsistence level and have no industrial skills or experience. They are suited only for farm labor —and in this area the war offers no hope. Rupert Vance, the University of North Carolina sociologist, told the committee: "The Southeast has two great problem areas in the old cotton belt and the Appalachian Mountains. They are likely as a result of the war to be joined by a third problem zone—the tobacco belt. . . . The [cotton] market is vanishing before our eyes, and the price is held up only by the support of governmental operations."

The Tolan committee has hardly got its teeth into one of the major domestic problems of the United States. We would like to see its work continued and its findings more widely publicized. But even now it is apparent that certain legislative steps are long overdue. It should not be difficult for the federal government, by virtue of its contributions to state relief funds, to force modification of state laws which require one to three years' residence before holding an unemployed worker eligible for relief. Increased appropriations for the Farm Security Administration are likewise in order. This agency, which besides making loans to share-croppers has established camps for migrant workers, has so far been their only source of aid. A few camps, providing decent housing for less than 10,000 workers, is obviously no solution, but these camps might serve as models for an extensive program of low-cost housing, undertaken jointly by the government and employers of migratory labor.

Such measures are obviously superficial, however, and are offered to relieve a serious situation rather than to solve the problem. At the heart of the matter is the crying need for extending minimum-wage legislation to agricultural workers. Testifying before the committee, both Secretary of Labor Perkins and Colonel Philip B. Fleming criticized exemption of farm workers from federal labor laws and pointed out that a precedent already exists in the sugar industry, where the government makes payment of a minimum wage a prerequisite for subsidies to the owners of plantations and refineries.

With Southern planters receiving millions of dollars annually in government subsidies, it should not be impossible to impose working conditions that would not drive Southern farm labor to the highways in desperation.

Too Normal for Comfort

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

SIX weeks have slipped by since election. The Willkie crusade is in process of becoming an impersonal organization dedicated gently to the "principles" on which the Republican campaign was fought, but nobody seems to remember just what they were. Business is going on as usual, and the President's third inauguration lies just ahead.

Somehow, everything seems a little too normal and unchanged for comfort.

Before the election we were alternately warned and promised that as soon as that crisis of national decision was past, things would happen. Swift developments in Congress or, if Congress were shuffled out of the Capitol, drastic executive acts were expected. The only thing that was not expected was that nothing would happen. And that is what has happened—nothing. Instead of action, a curious relaxation seems to have attacked the government and, indeed, the country as a whole. Certainly there has been no access of courage or vigor or decision or awareness that we are, as we keep saying we are, in a period of very desperate crisis. Is Britain's sudden burst of energy and success in the Mediterranean responsible for the apathy in America? Do we need to see the whites of catastrophe's eyes before we move?

I don't know the answer, but I am sure of the fact. This country is not behaving like a country that realizes its own hopes and interests and even its national existence are at issue. It is not acting as if it intended to defend at any cost its freedom and its institutions. It is acting, instead, as if it had ten years, or five, or two in which to prepare to defend those things. The rearmament program is way behind schedule. The draft is behind schedule. Shipments to England are behind schedule. Equally important, the progress toward democratic control of these processes is imperceptible. The interesting proposal for speeding up airplane production described by I. F. Stone on another page of this issue is an encouraging exception to the rule, but it is still only a proposal and its chance of winning the support of the industries involved, or of the Defense Commission, seems slim. In general the progress of events seems to be heading the other way. Attacks on the Walsh-Healey Act become more insistent; threats to civil liberties lurk in such legislation as we discuss editorially on page 621; the refugee question, a sure test of our democratic pretensions, has bogged down deeper than ever in conflicting jurisdictions and rulings and theories of procedure

Can we afford this sort of stalemate? The condition of the world forbids it, unequivocally. It can be said without any hesitation that only a tremendous effort backed by confidence and determination and coordinated on a solidly democratic basis will enable our country to survive. If it cannot make this effort it will surrender, in one way or another, and become a subsidiary of Hitler's New Order holding company. And this will be the fate it deserves.

Never have we needed clear-cut leadership as we do today. The vague conflicts of objective and method which could be tolerated with mere discomfort in the first years of the Roosevelt regime have become major dangers today. We must head in one direction, not a dozen. We can no longer tolerate the contradictions that make the State Department at one and the same time the mouthpiece of an aggressive anti-fascist foreign policy and a tacit agent and ally of Hitlerism. We cannot ask labor's self-sacrificing support of the defense

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CONTENTS

THE SHAPE OF THINGS 617

EDITORIALS:

THE ITALIAN DEBACLE 620
MODELS TO AVOID 621
HELP FOR THE JOADS 622
TOO NORMAL FOR COMFORT by Freda Kirchwey 623
LABOR'S PLAN: 500 PLANES A DAY by I. F. Stone 624
THE HITLER "REVOLUTION" by Raymond Gram Swing 626
A TALK WITH PHILIP MURRAY by Rose M. Stein 629
RUSSIA REVISITED by Joachim Joesten 631
EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS by Keith Hutchison 633
IN THE WIND 634
A NATIVE AT LARGE by Jonathan Daniels 635

BOOKS AND THE ARTS:

THE WHISPER OF THE DEVIL by Morton Dauwen Zabel 636
ON GETTING TOUGH by Albert Guérard 637
THE TALK OF EZRA POUND by John Peale Bishop 637
JOHN DEWEY by Morton G. White 639
THE FIRST YEAR by Maxwell S. Stewart 640
FINNEY OF JOHNS HOPKINS by Karl Menninger 640
ON THE CONTRARY by Hassoldt Davis 640
IN BRIEF 641
DRAMA: MR. MOLNAR BLOWS A BUBBLE by Joseph Wood Krutch 641
RECORDS by B. H. Haggin 642

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program and at the same time permit defense contracts to go to Henry Ford. We must become, if for the first time in our history, a nation with a single, consistent policy; and that policy must be both democratic and militant. Most people expected such a policy to be born out of the election campaign. But success can work either way. It can serve as a mandate, a goad to action, or it can provide a heap of laurels on which to relax. To relax today is to betray a suicidal lack of imagination. But one has to search far in official circles to find a full, harsh realization that unless we act, tensely and courageously, catastrophe is just around the corner.

Labor's Plan: 500 Planes a Day

BY I. F. STONE

Detroit, December 15

DETROIT may soon be the scene of one of the most important battles of this war, and your correspondent has just been going over the battlefield. By the time this appears in print the preliminary bombardment should have begun. The future of Britain, and of Britain as our outer fort against Nazism, depends upon planes; whether we can make the planes fast enough may depend upon the outcome of the battle to be fought here.

In this Detroit area, in this huge and sprawling conglomeration of factories for the automobile and its parts, the American people possess the greatest productive machine of its kind in the world. Labor here believes that if this productive machine were utilized to the full, it would be possible within six months to turn out 500 planes a day without seriously interfering with the production of automobiles.

By "labor" I mean first of all Walter P. Reuther, director of the General Motors division of the C. I. O. United Automobile Workers, who for the past three months has been knocking on doors and hammering on desks in Detroit and Washington with this idea of his. By "labor" I also mean the automobile workers' union of which he is an official, for President R. J. Thomas of the U. A. W. and President Philip Murray of the C. I. O. are getting behind the plan and will have announced their support of it by the time this story appears. By "labor" I also mean Sidney Hillman and his aides on the National Defense Advisory Commission, who quickly saw the tremendous possibilities in Reuther's idea and have been encouraging and guiding its development. Hillman laid the main outlines of it before Knudsen almost three months ago.

By "planes" I mean single-motored, all-metal pursuit ships, embodying the latest developments in the famous British Spitfire and powered by a liquid-cooled motor.

And by "battle" I mean battle, because this plan can only be put into effect by treating the automobile and automobile-parts industry of the Detroit area as one big factory under special administrative control, subordinating all private interests to the one job of getting out the planes. The battle cannot be won without casualties —the price of planes and the capital values the aircraft industry has built on that price. For the success of this plan would cut in half the cost of making planes, a development which the aircraft industry as a whole dreads far more than the defeat of Britain.

The job of getting out the planes requires, first of all, skilled mechanics, and the first shocking fact that inquiry uncovers here is that roughly a third of the skilled mechanics in this area are out of work and most of the rest are working less than a full forty-hour week. There are more than 15,000 skilled mechanics in Detroit and its environs—tool-and-die makers, jig and fixture makers, pattern makers and designers. Estimates of the number either totally unemployed or working on production jobs that less skilled men could fill run from 5,000 to 8,000. Fisher Body Plant No. 23, the largest tool-and-die shop in the world, has employed as many as 4,800 at one time and has machinery enough to work that number again. It employed about 1,400 men from March to November of this year, most of them on a forty-eight-hour week. It now has 400 men on its pay roll, and they are working only thirty-two hours a week. The tool-and-die shops of General Motors are on a short work week. So are Ford's. So is the Fisher-Pontiac shop. Despite newspaper talk of the shortage of skilled labor, skilled mechanics have been laid off here in the past few months or put on production jobs as ordinary workers. The same conditions probably prevail at other machine-shop centers, such as Toledo, South Bend, Cleveland, Kenosha, Milwaukee. *We need machines to make planes; yet men who can make machines are idle.* No other area in the country has so great a reservoir of this essential skilled labor as Detroit.

A second shocking fact is that while Packard is digging the ditches for the foundations of a new factory to build plane engines and Ford is going over blueprints for a new plane-engine plant, much plant capacity here is idle or not used to the full. One huge plant here is entirely idle. It has enough floor space for assembly lines to put

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together 500 plane engines a day, and the sponsors of the Reuther plan have selected it as their main assembly plant. Hardly an automotive factory in this area is working at full capacity; hardly one could not do its part in a coordinated production program. The Reuther plan would bring the idle plants and idle men together. Instead of relying on new engine and aircraft plants that cannot begin operation until the fall of 1942, labor proposes a scientifically planned program to use Detroit's unemployed skill and machinery to put out planes—and to put them out in huge quantities in six months.

But there is more to the proposal than this. It also demands the intelligent application of the simple principle that underlies modern mass production—division of labor. Packard and Ford may prefer a contract that will give them a whole new plant for engines, though this may require work on half a hundred separate parts, each with a problem of its own from a mass-production point of view. Labor proposes to parcel out the problems as well as the job so that no one plant will have to concentrate on more than one or two problems of tooling.

Labor proposes (1) a survey of the automotive industry in the Detroit area which will show, plant by plant and virtually machine by machine, what capacity is available over and above the normal and seasonal needs of the automobile industry—in other words, what type of engine or aircraft part each plant could turn out and in what quantities. It proposes (2) the breaking down of the blueprint of a Spitfire fighter into its various parts and the assignment of these parts for mass production to the plants the survey has shown can best handle the job.

Under such a system, the task of retooling would be immensely simplified. Buick might put out so many crank shafts, Dodge might be held responsible for so many cylinders, Hudson might make the valves. Each shop would have a final-inspection department to see that every part was up to specifications before it went to the assembly plant. A highly trained corps of crack assembly men from the different automobile companies would superintend assembly of the engine. Similar methods would be applied to the fuselage and wings. The wings are standard metal, and the problem of making them would be comparatively simple, particularly in Detroit, which has the largest metal-stamping presses in the world. Different body plants would be used for wing, tail, and fuselage. The body plants in this area are estimated to have an unused potential of about 40 per cent. Engines, wings, and fuselage would be put together in huge hangars to be erected at the Wayne County airport, and the complete planes could be flown out from there. Sponsors of the plan believe it would take six months of work to begin production at 20 planes a day, that they could hit 500 in a few weeks, that the inevitable "bugs" in production could be eliminated by the time the first 10,000 planes were out. The first 10,000 would be used for trainers. Five hundred planes a day would be 3,000 planes a week, 150,000 planes a year, enough to swamp the *Luftwaffe*. If only a third of that number could be achieved, it would win the war.

Many problems are involved, but none of them are insoluble, and all of them are made easier by this kind of approach. Knudsen, who knows of the plan, put forward a tentative and timid alternative of his own in a speech before the Automobile Manufacturers' Association a month ago, but his scheme was merely to make the automobile industry a reservoir of parts for aviation. The Reuther plan proposes to leave the great bombers and the more difficult types of planes to the aviation industry and to convert this area into a huge factory for the fighter plane. It proposes that the automobile industry tackle the problem of the plane—which is a flying automobile—from the mass-production angle, an angle from which the aircraft industry, with its comparatively miniature resources, has never been able to tackle it.

The Reuther plan is merely the extension on a large and well-planned scale of what the average automobile manufacturer does when he farms out his parts. This farming-out process provides the guide to the method which would be used in paying each plant for its work. But if the production problem seems fairly simple, the task of winning the cooperation of the private interests involved is a thorny one. The aircraft industry has a vested interest in keeping up the price of planes. The automobile manufacturers fear that the Reuther plan might interfere with the production of automobiles, and they fear even more that it might spoil their chance of obtaining new government-financed engine and body plants. The management people I spoke to in Detroit all insisted that aircraft could not be built in automobile plants. The skilled tool-and-die workers—Reuther is himself a tool-and-die worker—insisted that it could; and the problem of the mass production of planes is essentially a tool-and-die problem. The tool-and-die workers say that General Motors is building most of the Allison engine not in the new Allison plant but in the old Cadillac plant, with retooled Cadillac machinery. I talked to men who work in the Cadillac factory, and they confirmed these statements. Labor sees in the Reuther plan a way to end seasonal employment here by making Detroit a great aircraft center and adjusting plane to automobile production. Obviously the Reuther plan could be successfully carried out only if government and labor, the two forces interested solely in production, had equal representation with capital in the administration of the program. No doubt the cry of "collectivism" will be raised, though it is planned to pay a reasonable profit. Unfortunately, capital has not always been satisfied with a reasonable profit, even on patriotism.

The Hitler "Revolution"

BY RAYMOND GRAM SWING

[*Although the author did not offer it as such, we submit the following article as a reply to Anne Morrow Lindbergh's thesis that Hitlerism, whether we like it or not, is the advance guard of an inevitable and revolutionary world order, its faults merely the "scum" on the "wave of the future."*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

THE most dangerous word now assailing our minds, in my opinion, is the word "inevitable." It is more dangerous than the word "fascism," than "war," than the lesser words that represent evil to our generation, like "lower standard of life," insecurity," "inflation."

The words we recognize as evil rally in us some degree of opposition, and we translate our opposition into thought and action according to our light and strength. But we have not been taught to classify "inevitable" among the evil words. Part of our light and strength lies in our sense that effort is worth expending. The mind which begins with a conviction of its own futility is like a motor empty of fuel. And that is what makes the word "inevitable" dangerous. It represents defeat before the expenditure of effort, before the acceptance of sacrifice.

I am concerned about the introduction of this word "inevitable" into a discussion of the world conflict. The war is being described as the working of inscrutable and inevitable forces so vast that the individual, either by his own contribution or through concerted action with other individuals, is unable to affect those forces. We are told that a world revolution is in progress, and we are expected to be so impressed by the magnitude of the concept that we resign ourselves to inaction. We are advised to believe that the inscrutable forces are better for us than any brave self-conducted behavior we may rally against the evils we see. We are told that what is coming is inevitable, and that it is good. Americans are being advised to consider themselves exempted from the conflict in the world on the ground that bigger forces are at work than we know or can affect, that these are so-called "good" forces, even though superficially they look "evil."

Let us examine the thesis, first to scrutinize the statement that a world revolution is in progress, next that it is bound to end well. Translated into current language, the statement means first of all that the Nazi movement is revolutionary. When this is said one is supposed to respond not only with a feeling that it is something deep, but that it also is something fundamentally liberating. For the revolutions of history have been liberating in their ultimate effect.

A political or economic revolution is one in which power passes from a smaller to a larger group, and so gives more people freedom. If the power passes from a larger to a smaller group, it is called a counter-revolution. These are elementary definitions, and they would be sufficient if social behavior always developed in an elementary way.

It is true, the coming to power of the Nazis was revolutionary to a limited extent. The Weimar Republic had not been thoroughly revolutionary, at least not enough so to clinch the transfer of power from the aristocracy and upper middle class to the broad basis of labor and peasants. The National Socialist Party was recruited largely from the lower middle classes, with a sprinkling of industrialists. Superficially it looked like a revolution when the Nazis captured the state. But the appearance was deceptive. Hitler did not rule for the benefit of his followers. They did not become suddenly more free. He exercised the power which he had seized through the lower middle class for something other than its liberation. He applied it to the construction of a military machine. He instituted the greatest short-term public-works project of all history. Obviously this solved the immediate economic problem of giving work and wages to the unemployed. But this was the measure of the economic freedom created. Even this measure of liberation was small, since a great public-works program which was not creating permanent wealth could not be of lasting economic benefit. Even without war, building a war machine is regressive in its effect, and brings a lowering of the standard of life. It does not represent expanding freedom. The net economic benefit of the Nazi revolution to individuals in the German state was the employment of the unemployed, on whose behalf, in the last analysis, those already employed had to accept a reduced standard of living. If the revolution was only economic, only to be thought of in terms of job security, employment, and a well-established standard of living, it was a fraud. And from that standpoint to argue that the Nazi revolution promises vast benefit to the world, over which it is sweeping with new concepts of liberation, is palpable nonsense. There is nothing revolutionary in the construction of a war machine. Those who attribute to the Nazi regime the aura of revolution are ignorant of the regime or of revolution, or of both. Certainly there is nothing good, and hence inevitable, in the Nazi economic pattern. It offers to the world no freedom which we should be wise to introduce into our own economy.

But a revolution may bring economic hardship for a time and yet promise economic liberation later on, and it is not enough to dismiss the present inadequacy of Nazi policy without a look at its potentialities. If the Nazis intended to do no more than build a military economy, and hoped to promote prosperity by building more and more war equipment, we should not need to look farther. The revolutionary promise would be a hoax for the German public. In time they would discover it and relieve themselves of the perpetrators of the hoax.

But the Nazis ask to be taken more seriously. They are not going to stop with building a military machine; they are intent on using the machine to conquer the raw materials of the world and dominate its production and markets. And though the unemployed so far have been the only ones to benefit by Nazi economics, the Nazis promise that in the future the benefits will be enormous and will be shared by all Germans. They will accomplish this, not by establishing an economic system in which the world as a whole is to prosper, but by establishing a permanent world inequality, with Germans owning or controlling the tools of production, which are to be used by non-owning workers, in other words, by a vast class which is never to come into control of its own economic destiny. This is the promise. I am not saying it is a credible promise. It has been made by men who have yet to show ability to master anything other than a war economy in a police state, and who have not even tackled the job of creating wealth in their own country. Whether they can dominate and make function a nest of nations, and keep them harmoniously producing for German benefit, is, to put it mildly, highly questionable. It presupposes something more than a police state; it presupposes a world police empire, and it is a rash assumption that men can be cowed into producing raw materials and manufactures by spies, concentration camps, and machine-guns. But that is not the aspect of the problem to examine now. The question is: Is this revolution, and if it is, is it revolution to which the world should resign itself in hopeful anticipation?

By the definition I have given of revolution, a transfer of power from a smaller to a larger number, the fulfilment of this dream of empire would be revolutionary. If all Germans were elevated to the ruling class, and if the control of all the world's tools of production and all its resources were to be vested in them, and if this nation of rulers were to dominate the remainder of the world as inferior, this would be a revolutionary extension of power to those Germans who have little or no power today. And Nazis, with their dream of world domination in mind, may be quite sincere when they speak of their National Socialism as revolutionary. It isn't a revolution yet, as their leaders all but admit, but it will be. It will liberate Germans not now liberated. They will have power, they will be more free—so the Nazis say.

But my definition of revolution contradicts the Nazis while it appears to substantiate them. A larger number of Germans would be free. But they would become so only by transferring to themselves the freedom enjoyed in the rest of the world. And in the end, if the German objective was reached, power would have passed from the many to the relatively few. And that would not be revolution; it would be counter-revolution.

So far I have spoken only of the economic aspect of the so-called Nazi revolution. But freedom is not only economic. Apologists for Germany tell us that under Hitler class distinctions have broken down. You have all heard of the well-known Nazi general who eats his dinner with his well-known chauffeur. This well-known meal is peddled about as a snapshot of democracy at work. But though this is the end of one snobbishness, it is not the end of snobbishness in Germany. Another snobbishness has been substituted for it. The general eats with the chauffeur, both being Germans. But the German will not eat with a Jew, or even trade with a Jew. There is no pretense about that. You may say that racial distinctions are drawn in the United States. But as a nation we know we are sinning against our own principles in drawing them, and in time we hope to overcome the habit and impulse to sin; whereas in Germany this same race discrimination is not a sin, of which a representative Nazi must be ashamed; it is the very keystone of Nazi policy. The Nazis do not promise ultimate brotherhood. They hate the thought of brotherhood. They are striving for ultimate mastery.

But social equality is not the only non-material right of a free society and not its most valuable one. In a free society the individual is guaranteed the protection of law administered by independent courts of justice; he is free to write and speak, free to meet, free to worship, and free to have a final control of his government. In all these respects the individual German enjoyed a wide freedom before the advent of Hitler. In all these respects he now enjoys no freedom whatever. He is not protected by an independent judiciary. He is not free to write or speak, to meet, to worship, or to control the government. Nor do the Nazi promise-makers hold out to him the hope that after an interim period these liberties will be restored. On the contrary, he is given only one pledge: his race and nation are to have power, and he is told he must be expressed only by belonging to them. Henceforth he counts only as a member of a race and nation. And it is explained to him that he cannot achieve racial and national supremacy without the permanent sacrifice of personal liberties.

Revolution being the transfer of power from a smaller to a larger group, and power being more than the control of economic factors, one sees that most of the German people have lost some of their power. They are denied practical control of national affairs; they may not freely write, advocate, or worship, and their persons are not sacred in courts of justice. This power was theirs, but it has now passed from the many to the few. In these respects German National Socialism is counter-revolutionary.

Now to return to the word "inevitable." Part of the concept of that word derives from the sense that, whatever its immediate appearance, the so-called Nazi revolution is going to do more good than evil. By this statement is not meant that Nazism is like a fire burning the slums of modern life. Those who tell us it is for the ultimate good affirm that there is inherent revolutionary liberation in Nazi ideas. They affirm that the ideas are liberating Germans and, through Germans, will liberate all mankind. They admire the organization of the Nazi state. They delight in the efficiency of the Nazi war machine. They are fascinated by the flight of Nazi imagination in taking charge of the whole world. But to grant the skill of Nazi domination is not to say that there is any revolutionary liberation in Nazi ideas. On the contrary, this is the skill of counter-revolution, the skill of a few men controlling the many, one of the familiar skills of ancient and medieval times. The skill can operate in the modern world only if the many who have liberties resign them or are too weak to defend them. A counter-revolution cannot succeed unless the many who have the power are incompetent in holding on to it. And to say or to infer that this is inevitable is to say that it is inevitable that those who have power shall lay it down. Laying it down is an act of will. And an act of will is not inevitable. It is a choice. Moreover, it is a choice against self-interest. And if it is made by the non-German world today, it will be made either because the smooth skill of German tyrannical organization exerts an insane fascination or out of spiritual funk. If Germany, built as it is today on the suppressed liberties of German individuals and the slavery of the lands already conquered, is stronger or can make itself stronger than the people of the world who have freedom and whom it intends to dominate, then the free people have lost the sense of their strength and of the value of their heritage of liberties. And to imply that the Nazi revolution is inevitable is to imply that all men, save only the members of the German National Socialist Party, or men of their ilk, have lost their zeal and their enterprise.

I should make this clear: I am not arguing that this war is not or may not be a phase of a world revolution. In the existing democracies, though we have the civil liberties, we have by no means kept the economic power diffused. Democratic potentialities remain unrealized, socially, politically, and economically.

In modern war the civilians are the soldiers, and their spirit and sacrifices are essential to victory. So after the war the people may insist on sharing the power they do not now wield. That, I should say, is most likely. But if that is revolution, it is not going to be Nazi counter-revolution. Anyone who knows the masses of Britain knows they are not waiting to set up a Nazi regime, with concentration camps, suppressed civil liberties, a foreign policy of conquest, and the invention of a new slavery under a dominant race. Certainly in this country, which also will be deeply affected by the war in its time, the people have no such longings. What we want in America is more, not less, freedom. The common man wants more, not less, power.

But revolutions can and should come without violence if by revolution is meant a transfer of power from a smaller to a larger number. To say that the present war is a phase of a world revolution is not to say that we are doomed to have civil war and putsches wherever there have been maldistributions of political and economic power. It is to say only that we may be living in a time of the quickening of vast forces which will proceed with the long labor of liberation.

It is true that profound economic changes are in progress. The economic structure of modern society is of an intricacy that would befuddle an Alexander Hamilton or a Thomas Jefferson. We talk about our individualist society as though it were intact as in Jefferson's day, and only vaguely apprehend that part of our economic structure is in control of an oligarchy. Fundamentally it differs from the Nazi oligarchy in vital ways: it did not seize its power by trickery and violence, and it is subject to having its power whittled down by free legislative action. Still, it is an oligarchy. Much has been left undone in our democracy. But if this were not true, democracy would not be worth having. There can be no worse government than a final government.

If this is a revolutionary epoch, let us be warned lest we be defrauded by those who offer us counter-revolution as being the revolution. If there are Americans with undue political and economic power today who fear to lose it by revolution, they may try to offer us counter-revolution instead, not for our sakes but for theirs. For in counter-revolution, though they may have to sacrifice some of their elbow-room, they still can remain in the master class. If any man or woman offers us the Nazi revolution as inevitable and for the ultimate good, we should inquire if he is instinctively trying to hold on to undue power, or if he aspires to wield undue power, or if he suffers, as I said before, just from funk. Pure democracy, the final goal of all revolution, is a society in which power is diffused, not wielded by a few. And when these salespeople of concentrated power, these oligarchs, call the coming of the Nazi revolution inevitable, they are wishing it to come. They are making their choice. They want their own freedom, not the freedom of the many. When they advise us to do business with Hitler, to learn to get along with him, we should ask if they are clinging to an undemocratic power or yearning for an undemocratic share of it. True, Hitler is a man one can learn to get along with. One can submit. True, Hitler will not attack this country, not if we accept his new world order. True, Hitler has been a man of peace. He never fought for anything unless it was denied him.

But it is not true that we can secure our freedom by getting along with Hitler, and then, as is naively suggested, by improving democracy within our boundaries. If an eighty-ton tank is bearing down on one's house, one doesn't defend it by hanging better curtains in the living-room window or by giving the domestic help a box-spring bed. One defends it with anti-tank guns. I grant you the democratic mansion needs better curtains, and it is a scandal that the domestic help hasn't had a decent bed. But imperfect though it is, the mansion is worth defending. It is the best mansion, by and large, that the human family has yet had to occupy. And it is far more comfortable, inside and out, than a Nazi tank.

Those who try to sell us the Nazi counter-revolution as a revolution have made their choice. They are bidding to share Hitler's power. And when they imply it is the inevitable good, they are trying to sap men's minds with the worst of social potions, inaction. There is one completely effective answer to them: that the rest of us choose freedom, not only the freedom which we now enjoy even if we have not used it too wisely, but the freedom to grow more wise and more free.

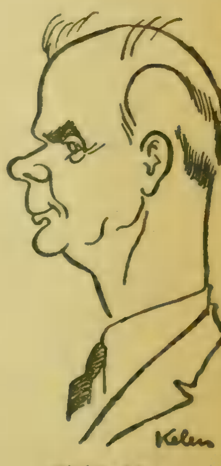
A Talk with Philip Murray

BY ROSE M. STEIN

Washington, D. C., December 10

THE C. I. O.'s new generalissimo, Philip Murray, is something of an enigma to the public. Although he has been a vital force in the American labor movement for almost forty years he has always been content to play a secondary role; in his own words, he has "plugged along the mill gates" close to the people he has worked with all his life. As second in command of both the powerful United Mine Workers and the C. I. O., he has kept clear of politics and never sought popular acclaim, being always more than willing to remain behind the scenes and let the applause and flashlights concentrate on his chief. Now that he has been thrust into top place, a good deal of speculation has arisen among varied groups as to what he will or will not do. Complicating the situation is the fact that the retiring head remains not too far in the background and is known to be of a temperament which does not relish a secondary position.

Philip Murray can resolve this speculation in one of two ways: he can announce his intentions through the country's headlines, or he can proceed quietly on a chosen course of action and let the results reveal to the nation where he stands. Without a shadow of a doubt he will do the latter. He is not the kind of leader who, in a manner designed to capture popular fancy, addresses himself to the public at large regardless of the consequences to the group he represents. His primary concern is to further the well-being of his group, and all his utterances and actions are directed to that end. He is a responsible rather than a "popular" leader. To the specific questions, therefore, whether Philip Murray will "clean house," fire this man and replace him with that, reorganize this local or that council, the answer is that as a responsible labor leader he is not interested in making spectacular announcements even though the front pages are eager to quote him, or in providing a forum for dissidents, or in spending time on minor tasks when major ones are pressing. It is on major issues that Philip Murray will concentrate his attention.


Philip Murray

Seated behind a massive mahogany desk in his spacious office in the United Mine Workers' Building in Washington, he sketched for me in broad outline his organization's projected "program of action." Despite phenomenal organizational gains in the past few years and many legislative and judicial victories, labor is confronted today with problems so grave and so far-reaching that the welfare of the whole nation depends upon their successful solution. Trade unionism was a comparatively simple matter when it could confine itself to the task of bargaining and fighting for higher wages, shorter hours, better working conditions. Now, in a period of advancing technology, centralized control, and huge government spending for armaments, this type of unionism is outmoded. The complexities of the present situation confront all branches of labor, organized and unorganized, but the greatest burden rests upon the C. I. O., for the C. I. O. represents the workers in the major mass-production and national-defense industries—steel, coal, automobiles, aviation, shipbuilding, to mention only a few.

Philip Murray considers his new job in line with what he has been doing all his life, "only more so." At the age of ten he went into a mine in Scotland as his father's helper and forthwith joined the miners' union. (The son of a miner, under eighteen years of age, could join without initiation fee and pay half dues.) Six years later he came to the United States, promptly entered an American mine, and as promptly joined the United Mine Workers. Since then he has held many offices, from committeeman and checkweighman to C. I. O. vice-president and head of the steel organization drive. Each one demanded responsibility, devotion, and resourcefulness. His present position, he finds, merely "broadens the scope."

Within this broadened scope are four major fields of activity, all closely related. The C. I. O. must pursue aggressively its task of organizing the unorganized. It must consolidate the gains already made. It must clarify and uphold labor's proper role in the defense program. In cooperation with other groups it must shape policies designed to safeguard democracy and to avoid economic catastrophe after the defense program comes to a close. An intensified organizing campaign is already under way, with efforts centered in the strongholds of Bethlehem, Republic, and Ford. An office has even been opened in Weirton, where none could be rented for the past two years. Employees of these plants have been hired as organizers, and Philip Murray places more confidence in their drive to organize their fellow-employees than in the many rumors that Grace, Ford, Girdler, and Weir may yield to exhortation and voluntarily embrace unionism.

More difficult than this direct organization effort is the task of forestalling reaction seeking under the pretext of national emergency to rob labor of its fundamental rights, which would mean "tearing down the first line of defense." Asked how he proposed to combat this trend, Philip Murray smiled and leisurely lit another cigarette. "Oh, by the usual methods, I suppose. There is no all-embracing formula. One thing I can assure you —I'll not make a fool of myself. We will not confine ourselves to criticism alone but will be prepared to offer constructive proposals for every phase of the program that we criticize, and will base both our complaints and our proposals on facts." The C. I. O., he said, has undertaken extensive surveys of present and potential production in order to obtain the necessary data concerning basic defense industries. He proceeded to elaborate.

The all-important task before the country today is to make intelligent use of our resources and to safeguard democracy. That ties up, of course, with the defense program and with what is happening on the other side. "Narrow-minded, selfish, reactionary interests" brought France to its present state. The same interests are responsible in large part for Britain's plight. And exactly the same forces are operating here. "The country must be saved from them." To illustrate, he went on, there is a drive to outlaw strikes. "Labor will never stand for it. Such a concession would be tantamount to committing suicide." If such legislation should pass, "it would give rise to the biggest wave of strikes this country has ever seen." This, he added, does not mean that the C. I. O. favors strikes in the present emergency; "but we believe that we are better able than the Coxes and the Hoffmans to recommend ways and means for controlling the situation."

Concretely, his plan is to set up in every major defense industry joint boards on which labor, industry, consumers, and the government would be represented, with boards of review over them to serve as "clearing houses," and with a "final" board which would include the President of the United States. Had such boards been in existence, he firmly believes, the much-publicized Vultee and Aluminum strikes might have been averted. Such boards, too, would act to correct the present "scandalous" awarding of government contracts to large producers to the exclusion of smaller firms—a policy which, if it is continued, will leave industry in the hands of the great monopolies. Bethlehem Steel Corporation, for instance, controls 13 per cent of the country's steel capacity. To date it has received 40 per cent of the government's steel orders. United States Steel and other top-ranking producers have likewise received more than their proportionate share of government orders, while a number of smaller companies have received "not a dollar's worth of government business," and their employees work only two and three days a week. It may be true that these smaller concerns, "most of which, by the way, maintain excellent labor relations," are in poorer competitive position. But, Murray asks, would it not be to the ultimate benefit of our economy if the government subsidized improvements in these plants instead of loading the big corporations with so many orders that they may have to build additional capacity, thus concentrating a basic industry in fewer and fewer hands? And what is true of steel, is true of a number of other industries, including aviation. This is one of the problems with which the C. I. O. expects to concern itself.

Another is the burning question of wages. Workers in most of the defense industries are determined to demand wage increases. They do not wish to add to the government's burden of defense expenditures or to set the "go" signal for price inflation, but they are going to demand a share in the huge profits which industry is piling up.

The high capacity at which all defense industries are operating has enormously increased both the per unit and the total profit. It is not only morally justifiable but to the best interest of the national economy that some of these profits be diverted to wages and consumption.

The C. I. O. will continue to press its demands for a joint conference of all interested groups "to probe and explore" possibilities for making our economy function more effectively. "I may be accused," said Murray, "of being a crank on this matter, but I am willing to take the risk. I consider such a conference of paramount importance." He has no illusions that by calling a meeting he can solve the country's difficulties. What he proposes is more than just a meeting. He envisions a permanent endeavor to cope with pressing national problems. To deny the possible fruitfulness of such an endeavor is to deny democracy's capacity to survive, for upon our ability to solve our problems in this peaceful and intelligent manner rests the ultimate fate of our democratic institutions. If the conference is being sidetracked because industry or some other group is unwilling to cooperate, then it is time the country knew about it.

Murray does not believe that we can attempt to solve our problems without regard to what is happening in the rest of the world. He is by no means an isolationist. He believes that the psychological effect of a British defeat upon our people "would be tragic beyond words." Moreover, the present war, Murray believes, is being supported and fought by British workers, and American labor feels a strong kinship with them. He is in favor of aiding Britain with materials but does not want "a single American boy to be sent across the water." This is the view, he believes, of labor's rank and file.

He is convinced that labor was the deciding factor in the reelection of President Roosevelt. The workers in the main approved of the President's policies and had confidence in his pledges. As the responsible head of a large segment of labor Philip Murray is mapping his "program of action" to help the President justify labor's confidence.

Russia Revisited

BY JOACHIM JOESTEN

S.S. Ginyo Maru, en route to San Francisco, November 29

NO MORE than two years ago it was a good guess that Hitler's war would make hash of Soviet Russia. Instead, the war has not only enlarged Stalin's empire and proved a real boon to it in many ways, but has also converted it into the last thing one would ever have expected it to become—a "transit country."

Persons who wish to go from Europe to America nowadays have to make a tiresome trip around three-quarters of the globe; and they have to go through Russia. Unless they prefer to wait their turn for months at Petsamo or Lisbon, the last two ports of the Continent from which a few ships still ply across the ocean, they have no choice but to go to Moscow, by plane, train, or boat, spend nine days and nights on the Trans-Siberian Railroad, wait a week or so at Vladivostok for the boat to Japan, which only runs three times a month, and then take a transpacific liner at Kobe or Yokohama—if it is a Japanese ship, the trip may very possibly be canceled at the last minute "by order of the government." It is, although not a very comfortable journey, an interesting one if you have plenty of time; if you have not, it is a damned nuisance.

I had lived in Moscow for six months in 1932 when things generally were in rather bad shape; so naturally I was curious to see how they would be now, eight years later. To tell the truth, I was disappointed. There is no denying that some progress has been made: the standard of living has undoubtedly risen; scores of new and imposing buildings have been built in Moscow alone; many services which at that earlier period were in a chaotic condition have been licked into shape. But, by and large, things looked pretty much as they did eight years ago. There were still the same depressing queues outside the food shops, the restaurants, the stores where anything of practical value could be bought, and on the station platforms. The queues, it is true, did not seem to be quite so long and the people did not look quite so hungry as in 1932, but it was obvious that the output and distribution of foodstuffs and other essentials was still—or again?—far short of requirements.

The capital seemed better off in many ways than Vladivostok, where we stayed a week, and the other towns of Siberia and the Far East, which we merely glimpsed from our train. We saw few beggars or ragged children in Moscow, but dozens of them lined the platform of practically every station beyond the Urals. They looked unspeakably tattered and grimy, and they fought like hungry wolves for the pieces of bread and the coins which the passengers threw to them.

I had read articles—which I believed innocent of propaganda—saying that the chronic dearth of food and household goods had at last been overcome in Soviet Russia and that the stores were filled with goods of all sorts, at reasonable prices. I cannot say whether that was true at one time, but it certainly is not true now. Indeed, most of the stores, in Moscow as in Vladivostok, were as empty and desolate as they had been eight years ago. My eyes met the same familiar and depressing sights: the yawning emptiness of cases and shelves, with here and there a sprinkling of unsalable goods, the bored-looking shop-assistants, haughtily cutting short all inquiries for articles with the unvarying, final *njet,* "none"—the most-used word of the Russian vocabulary—and the multitudes billowing to and fro, from opening hour to closing time, between the bare counters and empty cases, with eager, searching eyes, ready to jump at any object not entirely devoid of usefulness that could be bought for rubles.

We found scarcely any more goods on sale now than in 1932, but there was a spectacular change in window-dressing. Whereas in that year even the shop windows used to gape in utter desolation, they are at present alluring pitfalls for the artless passer-by. Here, behind the glass—mostly broken in Vladivostok, where it has never been replaced since the shattering days of the revolution—are exhibited all the things that the crowd in the street is longing to buy: beautiful loaves of bread and appetizing strings of sausages, ham and cheese, lusty lobsters and huge codfish, a lovely portrait of a young lady inhaling a perfume which the cosmetic trust promises to sell you if you will step inside. The promise is vain: the bread, the ham, the lobster are painted images; none of them are really on sale.

But everywhere one can buy portraits and busts of Stalin, Molotov, Voroshilov, and other prominent Soviet leaders. Rows upon rows of them stand in the shops—in black, in white, in colors; carved in wood, moulded in metal, or hewn in stone; tiny figures to be carried in your pocket or to be worn as amulets; medium-sized ones for office desks and sideboards; oversized specimens for the decoration of assembly halls and railroad stations. From one end of our trans-Siberian journey to the other there wasn't a station that did not flaunt at least two or three large busts of Lenin, Stalin, and sometimes Karl Marx.

Many other things were indicative of the noisome leader-worship that contributes to the resemblance between the Soviet Union and the Nazi or Fascist dictatorship. Propaganda, however, seemed to have abated somewhat. We saw nothing like the orgy of posters and banners, with hammered catchwords and flaming slogans, that until a few years ago were a part of daily life in the Soviet Union.

Are there no bright spots in the picture, then? Certainly there are. In the first place, I noticed that the majority of the people were much better dressed, and in particular better shod, than when I was last there. My wife, of course, thought their clothes were awful, but she had never been in Russia before and her mind was still filled with images of Sweden's opulence and luxuries. She found it hard to believe that a nation existed without silk stockings or pretty hats, but when she looked around for a well-dressed woman she found all and sundry wearing shabby, ill-fitting clothes of poor quality and poorer style. Well, they didn't look fashionable to me either, but they were truly well clad compared with 1932, especially the men. People in rags no longer dominate the Moscow streets as they used to. The typical Russian garments have given place to Western suits and overcoats, and real leather shoes are worn now instead of the galoshes, sandals, or mere foot-straps of former times.

Also, much better food is served in the restaurants. I had no time or opportunity on this trip through Russia to find out whether the ordinary Russian family eats better at present than eight years ago; to take the ill-provisioned food stores as evidence that it does not would be misleading because of the peculiarities of the Soviet system of distribution. But travelers and other people who can afford to eat at the Metropol or the Savoy are certainly presented with a better bill of fare. We had some delicious dishes, prepared with good butter—a thing not to be dreamed of in 1932—and plenty of bread and meat.

But what prices we paid! A four-course dinner with wine for two persons, at the Metropol, cost me 96 rubles (the official exchange rate is 5.60 rubles to the dollar); a box of sweets cost 16 rubles, a one hour's taxi ride around town 30 rubles, and so forth. Fortunately, I had a small savings deposit in rubles left over from my previous stay in the country; it came in very handy, for otherwise we should have spent our last dollar before we got on the boat at Vladivostok. In general, prices appeared to be quite as high as eight years ago and for some commodities even higher. Ever since the liquidation a few years ago of the special stores, like "Insnab," where foreign specialists and workers could buy goods upon presentation of a special booklet, and "Torgsin," where anyone could buy at reasonable prices if he had foreign currency, foreign residents and visitors in Russia have been at a distinct disadvantage owing to the unfavorable exchange rate.

However, most of the travelers on our train solved the problem in a simple manner. They sold a few of their belongings at a commissioner's shop, or better still on the "black" market, where they fetched exorbitant prices. An old suit, for example, could be sold for 300 rubles, a new one for from 800 to 1,000, a watch for 600 rubles, a pair of shoes for 300, stockings for from 40 to 100 rubles a pair. Such trading is of course illicit and subject to heavy penalties, but it goes on everywhere. If it were rigorously stopped, most of the people that now travel through Russia—the bulk of them are refugees from Germany and Poland—could no longer afford the journey.

There are other noteworthy improvements. Urban traffic, for example, has made considerable progress. The streets of Moscow today are enlivened by a variety of excellent automobiles, of domestic as well as of German or American make, including many new taxicabs. Tram and bus services, although still congested at rush hours, are far better able to cope with the huge traffic of the city, thanks chiefly to the new Moscow Underground, which is, technically as well as decoratively, a marvel of modern architecture.

On the whole, however, traveling in Soviet Russia is still as haphazard and comfortless a business as it used to be. A journey on the Trans-Siberian Railroad, in particular, is a source of more annoyance than pleasure. Trains are few and therefore permanently overcrowded; through trains from Moscow to Vladivostok run but twice a week. Usually it matters little whether you have booked first-, second-, or third-class tickets or hotel accommodations. As likely as not you will learn, on arrival, that the Intourist Agency in the country from which you came has issued tickets and coupons to you which the head office in Moscow or the Vladivostok branch is unable to honor. I knew an elderly and rather squeamish gentleman who, after booking, in Stockholm, a first-class passage on the boat from Vladivostok to Tsuruga, Japan, was assigned a third-class berth with twenty or more fellow-passengers in the room; nor did he get any money back, except rubles, which were obviously worthless to him since he was about to leave Russia and no one is permitted to take rubles out of the country. I also knew a woman who had bought coupons for first-class hotel accommodations in the Soviet Union, but found when she got to Vladivostok that the only hotel in the city was so full that it had not even a bench or a bathtub left to offer her as a sleeping place; she was simply told to go and sleep in an unprepared and even unlighted railroad car.

I believe that much of the disorganization and incompetence which make such a shocking impression on the foreign visitor in the Soviet Union is attributable to ingrained defects of the Russian character rather than to inevitable shortcomings of the Soviet system. But I am at a loss to understand why the Soviet authorities are so negligent in a matter which vitally affects their prestige. Surely, with a little good-will, a real effort at organization, and at least an attempt to understand the needs and wishes of the ordinary European or American traveler, it should be possible to overcome at least some of the grossest deficiencies. There is a peculiar sort of grandeur in the way the Russians ignore foreign opinion, determined, it seems, to muddle on as they please in their age-old ways.

Everybody's Business

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

Steel Famine Ahead?

ALL modern industry moves on a pivot of steel, and steel is *par excellence* the raw material of defense. Our present program calls for huge quantities of steel for warships and planes, artillery and small arms, for shells, tanks, and army trucks. And in order to produce these things, still more steel is required for the manufacture of machine tools, for the building of new factories, and for the additional railroad equipment which heavier traffic will make necessary. At the same time Britain, facing an enemy controlling much more than twice its steel-making capacity, is buying increased quantities from us, and we must also fill the needs of Latin America, for which we are now the sole source of supply.

Finally, apart from the direct demands for steel arising from the defense program, there is likely to be an indirect demand of increasing magnitude. Millions of men are going back to work; millions of others are working longer hours and drawing higher wages. Soon this accretion of spending power will be showing itself in rising sales of automobiles, refrigerators, and other articles made partly of steel. The smooth functioning of our economic machine and the satisfaction of both military and civilian demands for goods depend in large measure on an adequate supply of steel.

Since steel-making plant cannot be constructed overnight, it is essential to look ahead and consider how much plant will be required one and two years hence. At the present time the maximum possible annual output of ingots is between 82 and 83 million tons, and for some months the industry has been operating very close to capacity. A further slight increase in the rate of output is possible, but allowance must be made for furnaces needing repair. We must remember, too, that the defense program is in its early stages and that still larger appropriations for the army and navy are anticipated next year. Moreover, there is reason to believe that British demands have not yet reached their peak. Plans now under discussion for the construction of 360 freighters in this country would alone call for over a million tons of steel. In spite of these factors, leaders of the steel industry as a whole are far more bothered about the prospect of being saddled with excess capacity when the emergency ends than they are about a possible shortage in the near future. Devoted as most of them were to Mr. Willkie, they seem to have been singularly unimpressed by his campaign lectures on the vital necessity of increased production and his strictures on defeatism. Currently their chief preoccupation is with the depression which they regard as the inevitable outcome of the defense boom. They cannot visualize American economy functioning at near-capacity except under the stimulus of war, and hence their most pressing concern is to make their industry as shock-proof as they can.

It is not surprising, then, that steel magnates tend to minimize the expansive effects of the defense program, taking the attitude that the industry is fully equipped to meet all demands upon it. Addressing the National Association of

Manufacturers on December 11, Charles R. Hook, president of the American Rolling Mill Company, declared that in 1942, the peak year, domestic defense requirements of steel would not exceed 6,000,000 tons. He estimated aggregate demand from the British Empire in the same year at 10,000,000 tons and other exports at 2,500,000 tons. This would leave 64,000,000 tons available for normal civilian requirements against a total consumption of 60,000,000 tons in the boom year of 1929.

A very different picture is presented by the National Resources Planning Board in a tentative report recently made public for criticism and suggestions. Correlating steel consumption with national income, the board estimates that if the latter reaches $83 billion the iron and steel industry would have to invest at least $316,000,000 in additional plant in order to meet all demands. This would cover an increase in ingot capacity of 15.4 million tons and additions to blast-furnace and rolling-mill output of 6.9 and 2.6 million tons respectively. With national income rising to $89 billion, an expansion in ingot requirements of 28.4 million tons is indicated, while at the $94-billion level the board estimates additional demand at 39.6 million tons, or nearly 50 per cent more than present capacity. National income may easily rise even beyond the highest point mentioned in this report during the next few years. Dr. Harold Moulton of the Brookings Institution has suggested that $80 billion may be achieved in 1941; Dr. Louis H. Bean, economic counselor to the Department of Agriculture, has estimated the 1942 total at $90 billion; John W. Hanes, Willkie Democrat and former Under Secretary of the Treasury, says we have every right to expect a national income of $100 billion.

The extreme divergence of opinion between Mr. Hook, as a representative steel man, and the National Resources Planning Board is a matter that should be cleared up without delay, for even if the latter has overestimated future demand for steel by as much as 50 per cent, a shortage will begin to appear in the fall of 1941 unless new plant orders are put in hand at once. William L. Batt, a leading industrialist and deputy to Edward Stettinius on the Defense Advisory Commission, said recently: "I am convinced that the steel industry must enlarge its capacity, and I see indications that the industry realizes it too." The only concrete signs of expansion, however, are the construction programs undertaken by United States Steel and Bethlehem. These call for an outlay of $38,000,000 and provide for an addition to national ingot capacity of 1,290,000 tons, or about 1½ per cent. This seems pretty small potatoes in comparison with the lowest estimate of needs published by the National Resources Planning Board.

If, despite the steel industry's optimism, a shortage does reveal itself next year, it will become necessary either to permit prices to rise so as to discourage civilian consumption or to adopt a priorities system and ration the non-defense industries. In either case the result will be a severe blow to economic progress. We cannot achieve maximum national production or maximum national income if we allow a bottleneck to develop in the heart of our industrial system.

[On December 7 this column mentioned R. N. Janeway economist to the Chrysler Corporation, as the author of a program for expanding railroad equipment. It should have been made clear that Mr. Janeway's study was made on behalf of the National Resources Planning Board and not in his capacity as consultant to the Chrysler Corporation.]

In the Wind

THE FIRST CONCRETE result of Philip Murray's replacement of John L. Lewis will be a shake-up at C. I. O. headquarters. Lee Pressman and Len De Caux are definitely slated to leave. Other changes will also be made, but with as little fanfare as possible.

WASHINGTON HEARS that Joe Kennedy is preparing to write at length about most of the ideas he denied having expressed to a Boston newspaperman. The Administration isn't too happy about the episode.

THE YOUNG COMMUNIST LEAGUE issues a magazine called *Clarity*. In a recent issue the organization was referred to as the "Young Commercial League." Nobody noticed it until the printing and distribution of the magazine were complete.

GUESTS AT THE A. F. of L. dinner held recently in New York City wondered how Joseph Fay, who was expected to sit on the dais, and David Dubinsky would get along after their New Orleans fist fight. Both stayed away from the affair.

ERNEST HEMINGWAY'S "For Whom the Bell Tolls" has started a mild war in Communist circles. Although both the *Daily Worker* and *New Masses* denounced it fiercely, it is sold at the Communist Workers' Bookshop. The party's line with respect to it, insiders say, is still being debated.

AN UNREPORTED "INCIDENT" occurred at the last dinner of the Junior Bar Association. Samuel Seabury, one of the speakers, was asked to read a letter from President Roosevelt to the gathering. Mr. Seabury flatly refused, and the association's president read it. Supreme Court Justice Douglas, who spoke later, discreetly rapped Mr. Seabury's knuckles.

IT IS DEFINITELY settled, Washington sources say, that Tommy Corcoran will be Assistant Secretary of War when Robert Patterson assumes the newly created post of Under Secretary.

THE WILLIAM ALLEN WHITE COMMITTEE is planning vigorous (private) pressure to get the British to release Nehru, the Indian leader. The committee thinks the move would arouse widespread sympathy here.

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind—either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. A prize of $5 will be awarded each month for the best item.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

A Native at Large

BY JONATHAN DANIELS

GRETNA, Virginia, is an inconsiderable community on that U. S. Route 29 which runs through the heart of the country of textile mills from Virginia through the Carolinas to Georgia. North of it is the little town of Alta Vista, which makes rayons and cedar chests. Not far below it is Chatham, where well-to-do girls, many of them from the North, learn the lessons and ride the horses of the Episcopal Church's excellent and fashionable Chatham Hall. Little Virginia boys march there in the uniform of the Hargrave Military Academy. In the same section lived long ago Colonel Charles Lynch, who, according to Virginia tradition, gave his name to Lynch law. Now that region is the scene of a murder case in which a Negro killed a white man, a case which the Workers' Defense League would make significant in the justice of the South. Strangely, I think, it crowds the dead man and the Negro and the South all together as victims.

Odell Waller, the young Negro waiting for his execution in Virginia, went to the house of Oscar Davis in Gretna to force a sharing of their wheat crop—and he went armed. Carrying a gun in the fear of danger may be, as the Workers' Defense League says, legal in Virginia. But guns kill in Virginia as elsewhere. When the white man in anger reached for his pocket as for a gun, Waller shot him. That is the story of Waller and his mother. Apparently, however, the white man had no gun. There were two bullet wounds in his back, even if he died, as is said, of a collapsed lung after an operation and not of the bullet wounds for which the operation was performed.

Most Virginians have not even heard of the case. Even such a liberal friend of the Negro and foe of the poll tax as Virginius Dabney, editor of the Richmond *Times-Dispatch*, regards the case as merely a murder, not involving injustice to the convicted Negro. On the other hand, undoubtedly sincere, it seems to me, is the feeling of the defenders of Waller, most of them outside Virginia, who feel that the case involves all the fear and injustice under which the Negro lives in black agricultural counties—the question of the poll tax in Virginia, which in this case, they say, was a prerequisite to jury service, the injustices of the AAA crop-control system, the callousness of the white courts.

All those things may be involved. But the thing which impressed me most about the case has not been stressed in the publicity. Waller's condition as a share-cropper has been emphasized. The word stands out in the case like a phrase on a banner—"share-cropper sentenced to die," "doomed Virginia share-cropper." But practically nothing has been said about the fact that the white man whom he killed was a tenant, too. Below the true landowner, Davis, the white tenant, let Waller, the Negro, have a little land on shares; the murder came from their quarreling about it.

It does not seem to me strange to suppose that the white man was trying to cheat the Negro. It does not seem to me difficult to believe that the young Negro went to demand his rights more in terror than murderousness. My observation is that more scared men kill than brutal ones. I can understand the contention that poor little Waller was the product—as Bigger Thomas was—of a whole system of racial suppression, of racial fear. But still the case seems to me to prove, if it proves anything except a private murder, that both the white tenant and the Negro were caught at the bottom of an American agriculture in the South which gives so little that fighting over it—maybe even murder over it—is not to be taken as an unexpected result.

That's the crime, and what are we going to do about it? Save little Odell, who is supposed to die on the twenty-seventh of December unless $2,000 is raised to perfect his appeal before that time? Raising the money would be fine for Odell, but I don't think it would get to the heart of the tragedy. And I am not sure by any means that Odell is the most misused man in prison who killed before he went there. We can't dig Davis up and make him a better neighbor, or one more forehanded with his own gun.

It will cost more than any $2,000 to make justice here. Here is the violence of deep Southern poverty, white and black. It does not always end in an individual murder case in Gretna. Through millions of individual cases it has made slums in Chicago and New York. It sent the Joads across the desert to meet the vigilantes.

Any group which wishes to make young Waller a symbol may express honest indignation about him, perhaps even secure some worth-while results by doing so. But Oscar Davis was a symbol, too. He was no rich landlord. He was a white tenant. And the anger, the rapaciousness, the fear, the murder between white men and Negroes in the South need symbolizing as the conflict of men over the sharing of too little for all. It will take more than $2,000 and indignation to cure that.

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

The Whisper of the Devil

THE PILGRIM HAWK: A LOVE STORY. By Glenway Wescott. Harper and Brothers. $1.50.

"THE PILGRIM HAWK," with which Glenway Wescott returns to fiction after a twelve-year absence, is less a story of love than a fable, and it illustrates again, but more steadily and with greater critical weight, his natural inclination toward symbolic and legendary values in narrative. Where once he elaborated the mythic qualities of the pastoral or folk tale, the tribal ritual of the family photograph album, or the local daemon that haunts the country hearsay, superstition, crimes, defeats, and personal legends of his Midwestern homeland, he here reverts to a time and place grown more fabulous than Wisconsin ever could: to post-war France of the expatriates, a fool's paradise now removed to a lunar distance by change and war, its delusions of privilege and emancipation lingering in the memory with the preposterous unreality of life on another planet. He tells of the rich Irish Cullens, whose love, fixed by psychic necessity, is sped to its crisis by Mrs. Cullen's pet falcon, which figures both the husband's enslavement and tormented jealousy and the wife's mastery of her lover. The relations of these three condense the compulsions of love, its warfare, and the long debt it imposes on life, and the drama of marital conflict is given depth by two contrasting images: the animal passion of two French servants and the enervating Platonic sophistication of Alexandra Henry, a rich American in whose house near Paris the story takes place one summer afternoon twelve years ago, and the Mr. Tower who observes the crisis and struggles to grasp and annotate its import.

The art of fable, with its cognates in primitive myth and in the moral or critical allegory of modern times, has become a prepossession of contemporary writers—a means of resisting the pedantry of facts, a corrective of the laming servility of realism, a plea for poetic values in fiction, an inevitable medium of the imagination at a moment when psychic or moral necessities protest the determinism of science and seek fresh contact with the region of essence, where spirit lurks elusive and enigmatic but with the strength of its primary impulses. It has always been an art of great appeal to Americans; the enthusiasm of Poe, Hawthorne, Melville, Crane, and James has reappeared, enriched by the complex devices and psychic motives used by Mann, Gide, Conrad, Lawrence, Yeats, and Kafka, in writers as different as Miss Porter, Miss Boyle, Faulkner, and Hemingway. The radical problem of the art exists in its necessary qualities of ambiguity and allegorical tension: in the degree to which the symbolic motive must remain involuntary to the experience or rooted in the matter of the genre, and in the degree to which that motive may derive from the conscious idea or moral design of the author. The balance of these factors is bound to remain acute and imperative to the authority of any fable. Without it the form either lapses into the static or conventional condition of parable, or becomes forced by the exertions of originality or ulterior intellectual ambition into a stultifying pedantry. To strike the necessary subtlety of balance and analogy requires a supreme instinct for evocation and reference; it needs also the firmest possible integration of idea with dramatic substance and the unobtrusive control of a strong poetic insight. When it has these the fable escapes the excessive didactic calculation of tales like "St. Mawr," "The Gentleman from San Francisco," and most of the works of Gide and takes on the exact authority we get in "Mario and the Magician" and Kafka's "Burrow" or, in more elaborate dramatic terms, in stories as different as "The Turn of the Screw" and "Flowering Judas."

Of Mr. Wescott's story, for all its sensitive insights, deft shaping, and hypnotic suggestive force, it must be said that the balance is never clearly defined or resolved. The dramatic substance of his scenes and characters does not manage to sustain the elaborate commentary he has imposed on it. The annotation becomes too elaborate, strained, ingenious, and self-conscious. A tendency toward a worrying preciosity of inference and analysis is never genuinely subdued to the natural volition of events and personalities, and the result becomes something too patently contrived and at times almost desperately *voulu*. This is not to minimize the beauty of many of its pages, the great superiority of its style and feeling to the general ruck of fiction, and its always subtly considered, often brilliant observations. The hieratic mystery of the bird, with its suggestions of the fatality of love, of ruthless energy in nature, and of the secret ordeal of art, manages to surmount the elaborate rites of falconry that have been studied and imposed on the tale. At times Mr. Wescott condenses his observation into judgments that express his story's motive with admirable point and ease:

> Unrequited passion; romance put asunder by circumstances or mistakes; sexuality pretending to be love—all that is a matter of little consequence, a mere voluntary temporary uneasiness compared with the long course of true love, especially marriage. In marriage, insult arises again and again and again; and pain has to be not only endured, but consented to; and the amount of forgiveness that it necessitates is incredible and exhausting. When love has given satisfaction, then you discover how large a part of the rest of life is only payment for it. . . . To see the cost of love before one has felt what it is worth, is a pity; one may never have the courage to begin.

He can be reminded how "all pets, all domesticated animals, no matter how ancient or beautiful or strange, show a comic aspect sooner or later; a part of the shame of our humanity that we gradually convey to them," and again of "the absurd position of the artist in the midst of the disorders of those who honor and support him, but who can scarcely be expected to keep quiet around him for art's sake." He can define his personal difficulties and yet overshoot the mark of creative humility: "Again and again I give way to a kind of inexact and vengeful lyricism; I cannot tell what right I have to be avenged, and I am ashamed of it. Sometimes I entirely doubt my judgment in moral matters; and long as I propose to be a story-teller, that is the whisper the devil in me." Such lucidity of scruple produces a valu-le alertness in the conscience of a writer, but it also leads a serious enervation of tone, force, and unity in his narra-ve and to the exaggerated preciosity which is the major eakness of this book. "The Pilgrim Hawk" is by way of ing a serious assessment of talent and purpose; in what does to sublimate the aesthetic inflation and self-regard of escott's earlier work it indicates a fresh discipline that ay recover the exquisite pastoral lyricism of "The Apple the Eye" and direct it to finer uses. The question hangs in spense. The book indicates a renewal of courage and itical insight in its author, but in itself it tests and exer-ses, rather than masters, the faculties that have given us the est examples of modern fable.

MORTON DAUWEN ZABEL

n Getting Tough

MERICA'S LAST CHANCE. By Albert Carr. Thomas Y. Crowell Company. $2.75.

THE hour of decision was over before the election. On the one essential point, the defense of liberty, the two ndidates were of one mind. We are committed; the danger s in our refusal to admit it, even to ourselves. We are ifting fast into world action, but we are drifting sideways even backward, still crying peace, neutrality, and isolation hen not a shred of these remains. It is this insincerity that lbert Carr would dispel. Isolation is gone; participation as mere auxiliary is the kind of entanglement most contrary to r traditions, our interests, and our principles. The remain-g alternative, the only one worthy of our power and of r ideal, is leadership. We alone can "end war" and nake the world safe for democracy." This is our great portunity, our second chance. It may be our last.

"End war! Save democracy!" We have sneered for twenty ars at these promises. Even today the anti-Wilsonian bias the chief obstacle to clear thinking and determined action. e must first confess that our cynicism was wrong, and that e despised "idealists" were the only true realists. "Amer-a," says Mr. Carr, "betrayed the world and herself twenty ars before the inadequate old gentleman with the umbrella ied in good faith to postpone Armageddon." "For the merican betrayal of 1919 there can be no extenuation. Each ar that has elapsed has made the crime against humanity acker, more sinister." Yesterday this would have been x *clamantis in deserto*. Even today these are courageous ords.

We are still hampered by the anti-Wilsonian propaganda the last two decades. We are hampered also by the tivities of those men who are at heart with the Nazis and ainst the democracies, those fifth columnists who paralyzed d betrayed France. As in France, they are an odd coalition, d the most insidious elements among them are those con-rvatives who "fear that the defeat of Germany would ve over Western Europe to a socialist revolution. To such possibility they find world Nazism infinitely preferable." mashing dangerous organizations," however, is perilous in democracy. Carr offers two excellent rules. The first is that "a democratic government, even in peace time, has every right to insist upon a monopoly of force." "It should not hesitate to suppress groups set up for organized intimidation, like the Ku Klux Klan." The second is that "no organization should be dissolved unless it has proved its menace to democracy by a record of overt acts." Let this have a place in our Bill of Rights.

The worst cause of confusion, according to Carr, is our "tender-mindedness," the wishful thinking which prompted us to "outlaw war" without first creating world law. His longest chapter is entitled We Need to Get Tough. I gladly indorse the idea, but, with all respect to William James, I object to the words. "Tough" is too easily confused with "rough," "raw," or "coarse." Gangsters, and cynics, are "tough." We need to make our thinking stronger through greater refinement. Reality is tangled. It is "tough" in the wrong sense of the term to dismiss Nazism as "the revolution of nihilism." Much of the excellent and very definite program proposed by Albert Carr was anticipated by the Nazis; on this point Mrs. Lindbergh has a lesson for us. It is "tough" to bracket together Germany and Russia; in Russia the dictatorship is not a permanent principle, and the imperialistic virus has been reduced to a minimum. I fully agree with Carr that "in fact, if England with American aid can throw back the Nazi attack, it will be important to have an understanding with Russia well before the collapse of Germany. For America to reject Russian cooperation would be a piece of ignorant folly."

Frankly, Carr's book is journalistic in tone, and certain references to history, literature, or philosophy are rather crude. But the thought is cogent and the presentation vigorous. I have a professional bias in favor of a more cautious and more subtle treatment. But I know how hopelessly wrong the sophisticates are apt to be. Between the exquisite culture of the French Academy and the avowed "toughness" of Albert Carr I do not hesitate. As La Bruyère said more than two hundred years ago: "If it comes to a choice, *je veux être peuple*" (I want to be with the people).

ALBERT GUÉRARD

The Talk of Ezra Pound

CANTOS LII-LXXI. By Ezra Pound. New Directions. $2.50.

"THERE is no other poetry like the Cantos in English. And there is none quite so simple in form." So Allen Tate has written and then added of Ezra Pound: "The secret of his form is this: conversation." To take this view of the Cantos is very valuable, for no other explains so well the power of Pound's allusions. The formal approach is conversational; the secret of the form is another matter and as yet hidden in the recesses of Pound's mind. Say, then, that what we have is talk, talk of men and of arms, of men who fought and got the credit for it, and of those who also fought, as desperately and as bravely fought, and got no name for it, the companions of Ulysses who did not hear how sweetly the sirens sang, and for all their pains had only the recollection of ear wax and of pulling at the oars.

> And they wanted to know what we talked about?
> *"de litteris et de armis, praestantibus ingeniis,*

> Both of ancient times and our own; books, arms,
> And men of unusual genius
> Both of ancient times and our own, in short the usual subjects
> Of conversation between intelligent men."

An epic, Pound has said, "is a poem containing history." His poem, which slowly attains the length of an epic, contains a great deal of history—not the text of the historians, but only so much of history, of ancient times and our own, as may agreeably enter the conversation of intelligent men. For in good conversation the text must not enter; only a bore would think of bringing it in. What is best in conversation is the marginal comment, the text itself being taken for granted among the listeners. At most a complete anecdote may be introduced, because it is pertinent, or simply because at the moment it seems amusing; a singularly happy or telling phrase may be quoted, a document or a translation of a poem brought out and shown; the rest is all illustration, personal exposition and interpretation—and, in Pound's case, imaginative marginalia.

The new Cantos are longer-winded than any that have gone before. Chinese history is sustained as a subject through the first ten Cantos of the present volume; through the rest the character and career of John Adams are under consideration. All depends here upon allusion; not to know the text of Pound's talk is to miss most of the points he is making. The Cantos are not imaginative as they once were. And yet to read them is to hear again the old talk in the Rue Notre Dame des Champs, in the studio back of the courtyard, under the high window that cast no shadow until twilight, with Pound lolling in his home-made armchair, with an air of weariness, like a strong man worn out by the stupidities of the world, his mind unwearied, his soul unbelieving, but still his own. Pound has his own particular *hubris,* his pride, not lofty like that of Capaneus, to whom he once compared himself, but still unpersuadable, not to be put down. "There's not a wheel," he once said to me, "can go low enough to crush me." Out of his rut he utters his defiance, not against the gods, for there are no longer gods to defy, but against the great of this world, against the powerful who have put "money-lust above the pleasures of the senses."

There was always something about Pound of the sailor returned to tell of the strange sights he had seen, airing as he talked the strange tongues he had learned; but the limpness of the long body in the chair betrayed that it was not from actual seas he had come. The mind was his Mediterranean, whose shores are alive with antiquity, above whose islands the clouds still seem to rise in mythopoeic shapes. There history accumulates and none can quite escape the presence of the past, which strikes, like light from a wall, at the passer-by. Outside, as we talked, was Paris, and that present which has now become a past.

That was in the winter of 1922-23, when I was trying to read the Provençal poets, word by word, with the aid of an incomplete dictionary. And Pound told me how he, as a young man, had pondered over one word whose meaning he could not make out or find anywhere, and how at last someone had told him that there was one man in Europe who would know if anybody did, and how he had set out and crossed half of Germany to find old Lévy, all for that c word. I heard the story then; it is now set down in its pl in the Cantos. And I remember one night after dinner, wh the Beaune was finished and we had begun on the bran that I told Pound the story of the British and the g damned Portagoose. And that, too, is now in the Cantos, a the word, which was a corruption of soldiers in the last w has become a permanent part of the Pound vocabulary, that it now appears, even when it is with the seventeen century Chinese that the Portuguese have to do.

> And the Portagoose king sent an envoy
> and they cured Kang Hi with wine from the Canaries
> w'ich putt 'em up a jot higher.

It is hard to get the point of the spelling in the last li as it is to understand why John Adams of Braintree sho from time to time drop into the drawl of a West which not exist in his day. It is hard, that is, when we receive words from the printed page; and yet it is precisely the formation of the words on the page that brings back for the unforgettable voice, so determined in the midst of Euro not to lose its native accent that it constantly assume speech which might well pass for American among Eu peans, but which, to a compatriot's ear, belonged to America that ever was.

In those lines I hear the talk, impatient and unweari polyglot and full of queer quirks, surprising and in the lo run consistent, either wonderfully right or preposterou wrong, always generous and always limited.

It was limited, no matter who the listener, to what Po was interested in. I remember once discussing with him th passages in the "Divine Comedy" which are in themselves dull that I could only conceive that Dante had brought th in because they in some way contributed to the structure his poem. "Wa'al," said Pound, "they may not interest y But I think you can be sure that Dante put nothing into 'Divine Comedy' that did not interest him."

Now the same thing can be said of Pound's Cantos. No ing is there that has not at some time interested Pound, it is probably vain to look for any other reason for its be there. The complexity of the poem is due to the comple of a contemporary mind; and so is its incoherence. He long been interested in Chinese civilization; he is now, everybody else, interested in what constitutes good gove ment. His account of China, covering all the dynasties, fr the first, which is more or less mythical, down to the M chus, is constructed so as to set forth Pound's distinction tween good governments and bad. His John Adams is sented as "the clearest head in Congress," as

> the man who at certain points
>   made us
> at certain points
>   saved us
> by fairness, honesty, and straight moving.

Adams is also presented as a man who at certain points in complete accord with Ezra Pound.

Pound has recently been credited with being a fascist. true that he continues to live in Italy and that he has spo with more toleration of Mussolini than I, for one, wo have expected. But no man can be a consistent admirer fascism who holds John Adams in admiration. And that Pound clearly does.

Whether he is speaking of Chinese emperors or of Adams and his contemporaries, Pound sees the misuse of money on the part of the governors as the root of most of the evils with which the governed are afflicted. It is not only on the opening page but throughout these Cantos that he pleads for an understanding of the true base of credit, that is, "the abundance of nature/with the whole folk behind it." Somewhere behind the poet is Major Douglas. How sound Pound's position may be as an exponent of Social Credit, I cannot say; what can be said is that his concentration on economics has simplified his morality, which was already a little too simple, while his concern with the money-lust of others has caused him, as a poet, to neglect the pleasures of the senses. He announced some years ago that he was thinking of giving up poetry in order to write economics. He has not given up his poetic method. In these Cantos the poet has compromised with the economist; it is a proof of Pound's superb versatility that the poet comes out as well as he does.

JOHN PEALE BISHOP

John Dewey

THE PHILOSOPHER OF THE COMMON MAN. Essays in Honor of John Dewey to Celebrate His Eightieth Birthday. G. P. Putnam's Sons. $2.75.

THIS beautifully bound book was a birthday gift to Professor Dewey. Each essay records the writer's indebtedness and devotion to him. Most of them, not all, are simply congratulatory accounts of certain aspects of Dewey's thought. Appearing separately, the sentimental, uncritical portions of the volume might be accepted as understandable emotional responses to the occasion. But coming as they do in the midst of a flood of flattering portraits of Dewey, some of the essays take on an unfortunate significance. They fit in too neatly with the canonization of Dewey carried on by his more active disciples. At present there are quarters in which dissent from Professor Dewey calls forth the most astonishing charges. Lack of piety has been the standard accusation, and if some of the most zealous have their way, un-Americanism and treason to the common man will undoubtedly be added to the list.

It should not be necessary to preface all remarks which are critical of Dewey with a recitation of one's admiration for him and one's respect for his philosophical greatness. But apparently one must, and so it should be said again that Dewey's recognition of logic as an instrument of inquiry, his emphasis upon the biological and cultural context of thought, his belief that the great problem of our time is the construction of a free society—all these mark him as one of our greatest thinkers. Nevertheless, to disregard the need for coordinating Dewey's theory of inquiry with the powerful weapons of mathematical logic, to insist that Dewey's analysis of continuity needs no further examination, to urge that he has presented a working political program—these are attitudes of blind subservience. Fortunately, some contributors to the volume participate in the free and critical intelligence espoused by Dewey, even when the subject is

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At your bookstore, or on approval direct from
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Dewey himself. Arthur Murphy, Ernest Nagel, and J. H. Randall, Jr., present detailed critiques of Dewey's views on philosophy, logic, and religion.

Dr. Hu Shih tries to extract a systematic political philosophy from Dewey's writings. To this end he selects two papers written in 1916. At the time Dewey argued: "Force is the only thing in the world which effects anything, and literally to substitute law for force would be as intelligent as to try to run an engine on the mathematical formula which states its most efficient running." The problem for Dewey in 1916 was how to use force rationally. Today the only effective thing in the world has either lost its sting or gained too much. No longer is force involved in every intelligent act, but, on the contrary, Dewey urges us to "take as far as possible every conflict which arises . . . out of the atmosphere and medium of force, of violence as a means of settlement, into that of discussion and intelligence." It is clear that the positions have more than a time-span between them. Either they are logically incompatible or Dewey has revised his terminology completely. The earlier view conceived intelligence as a rational directing of force, and defined violence as "force running wild." Now Dewey not only identifies force and violence but explicitly counterposes force and intelligence. For this reason it would appear that no political instrumentalism built upon the 1916 postulates could be accepted by Dewey today. One sympathizes with Dr. Hu Shih's uneasiness in the matter. Dewey, he ventures, "for some unknown reason, has apparently never taken up nor continued to develop this instrumentalist line of political thought during the last quarter of a century."

MORTON G. WHITE

The First Year

THE WAR: FIRST YEAR. By Edgar McInnis. Introduction by Raymond Gram Swing. Oxford University Press. $1.50.

THE writing of contemporary history is a difficult task. The prejudices and biases which color the reporting in our newspapers make true objectivity a myth and stand in the way of a penetrating interpretation of events. In the face of these difficulties Professor McInnis has done an extremely good job. The first year of the war is presented with the scrupulous accuracy of the professional historian. It is all here: the blundering of Allied diplomacy on the eve of the conflict, the *Blitzkrieg* in Poland, the surprising inaction on the western front, the Finnish campaign with the plans for Allied intervention which never came off, the Norwegian campaign, and the final assault on France. The book closes with the beginning of the Battle of Britain, in which the RAF is already proving more than a match for Göring's famed *Luftwaffe.* Although Professor McInnis, a Canadian, can hardly be indifferent to the outcome of these stirring events, he describes them with almost complete detachment. Writing with the full knowledge of the year's developments, he is able to weave many happenings that seemed disconnected and unintelligible at the time into a pattern which gives them new significance. As an aid in interpreting the year's events as a whole, Raymond Gram Swing's brilliant introduction deserves special mention. It does what all ir
troductions are intended to do but few really achieve—cor
tributes an integration and direction to the book which a
highly useful.

MAXWELL S. STEWART

Finney of Johns Hopkins

A SURGEON'S LIFE. By J. M. T. Finney. G. P. Putnam
Sons. $3.50.

IT WOULD seem that surgeons have turned to autob
ography. Two have appeared within the past month, fou
or five within the past year or so. Some of these have fulfille
the hopes of those who were wishing that mine enemy woul
write a book and have done neither their authors nor surge
much credit.

Not so this one by John Finney of Johns Hopkins. Wit
supreme restraint and modesty Dr. Finney records the ou
standing events in his long and influential life in four hu
dred pages of simple, unpretentious English, interpolatin
innumerable interesting anecdotes—and occasional medioc
poems. Early in life, he says, he realized that he must hav
equanimity, and he made every effort to cultivate it. In th
he magnificently succeeded. His dignity and his great huma
ity shine from every page without the slightest effort on t
part of the author. If every young surgeon would read th
book and take its author as his ideal, the prestige of surge
would rise even higher and the usefulness of autobiographi
would be reinforced.

KARL MENNINGER

On the Contrary

ULTIMA THULE. By Vilhjalmur Stefansson. The Ma
millan Company. $3.50.

STEFANSSON is an amusingly contrary scholar. Once
had proved, to the annoyance of the dietary pundits, th
white men in Polar regions could live well on meat alone
proceeded to show convincingly in "The Friendly Arcti
that those slandered lands were truly hospitable. His ne
book is an addendum to the "Unsolved Mysteries of t
Arctic" published a couple of years ago, a contentious b
delightful presentation of certain problems which have di
tressed cosmographers since Pytheas in 300 B.C. returned
Massilia with an account of having visited Ultima Thul
Did he mean Iceland or Norway? Did he voyage beyo
Britain at all? Columbus next excited the derision of the no
navigating scientists when he too claimed to have visited I
land in 1477 and to have sailed some three hundred mil
north of it through warm weather and a sea clear of ice, b
Mr. Stefansson deftly converts the evidence still against hi
into fair corroboration of his tale. The final third of the bo
is devoted to Arctic climate with proof aplenty that it is n
only pleasant during the summer season but conducive to su
burn and the bursting of thermometers gauged to only 1
degrees. The cosmographers, I feel, are here confounded, f
Mr. Stefansson, the Munchausen's advocate, is not merely
wily writer and a scholar of caution, but a soundly scienti
explorer who knows by contact the lands whereof he writ

HASSOLDT DAVIS

IN BRIEF

OREIGN DEVILS IN THE FLOWERY KINGDOM. By Carl Crow.
Harper and Brothers. $3.

ke the author's "400,000,000 Custom-
s" this is a warm and perceptive
ok on China. Here Mr. Crow deals
imarily with the delicate problems of
lationship between the Chinese and
e "foreign devils," a term which once
cluded missionaries, traders, beach-
mbers, diplomats, and prostitutes of
the nations that have sought to ex-
oit the Orient. Carefully and humor-
sly he traces our dealings with China
om the old days when American gin-
ng and fur were traded for tea to the
mbing of Shanghai in 1938. The
ok is anecdotal, swiftly paced, nostal-
, and of sound value for those con-
ned with current directions in the East.

IE FIRE OX AND OTHER YEARS. By Suydam Cutting. Charles Scrib-
ner's Sons. $5.

ysically this is the ideal travel book,
erbly illustrated with photographs,
ee-tone maps, and color reproductions
paintings. It is the story of the au-
or's journeys over the 18,000-foot
sses of the Himalayas and among the
d-hunters of Assam, the pigmies of
Andaman Islands, the hinterland
bes of Ethiopia, and the lamas of
asa, whom he visited in 1937, "the
-ox year." Mr. Cutting gives us few
the thrills purveyed spectacularly by
average author-adventurer, but since
made these trips under museum
spices and prepared for them by years
scientific research, his stories may be
pected for the information they give
garding the world's least accessible
ions and for their spirit of what is
pily termed "creative travel."

IE LIFE OF MY MOTHER. By
skar Maria Graf. Howell, Soskin
nd Company. $2.75.

"biographical novel" by a self-exiled
rman writer, commemorating an
n-willed Bavarian peasant woman
o grew up in the days when King
dwig II was burning incense to the
sical genius of Wagner. The Franco-
ssian War, the rise of the German
pire and its arrogant military caste,
first World War's aftermath of so-
turmoil, the advent of Hitler and
Nazi juggernaut—all these, and
ir impact on the author's family, are
ured honestly and movingly.

DRAMA

Mr. Molnar Blows a Bubble

"DELICATE STORY" (Henry Miller's Theater) begins with a conversation between three young men of unspecified nationality. They are residents of Switzerland who have just been ordered to report to the army of their country within four weeks, and they are wondering what a young man ought to do with his last month on earth. It is not hard to guess that they agree upon Wine, Women, and Song, with the emphasis where it ought to be. And since the author is Ferenc Molnar it is also not difficult to guess that the ensuing events are not the tragic ones which a younger man would have imagined. Mr. Molnar is a refugee whose refusal to be "deepened" by unhappy experiences will doubtless be resented by many, but perhaps it would be fairer to admire the fact that he seems to have lost nothing of his suave insouciance. Starting with the war, he soon finds himself where he has always found himself—with a triangle on his hands and deeply absorbed in the problem of making a very old situation yield new amusement. The most delicate thing about "Delicate Story" is its balance exactly midway between sentiment and cynicism and exactly midway between naivete and sophistication.

Mary Cristof, pretty and thoroughly domestic young wife of a delicatessen-store keeper, falls in love with one of the three young men and feels it her pleasant duty to give him the weeks of happiness he so obviously deserves. If it is right for him to demand such happiness it can hardly be wrong for her to supply it, even though, as her common-sense husband insists when he finally discovers what is up, "you cannot count that form of entertainment as sacrifice." The final twist should not be given away, but the play evolves as a quietly farcical conflict between the wife and the husband, who have such personal reasons for their different estimates of the motives of all the others. Obviously the central situation might conceivably be developed in a purely sentimental fashion and Mrs. Cristof—a very pleasant little person—taken strictly at her own valuation. Obviously also the latter might be treated as Somerset Maugham treated the heroine of "Too Many Husbands" when he enlarged upon her complacent conviction that she had done rather more than her bit during the first World War by marrying two recipients of the Victoria Cross. But Mr. Molnar is never downright, and nobody is ever judged. In fact, all his dexterity is devoted to the task of keeping the fundamental issue as unclear in the mind of the audience as it is in the mind of the heroine.

Even the most practiced butterfly-breaker might well hesitate to attempt dissection of the play, which is a good deal less substantial than the airiest of the lepidoptera. It is not a ball that the author keeps rolling but a soap bubble suspended; and when it bursts there is not much left. To me at least it was, nevertheless, pretty enough while it lasted, and though the piece got a rather chilly reception from a section of the press, my guess is that this is one of the cases where the public will reverse the judgment of the critics if only it gives itself an opportunity to make up its own mind. Certainly the production is all that anyone could ask for. Edna Best, as Mrs. Cristof, plays with a simplicity and warmth combined with a fine sense of comedy which makes it almost impossible to imagine anyone else in the role. All the other parts are expertly played and directed, with special mention clearly earned by Jay Fassett as the husband and Harry Gribbon as the police captain in a scene only remotely connected with the rest of the play but probably the funniest five minutes of the whole evening.

Holiday Suggestions

Boys and Girls Together. Broadhurst Theater. Mostly Ed Wynn, who has never been better. My choice among all the musical shows.

Cabin in the Sky. Martin Beck Theater. The admirable Ethel Waters and some good dancers in a highly synthetic fantasy which is a good deal less in the spirit of "Green Pastures" than it would like to be.

Charley's Aunt. Cort Theater. Improbable as it may seem, this very spirited revival of an old chestnut provides one of the most hilarious evenings to be had on Broadway.

Delicate Story. Henry Miller's Theater. Reviewed in this issue.

Hold on to Your Hats. Shubert Theater. Mostly Al Jolson in a reminiscent mood but with a good deal of assistance from Martha Ray. It all depends on how much you like Mr. Jolson.

Johnny Belinda. Longacre Theater. Fisher-folk melodrama with a deaf-and-dumb child of nature as heroine.

The public likes it better than most of the critics did. Helen Craig acts it for all it is worth and even a bit more.

Life with Father. Empire Theater. In its second year and the best comedy now running.

Louisiana Purchase. Imperial Theater. Irving Berlin-Morrie Ryskind satire on political corruption with more emphasis on music and sex than on politics. Victor Moore as innocent and as sad as ever. Also William Gaxton and Zorina.

Panama Hattie. Forty-sixth Street Theater. Most elaborate of the new musicals, with songs by Cole Porter and with Ethel Merman as a sweetheart of the navy. Rowdy, bawdy, and in the opinion of some better than last year's "Du Barry Was a Lady." I didn't laugh as much.

The Corn Is Green. National Theater. Ethel Barrymore and an unusually good company in a pleasant play about a school teacher and a Welsh pit boy whom she sends to Oxford. Might be heavy but isn't. Well worth seeing.

Twelfth Night. St. James Theater. One of the less substantial of Shakespeare's plays made into a thoroughly delightful evening. Maurice Evans is amusing as a cockney Malvolio, and Helen Hayes could hardly be better. Another distinctly successful step in the movement to bring Shakespeare back to the public.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

RECORDS

GOOD things from Victor are the Coolidge Quartets set of Beethoven's Opus 18 No. 5 (Set 716, $3); and Dusolina Giannini's record of "Casta Diva" from Bellini's "Norma" (17503, $1), on which the music is phrased more beautifully than on any of the others, and which was made at a time when Giannini's voice was still adequate to her musicianship (it is less successful with the difficulties of "Ah! bello a me ritorna" on the reverse side). On the one record of the concluding first-act duet that I have heard of the new Victor set of "Madama Butterfly" Toti dal Monte's voice sounds quite unpleasant, and Gigli's has the power, and at times the strain, that have replaced his former velvety ease.

Personally I would choose the old record of Toscanini's performance of Dukas's "L'apprenti sorcier," which sounds amazingly good on a high-fidelity machine, in preference to the new Victor set (717, $2.50) of Stokowski's performance with the Philadelphia Orchestra, which is gorgeous-sounding but dramatically overemphatic to the point of distorting plastic proportions. E. Power Biggs's performances would cause me to do without the Chorale Preludes in the third and concluding set (711, $2.50) of Bach's "Little Organ Book." I would also do without Mussorgsky's song-cycle, "The Nursery" (Set 686, $2.75), as sung by Igor Gorin—in English this time, but with a disturbing foreign accent, with a fine baritone voice that is not suited to the musical utterance of a little boy, a little girl, their nurse, their mother, and in a heavily sentimental and lachrymose style. Even Flagstad's beautiful singing and phrasing do not make Grieg's song-cycle, "Haugtussa" (Set 714, $4.50), mean to me what it evidently means to her. But although Rachmaninov's music is something I usually avoid, I will listen when it is one of his piano concertos with Rachmaninov himself at the piano—when, that is, it is music written by Rachmaninov the composer out of the very hand of Rachmaninov the pianist, and when the pianist's incisive, dramatic style of playing makes this music the exciting thing it is in the Victor set (710, $5) of the Concerto No. 3, the best of the series, which Rachmaninov has recorded with the Philadelphia Orchestra under Ormandy.

The Sibelius anniversary is celebrated in a way that will do Sibelius little good —with Victor recordings of the appalling incidental music to "Belshazzar's Feast," well done by Kajanus with the London Symphony (Set 715, $2.50), the inferior Romance Opus 42, also well done by Boult and the B. B. C. Symphony (13499, $1), and the songs "Svarta Rosor" and "Saf, Saf, Susa," well sung by Bjoerling (4531, $.75); and with Columbia's set (423, $4.50) of a performance of the Symphony No. 2 by Barbirolli and the New York Philharmonic-Symphony—a performance in which there is a constant straining for momentary effect unrestrained by any sense for continuity, and in which the momentary effects so achieved exaggerate the work's own structural discontinuities, its own lapses into rhetoric and bombast, and destroy the moderately enjoyable effect of its less pretentious pages. From the sound of the orchestra on these records—its greater depth and body and warmth—*it* is evident that Columbia has done things to correct th faults in its first recordings of the Nev York Philharmonic and American Yout Orchestras that it claimed were in m Scott machine; but it is also evident tha Columbia will have to do more thing before it achieves the refinement an balance that are to be heard on its imported records (Set X-180, $2.50) o Beecham's excellent performance o Grieg's "Peer Gynt" Suite No. 1—t say nothing of what is to be heard o Stokowski's Victor records of "L'apprenti sorcier." Columbia has, howeve succeeded in doing a good recording jo with the Budapest Quartet's superlativ performance of Ravel's Quartet (S 425, $4.50); and reassured on th point we can sit back and wait for better piece of music. For the rest C lumbia offers Humperdinck's charmin Overture, Dream Pantomime, and Wal from "Hänsel and Gretel," well playe by the Columbia Broadcasting Syn phony under Barlow, and a little brassi recorded (Set 424, $2.75); Bartók Rhapsody No. 1, completely uninteres ing to me, but superbly played Szigeti and Bartók (11410-D, $1); ar Brahms's own two-piano arrangement his Variations on a Theme of Hayd which, though well played by Bartle and Robertson (Set X-181, $2.50 does not give me the enjoyment I g from the original work for orchestra.

The set of Beethoven's "Pastora Symphony made by Bruno Walter wi the Vienna Philharmonic a few yea ago has been issued by Victor as a Bla Label Classic (Set G-20, $4). The p formance is very fine, but blurred occ sionally by reverberant but otherwi good recording. I would pay the ad tional $1.50 for the Toscanini set.

Both the tenor and soprano in t National Committee set of "La T viata" are afflicted with strong tremol and are otherwise mediocre; the ba tone is better; the recording is coar In the "Lohengrin" one encount quite the best voices thus far (no Fl stads, though); and they are as good the "Tannhäuser," with the excepti of the Elisabeth. Her singing of "Di teure Halle" on the second side underrecorded; and the first side sour badly overcut.

B. H. HAGGIN

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Letters to the Editors

eligion and Democracy

ear Sirs: I wish to applaud Miss irchwey's splendid editorial on Regionand Democracy in the Novemr 30 issue of *The Nation*. We are conantly reminded by press and radio and our national leaders that only a reval of faith and a return to God can ve us from catastrophe. Reason seems be entirely discarded. Evidently our aders, in default of constructive ought, fall back upon the meaningless porings of "faith," "religion," and piritual values." They disregard the ct that everything of value that has us far been achieved has been the sult of real thinking about real facts. regret to note, however, that Miss irchwey deviates somewhat from her gical conclusion. In saying that she loes not deny the validity of religious eling," she indulges, however briefly, the same meaningless words of which r press, radio, and leaders are guilty. *The Nation* is to be congratulated on stand to bring home to its readers e necessity for sound thought and rean. Professor La Piana's article in the ne issue emphasizes this point. I see immediate hope that the general ess will join *The Nation* in this crule for logical thought at a critical mont in our lives, but all liberal journals ould try to secure that reason shall bene a reality in human affairs.

BENJAMIN L. GROSSMAN

ew York, December 10

ear Sirs: I cannot refrain from raising cheer for Freda Kirchwey's Religion d Democracy. Hers is the first voice speak out against what seems to me be one of the most alarming tenncies of our times—a tendency to urn to religious obscurantism to solve, rather to help us to escape from, our ubles.

When I hear a person resorting to ayer for a solution of our political d economic difficulties I cannot help tting that person down as to some gree unreliable and unsound. I do not y that prayer may have some validity as a spiritual expression or desire. t there has always seemed to me to a distinct difference between prayer behalf of a broken spirit and prayer behalf of a broken leg. When one orts to prayer in behalf of political and economic problems I think it is like praying for broken legs.

Mr. Roosevelt's increased use of religious references in his speeches has been disquieting to me. He made some such reference in his first inaugural address, but I then had the impression that he was just kidding the public along. Now I am afraid he really means it. The other day, in his letter commending Mr. Wallace as his special envoy to Señor Cárdenas, Roosevelt ended as follows: "May God have Your Excellency in his safe and holy keeping." That was maudlin, and silly, and also rather funny, for as it happens Señor Cárdenas is certainly a skeptic and probably an agnostic. Incidentally, the one serious reservation I have about Henry Wallace is that he is much too religious.

CHARLES CURTIS MUNZ

San Antonia, Tex., December 7

Dear Sirs: With regard to Freda Kirchwey's editorial in the November 30 issue in which she seeks to show that religion has nothing to do with democracy, it seems to me that her reasoning, like the religious impulse, is "fluid."

When it is convenient she seems to identify Christianity with certain vicious practices of the Roman hierarchy; then again, by implication, she identifies Christianity with certain perversions of the "religious impulse." And she writes off Protestant Christianity as a total loss because it has so many sects.

She does not take the trouble to mention that Jesus put the major emphasis of his teaching and his life on the worth of the individual and his relation to the heavenly Father; and that he himself sought, and commissioned his disciples to work for, a world brotherhood of believers in the faith and way of life. He insisted that the Golden Rule must be made to function by men of good-will.

Certainly "the religious impulse is a fluid." Misdirected by ignorant and vicious leaders and teachers, it becomes hideous and destructive. Guided by "the mind of Christ" it becomes the source of the highest and best in all human relations. This nation was founded by men and women who fled the spiritual tyranny of the Old World, men imbued with the spirit of him who said, "Ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free."

I think Mr. Roosevelt has the vision to see that unless we, their children, have the devotion to the spirit and life of Christ that drove our spiritual fathers into the bleak wilderness of New England and inspired them to lay the foundations there of our free institutions, we shall lose our freedom.

Because some distorted outgrowths of the religious impulse have been used "as an opiate to keep the people under," why discount the essential value to our democracy of a living faith in the religion of Jesus?

E. A. MOORE

Des Moines, Iowa, December 6

Dear Sirs: I should like to express my appreciation of your excellent editorial Religion and Democracy. It seems to me that there would be far less nonsense about the war as a struggle of "embattled Christianity against the Nazi infidels" if Hitler's own religious attitude were more generally known. But of course obscurantism in this connection has been deliberately fostered by the churches, especially the Roman Catholic church.

William Teeling, himself a Catholic, writes as follows on page 127 of his book, "Crisis for Christianity" (London; 1939): "Herr Hitler [on July 2, 1933] made an official public statement that he is a member of the Roman Catholic church. It may be pointed out that, up to the moment of my writing this book, Hitler has never publicly gone back on that statement."

Not only has Hitler never gone back on that declaration of faith, but in October, 1935, he again put himself on record as a Catholic. In a letter which appeared in the London *Literary Guide* for February, 1940, I wrote:

> Rationalists should be prepared to refute the mendacious allegation that Adolf Hitler is an atheist or a pagan. He is a Roman Catholic. (1) He was baptized a Catholic; (2) he has never left the Catholic church; (3) he has never been excommunicated; and (4) what is most significant, he calls himself a Catholic.
>
> My authority for the last statement is Hitler himself. The most recent edition of the German "Who's Who" ("Wer Ist's?") appeared in Hitler's Reich in October, 1935, more than two years after his assumption of power. In his autobiographical sketch—which, in keeping with the Führer's dignity, precedes all the other sketches in the volume —Hitler designates his religious affiliations as *kath.* Reference to the table of abbreviations (*Verzeichnis der Abkürzungen*) shows

that *kath.* stands for *katholisch*—that is, Catholic.

History abounds in examples of Roman Catholics who have been in conflict with their own ecclesiastical authorities while remaining within the fold of the Catholic church. History, unless it is falsified, will add Hitler's name to this long list of contentious Catholics.

ALEXANDER KADISON

New York, December 10

Dear Sirs: I have just read Religion and Democracy by Freda Kirchwey and find it unsatisfactory. It is full of half-truths and inadequate statements.

"Democracy has nothing on earth to do with any particular faith." I maintain that democracy is directly opposed to certain particular faiths and in harmony with others.

"Christianity may nourish democracy or dictatorship." That depends upon what you mean by Christianity. The teachings of Jesus do not nourish dictatorship.

Religious motivation for the democratic ideal has played a large part in history and will probably become a still more effective force. For some of us it is the only adequate basis for our hopes.

Miss Kirchwey objects to use of the religious appeal by President Roosevelt and Dorothy Thompson. Another person whose life and views are motivated by religious convictions to a greater extent than either of those two is Henry A. Wallace.

JOHN C. GRANBERY,
of the *Emancipator*

Georgetown, Tex., December 9

Our War Against Persecution

Dear Sirs: One reason why we must continue to help others while we can in these tough times is that no man or woman on earth is safe from that sudden turn in the fortunes of war that can change him overnight from a citizen with a place in the world, a home, a farm, a job, a business, into a starving, itching, freezing, helpless piece of roadside litter—a refugee. None of us knows when our turn may come. If it does come, our only hope will lie in the frail web of understanding of one man for the pain of another. Every time we dig into our pockets to help somebody less fortunate than ourselves we strengthen that web.

We all know, and we try for our sleep's sake not to be always remembering it, that all over Europe today are huddled groups of refugees from political and national and racial persecutions. They are dying by inches in barbed-wire pens. Many of them have been saved so far from the firing squad only by the fact that there are so many names on the dictators' proscription lists that their turn hasn't come yet. The only way of saving them so that they'll stay saved is to get them out of Europe and into the Americas.

We mustn't forget that we are ringed with enemies. Only the refugees are our friends. By and large it is because they think as Americans think, because they have worked and fought for the things Americans believe in, that they are suffering.

As treasurer of the Joint Campaign for Political Refugees, in which the International Relief Association and the New World Resettlement Fund are co-operating, I appeal to your readers for contributions. All money raised will be immediately applied to getting refugees out of Europe. In my opinion these organizations are under no political influence and have the experience and the devoted personnel necessary to produce results with a minimum of overhead.

The first check in Hitler's sweep of victories came when the British, working as individuals in small groups any way they could, using tugs, dredges, trawlers, motor boats, canoes, any craft that could be kept afloat, crossed the Channel to Dunkirk and saved the main part of their defeated army. Then we knew the old Queen of the Seas was not dead. When we in America prove that we can salvage the magnificent human material in the defeated armies of anti-fascism, it will be the first turn of the tide in the greater war of humanity against persecution.

Contributions may be sent to me at 2 West Forty-third Street, New York.

JOHN DOS PASSOS, Treasurer

New York, December 13

Liberate These Men!

Dear Sirs: Christmas time approaches with four innocent union miners serving the tenth year of a life term in Kentucky. These are the Harlan County men convicted on a false charge of conspiracy to murder, following the Evarts battle on May 5, 1931, precipitated when coal-company mine guards attacked a strike picket line with machine-guns.

On November 26, the American Federation of Labor, in convention at New Orleans, unanimously passed a resolution calling on Governor Johnson of Kentucky to grant immediate pardons to all four. This resolution reminded the Governor that "proof of wholesale perjury, intimidation of defense witnesses and other new evidence secured after the trials so clearly established the innocence of these prisoners that forty-six of forty-seven living jurors and two of the three trial judges signed petitions urging pardons." That proof is in Governor Johnson's hands. With it is an affidavit by Mrs. Jim Daniels, widow of the chief mine guard killed, in which, for excellent reasons, she voices her belief that the four prisoners are innocent.

Your readers could perform a vital service by writing or telegraphing to Governor Keen Johnson, Frankfort, Kentucky, asking him to liberate these men—W. B. Jones, Chester Poore, Jim Reynolds, and Al Benson—and let them go home to their families for Christmas. Copies, or the gist, of such letters should be sent to Herbert Mahler, secretary of the Kentucky Miners' Defense, 75 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

MORRIS SHAPIRO

New York, December 10

CONTRIBUTORS

RAYMOND GRAM SWING is the nationally famous commentator on foreign affairs. His article is based on "The Choice of Freedom," a John Hope lecture delivered at Atlanta University on December 12.

ROSE M. STEIN, author of "M-Day," has written extensively on labor problems.

JOACHIM JOESTEN, a German liberal journalist, prophesied the invasion of Denmark in his "Rats in the Larder," published in January, 1939. Forced to flee from Denmark when the Nazis entered, he has just arrived in Central America.

MORTON DAUWEN ZABEL is the author of "Literary Opinion in America."

ALBERT GUERARD is professor of comparative and general literature at Stanford University.

JOHN PEALE BISHOP, poet and critic, regularly reviews poetry for *The Nation.*

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THE *Nation*

ERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

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e Shape of Things

) HALIFAX STARTS HIS NEW JOB WITH erious handicaps—his record as chief assistant to te Neville Chamberlain in the appeasement cam- and the fact that he represents the ruling class privileged position in Britain has become a com- anachronism. He is said now to be as determined urchill to stand firm until Nazism is smashed, but tions will have to make that very plain before his eases to raise suspicions in the minds of American s. The willingness of Lord Halifax to seek a r *vivendi* with Hitler and his inability to realize the of the Third Reich are still among the unsolved ies of British politics. For the new Ambassador is ply religious man, with personal integrity and a und moral sense. How, then, could he have failed outraged by the Nazi persecutions of Jews and ians? How is it that he did not instinctively grasp t that Hitler's terror, far from being mere scum on wave of the future," was an integral part of an l system with which no compromise was possible? his unfortunate appointment as Foreign Secretary Halifax had enjoyed a reputation as an enlightened and as Viceroy of India he had shown an unpre- ed breadth of imagination. We hope the American phere will assist the resurrection of the Halifax of wenties. His successor at the Foreign Office, An- Eden, now has a chance to prove himself more "glamour boy." The test will be his ability to rally ain's side all those elements in Europe which look or leadership in a new democratic order.

*

IN'S OUTBURST OF RAGE AGAINST THE l States was based on a rather casual speech made British Minister of Shipping, who suggested that nerchant vessels now in American ports might be d over to Britain. This gave the German spokes- tirade an air of spontaneity, but, for all that, it d evidence of careful calculation, and if Mr. Cross had not provided an occasion, it is probable that some other pretext would have been found. For some months past it has been Dr. Goebbels's policy to foster general disparagement of the United States as one of the "pluto-democracies" but not to attack very seriously specific measures of American aid to Britain. Actions such as the destroyer deal were treated as unfriendly but not likely to influence the outcome of the war. Long before this country would be able to send significant quantities of material to Britain, it was suggested, the war would be concluded by a total German victory. Now, apparently, the Nazi press is to play a new tune, with shrill notes of protest and a thumping bass of threats. What is the reason for this change of tactics? We suspect that once again Hitler has revised his time-table of conquest and fears that American help to the enemy may become only too effective.

*

GERMAN REACTIONS TO THE DISMISSAL OF Laval confirm the belief that he was completely in Hitlers' pocket and was ready to commit France to measures of cooperation too strong for Marshal Pétain to stomach. The armed reconnaissance of Vichy by Herr Abetz was clearly designed to obtain the reinstatement of a loyal henchman. It did not succeed, but the Nazi envoy was able to rescue Laval from house arrest and to carry him off to Paris. There, no doubt, he will be kept, in reserve in case relations with Vichy become too strained and need arises for a 100 per cent puppet government. Another concession to Nazi pressure was the appointment of Fernand de Brinon as delegate-general of the French government in the occupied zone. This puts negotiations with the German authorities in the hands of a pro-Nazi of long standing, who was saved from arrest as a fifth columnist while the Reynaud government was in office only by his flight to Switzerland. However, the final say about the extent of Franco-German collaboration rests with Pétain, who so far shows no sign of yielding to demands for the use of French bases and the French fleet against Britain. Yet German need of such assistance is growing with the losses suffered by Italy. The possibility of Nazi occupation of the whole of France has been

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mooted in case Pétain maintains his stand. This would give Hitler Toulon, but it might easily mean the return to the side of Britain of the French Empire and the fleet.

* * *

THREE MEMBERS OF THE AMERICAN EMBASSY staff in Paris are to be recalled on the demand of the German government, which charges them with helping a British officer to escape and concealing a British secret agent. Mr. Hull has declared that a preliminary investigation shows that these officials had not been implicated in any wrongful act. Nevertheless, he added, any government has the right to request the withdrawal of officials of another government without submitting any reason for the demand. This, be it noted, is not a one-way rule, and we hope the Administration will hasten to emphasize that fact by asking the immediate return to Germany of those Nazi diplomats and consuls who have been especially active in fifth-column work here.

* * *

VICTORIA KENT, ONE OF SPAIN'S MOST distinguished women as well as one of its most ardent republicans, has been seized by the Gestapo in Paris and turned over to Franco. Ten years ago Miss Kent created something of a sensation in Spain by obtaining first honors in Madrid University as a doctor of law. She began her career as a lawyer by defending the Spanish leaders who were tried as a result of their participation in the first republican attempt of December, 1930, the prologue to the overthrow of the monarchy. She was later elected a member of parliament and was very active in the working out of the Spanish constitution. After that she represented in the Cortes the moderate republican tendency of Señor Azaña. The end of the civil war found her in Paris as secretary of the Loyalist embassy. She remained in Paris even after the Nazi troops entered the city and devoted herself to the relief of Spanish children still in France. Now she has been delivered to Franco for trial before a military court.

* * *

WE KNOW THAT THE GESTAPO RULES PARIS. The rapidly fading myth that it does not control the men of Vichy is now dispelled completely by the news that Spanish Loyalist leaders are being arrested and held in jail in unoccupied France. Largo Caballero, Portela Valladares, and Mariano Ansó are among those arrested. Señor Caballero, who is seventy-three, is well known, having been head of the Loyalist government in the first part of the civil war. Portela Valladares was a minister under the monarchy and Prime Minister in the conservative government in power during the elections of 1936, which brought about the victory of the People's Front. When the Nazi and Fascist aviation moved into Spain, he aligned himself at once on the side of the Loyalists, who had been his political opponents. Señor Ansó
lawyer, was Minister of Justice in the Negrín Cabi
until 1938. Washington is reputed to have influence
Madrid and Vichy. It should be used, and quickly,
behalf of Victoria Kent and the Loyalist leaders.

* * *

FEW NOBLER UTTERANCES HAVE COME FR
Mr. Roosevelt than the message with which he vetoed
Walter-Logan bill. "The very heart of modern refor
the President said, lies in the administrative tribu
and "great interests . . . which desire to escape reg
tion" believe they can destroy reform laws "by sterili
the administrative tribunal which administers the
Mr. Roosevelt's description of the administrative tribu
is clear and admirable. "A common-sense resort to us
and practical sources of information takes the place
archaic and technical application of rules of evide
and an informed and expert tribunal renders its decisi
with an eye that looks forward to results rather t
backward to precedent. . . ." The Walter-Logan
would have served in effect to repeal not only much
the New Deal's social legislation but much that prece
it. And the vote in the House to override the veto, tho
not sufficient to do so, showed that a majority in
body either does not understand or does not sympat
with the New Deal. The Walter-Logan bill is a cl
lawyer's job, and called forth the President's old s
for the profession in his veto message. The lawyers
said, in a fine passage, "prefer the stately ritual of
courts . . . to the simple procedure of administra
hearings . . . prefer . . . shrewd play upon technical
of evidence . . . prefer to . . . juggle leading cases ra
than to get down to the merits." The lawyers hav
been so eloquently trounced since the mob scen
Henry IV.

* * *

THE NEW NO FOREIGN WAR COMMIT
headed by Verne Marshall, editor of the Cedar Ra
Gazette, insists that it is not made up of "appeasers,"
a close examination of its leadership reveals omi
characteristics. The man who is given credit for org
ing the committee and who serves as its director is C
Armstrong of Springfield, Missouri. Mr. Armstro
close friend of Charles Lindbergh, leaped into note
some months ago when, as a member of the Ame
Legion's foreign-relations committee, he wrote an a
on Treason in the Schools for the Legion maga
denouncing as subversive some thirty-eight text
used in the schools. Confronted with a demand fo
dence to substantiate his charges, he was forced to a
that he was not familiar with all the texts he ha
nounced and, in some cases at least, he withdre
charges. The Legion magazine apologized and retr
in other instances, and Mr. Armstrong was dropped

Legion's foreign-relations committee. Verne Marshall,
irman of the committee, has been engaged for many
rs in a similar campaign against progressive textbooks
Cedar Rapids. A prominent speaker at the meeting
l in Washington on October 21 at which the com-
tee was organized was Merle Thorpe of the *Nation's*
iness, which last spring featured an article denounc-
radical textbooks. For all its homespun, small-town
c, the financial and political roots of the new com-
tee strike into the same soil that nourishes the Amer-
First outfit; they may even be intertwined.

*

STBROOK PEGLER, THE DISTINGUISHED
ıor, critic, and grammar-school graduate, has now
ıed his talents to the refugee problem. Someone has
Mr. Pegler, who writes well but doesn't read, that
ace fell to the fascists because it had carelessly allowed
kinds of anti-fascists to come in and escape the heads-
of the dictators. Some of these must have been Com-
ıists, Mr. Pegler thinks, and even though most of
n were dumped into concentration camps he guesses
had a good part in the doing-in of the French Re-
lic. Now Mr. Pegler, faithful watchdog that he is,
America threatened with the same danger through
machinations of "tricky, abusive, and high-handed"
old Ickes. Just because refugees may rot to death in
camps or get themselves shot by the Gestapo while
ing for visas, passports, and other necessary para-
rnalia, this madman Ickes wants to let them use the
gin Islands as a way-station where, whether they have
lentials or not, they can wait in safety until the red
is unraveled. Does Ickes think he can fool Mr.
ler with that kind of stuff? Nonsense. It stands to
Pegler's reason that the "greater proportion of them
refugees] will be Communists who fled over the
ler into France after the Spanish Civil War and other
ımunists who, earlier in the general European revo-
ɔn now in full eruption, escaped from Italy and Ger-
ıy." Scratch an anti-fascist, he implies, and you're likely
nd a Communist. But wait. Hasn't Mr. Pegler writ-
many a column about Nazi murderers and fascist
gs? Can it be that Mr. Pegler is—? Oh, no. Still, he
ht be. It's pretty suspicious.

*

OKLAHOMA CITY MERE MEMBERSHIP IN
Communist Party is regarded as a crime punishable
nprisonment for ten years and a fine of $5,000. This
lictive sentence was passed on Robert Wood, state
etary of the party in October, and has now been re-
ed in the case of Alan Shaw, twenty-two-year-old
etary of the Oklahoma City local. In neither case was
overt act charged. Both men were convicted of vio-
g the state criminal-syndicalism law on evidence
consisting of selected passages from the works of Marx, Lenin, and Stalin. Since the ideas put forward in these books were those of Communist leaders, it was charged, they must also be subscribed to by the accused. It would be difficult to find a more flagrant example of judicial outrage of the Bill of Rights, but a case in neighboring Arkansas runs it close. Here the Commonwealth Labor College at Mena has been fined $2,500, and though the case is under appeal, all its goods, including its library, have been seized and put on the auction block for the purpose of satisfying the judgment. The college was accused of propagating anarchism, of displaying an unlawful emblem, and of not displaying the American flag on September 23. With regard to the last count the law requires all schools, *when in session,* to fly the flag, but on the date in question the college was already closed permanently and its affairs were being wound up. The "unlawful" emblem proved to be a crude representation of the hammer and sickle in the concrete floor of a cubbyhole used only by the kitchen staff. The charge of anarchy was based mainly on passages from Marxist books in use at the college, for in the enlightened state of Arkansas anarchism and communism are just different names for the same thing.

Keep the Lines Open

OUTLINING to the press his new plan for aiding British purchases in this country, Mr. Roosevelt told a homely parable. Suppose, he said, a man sees that the house next door has caught fire. He immediately drags out his garden hose and doesn't stop to bargain with his neighbor about how much he shall be paid for it. He merely expects to get his hose back when the fire is out. If it is damaged, his neighbor will offer to repair or replace it. Put this way, the story emphasizes decent, friendly conduct on the part of the man with the hose, but the point might also have been made that he is acting prudently as well as humanely. For if the wind is blowing in his direction he may have good reason to fear that, should his neighbor be unable to subdue the flames, his own house may be the next to catch fire.

That is a point which Anglophobes and Naziphiles, sheltering under some such umbrella as "America First," choose to ignore. But the vast majority of plain Americans understand well enough the nature of fire. Aside from all sentiment, they want Britain to win because they are rightly fearful of the consequences to America of a German victory. But they want Britain to win, if possible, without America becoming physically involved. And that being so, the best form of insurance available is to make certain that Britain is not burned out for lack of fire-fighting weapons.

In a recent editorial we advocated outright gifts to

Britain to enable it to continue its purchases in this country on the necessary scale. We suggested, however, that if assistance takes the form of loans, such loans should be expressed in terms of goods, and repayment provided for in the same medium. The merit of the President's new plan is its clear recognition of the fact that it is not dollars that Britain wishes to obtain from us but planes, guns, and munitions. He proposed that British orders for these materials should be taken over by the United States and merged with our own orders. Thereafter the proportion of total production indicated by military events should be either leased to Britain or sold subject to mortgage. At the end of the war these things would be returned or, if destroyed or worn out, replaced from British production.

As the President admitted, a number of legal problems must be solved before this scheme can go through, and it will also be necessary to obtain Congressional approval for the needed appropriations. One objection to the plan is that, if Britain wins, our need for war materials will be much diminished. Moreover, a year or two hence our own factories will be geared to immense production and will probably be turning out more up-to-date equipment than the British. It would be desirable, therefore, to make provision for repayment in other types of goods. We believe, however, that the President's plan could usefully be given a much wider scope by extending it so that all trade between the United States and the British Commonwealth would be put on a clearing basis. This would mean that, for the duration of the war, all payments for British purchases here would be made by the United States government and booked to the British account. Similarly, all American imports from the British Commonwealth would be paid for by Britain—which would have to make subsidiary arrangements with the dominions and its colonies—and debited to the account of the United States. At the end of the war a balance could be struck and settlement made in terms of goods specified by the creditor. Almost certainly this arrangement would mean a balance in our favor, but it might not prove to be so large as the present trend of trade indicates. For if the war lasts until 1942 or later, our defense program will tremendously augment our requirements of rubber, tin, wool, and many other raw materials produced by the British Empire.

It will be well to leave gold out of this arrangement since further additions to our existing hoard of this metal can do us no earthly good. On the other hand, freed of the necessity of shipping bullion here, the British could use their newly mined gold for purchases in Latin America and other neutral areas. As a result, gold would be distributed to countries now lacking it, and this would help to alleviate fears that its concentration in the United States will end in its repudiation for monetary purposes by the rest of the world.

The objection may be raised that we shall not be ab to recover anything due to us if Britain loses the war. B in that event this will seem a very minor worry, and i any case it applies equally to any form of credit. W could, however, ask for a lien on British colonial po sessions in this hemisphere with the proviso that should be exercised only if Britain were defeated. Act ally, should the war end in such a catastrophe, we shou be compelled in self-defense to seize all these territori The advantage of this plan is that it would legalize o action and is not open to the objections, previously p forward in *The Nation,* of a forced sale at the prese time.

Whatever plan is adopted, it is of greatest importan that there should be as little delay as possible. The m crucial months of the war lie immediately ahead, a nothing will encourage the defenders of the British ci del more than to know that their supply lines will r be blocked by financial obstacles. It is equally essent that deliveries be speeded to the uttermost. A bomb in the air is worth five on the drawing-board.

State Department Versu Political Refugees

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

LAST week the State Department put out a statem designed to silence the mounting protest against handling of the emergency refugee problem crea by the Nazi conquest of Western Europe. The statem was not particularly misleading; it was so patently ingenuous that it was unconvincing. It painted a fanci picture of efficient and sympathetic yet careful procedu operating smoothly to rescue the deserving and weed the dangerous. And it cited figures which, however ac rate if the basis for calculation were known, told lies monstrous proportions when published without expla tion.

But the document could hardly have been mar by assurance and candor; the department was aiming stone at too many widely separated birds. It was try to convince the Westbrook Peglers of its determinat to defend the country from reds and spies and at same time to rebut the charge that it has been obstruc efforts to rescue honest anti-fascists trapped in Fra It was also attempting to translate into innocuous guage the ominous rumor, appearing in the press off on for several weeks, that some sort of "super-c mittee" would soon be appointed to pass finally on admission of all political refugees. With so many compatible ends in view the protestations of symp rang with a false note, and the statement as a whole increased justifiable fears that the refugee problem

the end be left to the harsh mercies of the most reac-
nary, anti-alien elements in the State Department.
For more than six months individuals and committees
ve worked desperately to save at least a handful of
e leaders among the active opponents of the dictators.
ey have worked against time, knowing that the sur-
al of these people is only a matter of months at best
d that those who are not rescued face certain impris-
ment or execution; knowing, too, that hundreds have
eady been delivered to the dictators. In this work, the
st important and useful of all the active groups has
en the President's Advisory Committee on Political
fugees, headed by James G. McDonald and directed
George L. Warren. Indefatigably, cautiously, with full
owledge of the restrictions to be observed and the pit-
ls to be avoided, this body has sifted lists of endan-
red anti-fascists, negotiated endlessly with the various
partments to establish fixed bases for procedure, ex-
ined affidavits and records submitted by interested
mmittees and friends, and finally submitted to the
te Department carefully selected names supported by
necessary documents.

Working together in harmony and with a common
n, the private refugee committees, the President's com-
ttee, and the Department of State could undoubtedly
ve accomplished the rescue of the most endangered
l most valuable anti-fascists in Europe. Owing to the
partment's inertia and its obstructive tactics only a
ndful have been saved. The record of delays, mislead-
; reports, promises, more delays, refusals of consuls to
on instructions presumably sent from Washington—
this is bitter knowledge among persons engaged in
business of trying to salvage political émigrés. The
partment claims that it has refused visas in only some
lve instances. Doubtless this is true. The department
s not refuse visas. It merely sets up a line of obstacles
tching from Washington to Lisbon and on around to
nghai. These ordinarily do the trick, and in the
cess wear down resistance where an out-and-out re-
al would produce noisy protest. The refugee who
lly surmounts these obstacles must have had immense
lurance and friends with both money and pertinacity.
The record is one which must sicken any person of
inarily humane instincts. It is as if we were to ex-
ine laboriously the *curricula vitae* of flood victims
ging to a piece of floating wreckage and finally to de-
e that, no matter what their virtues, all but a few had
er be allowed to drown.

But politically the behavior of the State Department is
n more shocking. It betrays the profound failure of
ling officials of the department to understand even
elements of the conflict in which the United States
nextricably engaged. Has the preservation of democ-
anything to do with that conflict? If it has, surely
leaders of democratic thought and action in Europe
will not be deliberately sacrificed to their—and our—fascist opponents. This position should determine every act of every official charged with the conduct of our foreign affairs.

Instead, what do we find? According to the State Department's pronouncement, a new committee representing that department—in the person of Avra M. Warren, most active and determined among the obstructionists—the Department of Justice, and the War and Navy departments will be charged with supervising the admission of political refugees. If this plan offered a way to straighten out the vast tangle of conflicting jurisdictions and rulings in which all efforts at present bog down, it would be a welcome change. But there is too much reason to fear that it will only add a new and far more reactionary committee to the official bodies already concerned. And if it is granted final authority, it will in effect wipe out the functions—and consequently the reason for existence—of the President's Advisory Committee. It is difficult to believe that the President himself would knowingly countenance such a change. The danger is that a calamitous result may emerge from a plan set up under the guise of useful and apparently innocent reorganization. Beware of State Department officials bearing reforms!

CONTENTS

THE SHAPE OF THINGS 645

EDITORIALS:

KEEP THE LINES OPEN 647
STATE DEPARTMENT VERSUS POLITICAL REFUGEES by Freda Kirchwey 648
LITTLE STEEL "SOVIETS" By I. F. Stone 650
BETWEEN TWO WORLDS by Harold Nicolson 651
MUSIC AND MONOPOLY by Minna Lederman 655
WITHIN THE GATES 657
IN THE WIND 659
A NATIVE AT LARGE by Jonathan Daniels 660

BOOKS AND THE ARTS:

BUT WE WHO WAITED by David Cornel Dejong 661
ANATOMY OF FREEDOM by Jacques Barzun 661
THE BIRTH OF YUGOSLAVIA by Rustem Vambery 662
RUSSIAN STORY-TELLER by Paul Rosenfeld 662
THE GENIUS OF WILLIAM MORRIS by Freda Utley 663
IN BRIEF 664
MUSIC by B. H. Haggin 664

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Little Steel "Soviets"

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, December 20

SEVERAL weeks ago Mark Sullivan dwelt with considerable alarm on the Boston *Globe* interview in which former Ambassador Kennedy said that England would be "National Socialist" after the war. Mr. Kennedy, he said, evidently meant "Socialist," and Mr. Sullivan wasn't sure that we ought to bother to save a Socialist Britain. Many people will feel the same way about Philip Murray's new "Plan for Strengthening the National Defense Program." They would rather not strengthen defense than do so at the price of taking labor into partnership with management.

Mr. Murray's proposal for a council in each basic industry, made up equally of the representatives of management and labor, has seemed to some uncomfortably like the NRA. I do not think that is Mr. Murray's intention. It would be better to go along as we are than to leave defense at the mercy of a combination in which capital and labor Alphonse-and-Gastoned each other into higher profits and higher wages. If I understand the plan, and the purpose of Mr. Murray and his aides, it is designed to speed production rather than to curtail it, to lower costs rather than to increase them. To lower costs, of course, is not the same as to lower wages.

Mr. Murray's plan, from all I can learn of it, seems to spring from the experience he and his closest aides have had in the steel business. The heads of the Steel Workers' Organizing Committee, contrary to the prevailing impression, which pictures them as "hunkies" in white collars, know a great deal about the industry's problems. They have frightened the RFC and several of the banks in western Pennsylvania by saving several small steel companies from bankruptcy. These companies, operated jointly by union sparkplugs and the owners, look like miniature steel "soviets" to visiting bankers. Alongside these worker experiments in cooperating with management has grown up an oddly intimate relationship between the small steel companies and the union. Theoretically the American Iron and Steel Institute is the trade organization of the steel companies. Actually it is dominated by United States Steel and Bethlehem. The small steel companies regard the institute with the misgivings with which minnows look upon a whale. They consider Walter S. Tower, the executive secretary of the institute, the employee of the big companies. His presence on the Defense Commission as an adviser on steel has not increased their confidence in that body. They trust the steel workers' union more than they do the institute and have been bringing their problems in connection with defense to heads of the union for help and advice. These executives of the small steel companies are as afraid to talk publicly as steel workers used to be of wearing a union button.

In steel, as in some other defense industries, the bottlenecks are really greedy throats. In the last war United States Steel, with 50 per cent of the industry's productive capacity, obtained 70 per cent of the war orders. Rose M. Stein reported in last week's *Nation* that this time Bethlehem, with 13 per cent of the capacity, has 40 per cent of the defense orders. No elaborate mathematics is required to demonstrate that this causes delay. The extent of the difficulties which result from this favoritism t the monopolists was not understood even by the innermost circle of the New Dealers until quite recently, whe a group of small-steel-company executives met under th union's auspices—and as its guests—with a few truste economists in the Administration. So fearful were thes steel executives of retaliation that the man who told m the story would not tell me the place or time of the meeting or the names of any of the companies represented.

The "little steel" men proceeded to tell their troubles They revealed the extent of idle capacity in steel. The cited eleven different small plants, with a total capacit of perhaps a million tons, which could be put togethe for defense with a little planning and a little ingenuity These are not integrated companies capable of performing every step of the process from the mine to the finishe rails or sheets. But they represent idle smelting capacity idle forging capacity, idle finishing capacity, which planning could pool for quick production. Armor plate, fo example, can be completely manufactured by three companies only—Bethlehem, United States Steel, and Midvale, but if the process were farmed out among smalle companies with idle capacity, we could make more armo plate. There would be added freight costs, but these cos would not be nearly so great as the cost of financing ne expansion. One small manufacturer wanted to kno what he could do for defense with 180,000 tons of id ingot-melting capacity. He said that his steel, because transportation, would cost $3 more a ton than the mark price, but he estimated that the government was payin Bethlehem $21 more a ton for steel by financing pla expansion for it.

Another complaint was made on behalf of fifteen companies east of the Mississippi, owners of rerolling mil which turn worn-out rails into concrete-reinforceme bars. They employ 11,000 people but are working at on 50 per cent of capacity. The Defense Commission rding contracts to Bethlehem and other big com- ies for close to a million tons of these bars. The small panies assert that Bethlehem has succeeded in cre- g the fiction that it is dangerous to use the rerolled and is having the specifications written to call for made from primary (new) billet steel instead of lled steel. The small mills produce only the rerolled luct. They claim that they conserve resources by re- ng scrapped rails and that both the Bureau of Stand- and the American Society for Testing Materials have oved the rerolled rails for all but very special types onstruction. The new War Department building is to contain some 10,000 tons of these rerolled re- rcing bars, but the contracts for them were let before Defense Commission was established. The small panies feel that defense can be speeded up by wiser d less greedy—planning for seasonal demands on teel industry from the automobile business and the eries. They also want to know why some of their plants cannot be expanded as well as the plants of ig companies. Expansion of the little plants would break the grip of monopoly.

e value of bringing labor into the defense picture el, as in many other industries, is that it may help to dislodge vested interests in monopoly, in scarcity, in obsolete methods. Only labor can think of the productive process as a whole; only labor is interested in production solely; only labor can give some support to the small independents. The big companies now, as in the last war, want to strike as good a bargain as they can with the government, and they will give their cooperation slowly and grudgingly, haggling for new concessions at every step. They make it appear that they will be doing the government a favor by accepting new plants from it. Now modern war is war by factories, and factories like soldiers will have to be taught to march in unison and obey the sergeant if war is to be fought successfully. I don't mean to say that we ought to set up a dictatorship over industry, but if we want results we shall have to bark harshly at a few recalcitrants and teach business men to do their part without perpetual coaxing. The real sabotage of defense is sabotage by some big business interests who place their own shortsighted notions of profit ahead of production. Labor can help check these tendencies and it can bring broader horizons to business. What makes business most apprehensive about the Murray plan is that in some industries it may show that labor has more genius for production than management has.

Between Two Worlds

BY HAROLD NICOLSON

London, December 10

N CHOOSING the phrase "world government" as e subject of this article I have been anxious to avoid t the outset those prejudices or affections which are iated with current terms, such as "League of Na- ," "Federal Union," or "New Order," and to ap- ch from a general and less topical angle the eternal lem of how to secure that law rather than violence regulate the relations between states.

is important, I suggest, to realize that this problem new problem thrust upon the world by the failure e settlement of 1919 or capable of being finally d by some apochryphal solution sprung from the either of Herr Hitler or of Mr. Clarence Streit. It roblem which has exercised the mind of man from awn of civilization and provoked many varying solu- , some of which have proved partially, locally, and orarily successful, but none of which has proved ersally or durably successful. In its essence the prob- is no more than the extension to large communities ose habits of order and obedience which, in any p of civilized beings, regulate the relations between and man. That same balance between rights and duties which in the long story of mankind has progressively regulated the relations between members of a family, members of a tribe, and members of a nation ought, it would seem, to be capable of almost unlimited expansion so as to embrace the nations of the world. It would appear at first sight that there can be little difference in kind between those processes which have rendered Great Britain or the United States comparatively ordered communities and those processes which could create an ordered community of nations.

The analogy between national fusion and international fusion might, indeed, be pressed farther. It is possible to trace in the several experiments which have been made in world government the same variations with which we are familiar in the evolution of national states. We have had the autocratic or tyrannical experiment, as under the *Pax Romana* or the European dominance of Napoleon. We have had the oligarchic experiment, as in the Castlereagh system of diplomacy by conference and in the ensuing Concert of Europe. We have even had mystic or theocratic variations, as in the Greek amphictyonies or in the Holy Alliance. And we have had in the League of Nations what might be called the democratic experiment, under which the nations of the world were to cooperate on a basis of theoretical equality. None of these experiments has proved permanently successful, and one is tempted in moments of pessimism to believe that the mind and soul of men are too narrow to admit expansion beyond a certain limit or to pursue enlightened self-interest beyond a certain horizon of awareness. Are we to admit, therefore, that man is only capable of subduing anarchy within prescribed limits, and that whereas he can achieve national order over wide areas of the earth's surface he is unable to achieve order as between nation-states? I refuse to accept so negative an assumption. But I remain aware that for three thousand years man has tried and failed to achieve any form of international governance comparable in certainty to the rule of state law. I approach the problem therefore, not in any mood of despondency, but in a mood of scientific doubt. And I view with alarm the optimism of those who believe that past failures have been due to evident and remediable errors and that all will be feasible now that so many of us have seen the light.

WHY HITLER'S NEW ORDER WILL FAIL

Let me begin by considering the nature of the checks and bars which have impeded what would seem to be a natural evolution from international anarchy toward international order. Why is it, in other words, that human beings are able to subordinate individual interests to common interests up to a certain point, but are unable to achieve that subordination beyond a certain point? Let us assume for the purpose of argument that the most constant and reliable of human motives is the motive of self-interest, and that the standard of civilization reached by any given community is to be assessed by the number of members of that community who have acquired the moral habit of placing ultimate self-interest above immediate self-gratification, and who have understood that the welfare of any individual is in the end dependent upon the welfare of the community in which he lives. In primitive societies this sublimation of selfishness does not extend beyond the family or tribe; in more developed societies the individual is able to identify his own interest with the interests of his class or country. In some communities, such as the United States of America and the British Commonwealth of Nations, this identification of personal with group interest has been expanded over very wide areas. Yet there has always come a point at which divergences of race, religion, culture, and language have proved barriers to further expansion and at which the sense of identity is frustrated by the sense of difference. It may be contended that in the present century there has emerged a feeling of class solidarity which has been able to transcend the limits of the old nation-state. Far be it from me to dismiss these extra-national sympathies as fictional or transitory. On the contrary, they may prove the nucleus of a new stage in evolutio But it has yet to be shown that these class sympathies a sufficiently deep and operative to withstand the confli of sectional economic interests or to mitigate the instinc of national self-preservation.

It must be recognized also that science has in rece years gone far to level the barriers which separate diffe ent nations and thereby to enlarge the area within whic the ordinary citizen may be able to identify his person or group interests with the interests of others. Hithert however, the effect of rapidity of communications—t effect, that is, of aviation, the wireless, and the cinema- has not been so much to create enhanced sympathy wi other forms of civilization as to diminish the old inte sive confidence in one's own form of civilization. Th may be all to the good in that it dilutes separation an by diminishing extreme self-identification with a partic lar form of national consciousness, may prepare me minds for the reception of a wider form of identificati and a wider form of consciousness. It is interesting, a perhaps useful, to observe that in the first three decad of the twentieth century this leveling of the mechani barriers between nation-states has created a formidab reaction in the shape of exaggerated and artificial diff entiation. The very fact that the rapid improvement physical and intellectual communication has led to so diminution in purely national identity has stimulat some countries to reaffirm and fortify that identity appeals to national self-consciousness more emotion and indeed more hysterical, than any which the wo has ever seen before. The wave of nationalism which overwhelmed Italy and Germany and gone so far destroy the spiritual values of those two countries is n as Herr Hitler and Signor Mussolini would assert movement of rebirth, but is little more than a stratag to affirm and increase national power by exaggerating the twentieth century ideas which are in their esse alien to the spirit of that century and as such anachro tic. The whole trend of human progress has been fr social violence to social contract, and in reviving viole as a method of adjusting international conflict, the tot tarian states are adopting a method which, however s cessful it may seem at the moment, is contrary to the t and trend of human development.

Let us assume that when Herr Hitler proclaims system of world order he is sincere in believing t under this system the nations of Europe, Africa, Asia will attain to greater security and to a more e distribution of the world's goods. Yet even at this e stage of the New European Order it is possible to de certain political and economic fallacies which will ren Hitler's world government unworkable as a stable tem. It is based primarily upon the theory of obedi rather than upon the theory of consent. Yet if Euro to be reorganized upon the theory of obedience it

for long be possible to conceal the fact that obedience
plies some authority whom one is expected to obey.
at authority will not be Rome or Paris, but Berlin.
wever anxious Herr Hitler may be to convince subject
ples that they are equal partners in a new experiment
world-organization he will not for more than a few
nths be able to hide from them the fact that his new
er, his new discipline, emanates from a single center
l is contrived for the benefit of the German ruling
e.

ls a wholly academic theory it might be correct to
that Europe would be happier had it from the first
n organized into industrial and agricultural groups
hanging their commodities freely with one another.
modern Europe is not a purely artificial creation but
organic growth; Herr Hitler cannot cut through the
ues of centuries without lacerating human flesh. Nor
he, even if we accord him powers of control and dis-
ution which he cannot possibly perpetuate, impose so
ficial a system without acting with a ruthlessness
ch will provoke passive resistance, sabotage, and
ine. He will find sooner or later that the system of
e, however he may seek to disguise it, is not work-
in a world of modern and therefore of self-reliant
nan beings, and he will then discover that in basing
whole structure upon force he has destroyed that
ual human confidence upon which alone any contrac-
system can be erected.

lready, as I have said, there are indications that
er's New Order can only be maintained by armies of
ipation. From the first he was obliged to suppress all
dom of speech and writing in France; from the first
as been obliged to impose upon the countries which
as occupied a disguised currency inflation which can-
for long retain its disguise; already he has been
ed to deport some 30,000 workmen from Belgium
ermany; and in the last month he has had to send
man contingents into Rumania in order to assure
self that that country's acceptance of the New Order
ld remain unqualified. He may be able, for a year or
to keep vast areas of Europe in a state of subjuga-
; yet I repeat that whereas a system which is based
n consent is capable of almost unlimited expansion,
stem which is based upon compulsion, however im-
sive it may seem at the moment, must in the end
ust the resources and energies of even the most
rmined and efficient nation.

this be true in terms of human nature and of
ics, it is doubly true when one considers the eco-
ic difficulties with which Hitler will unquestionably
aced. Even if he possessed far better means of dis-
tion than he does possess; even if he had at his
osal an elastic instead of a rigid system of exchange,
if he were able to dispose of all necessary raw
rials, he would still be faced by the inescapable fact
that no economic system can for long be operative which is based upon compulsion alone. By using his tremendous machinery of propaganda, by forbidding free thought and free discussion, by applying his uncanny insight into mass psychology, Herr Hitler may for a short time convince the peoples of Europe that under his system they will find, if not liberty, then at least a guaranteed security. But in the end it will become impossible for him to persuade the peasants and workers of the countries which he has subjugated that their self-interest is identical with the interests of their conquerors. In the end Hitler's world government is bound to fail.

BETWEEN TWO WORLDS

Can we ourselves devise an alternative New Order which is more practicable, more durable, and more humane? We shall not do so if we regard this war merely as a war between Britain and Germany. We shall not do so if we contend that the totalitarian states are wholly wrong and barbarous, whereas we are always reasonable and right. We must recognize from the outset that there is much truth in the criticism leveled against democracy by Herr Hitler and Signor Mussolini: democracy has not lived up to its own magnificent opportunity; individualism has been allowed to degenerate into egoism, and freedom into the avoidance of sacrifice; we have thought so much and clamored so much about our rights that we have forgotten all about our duties; and the inventiveness which democracy has unleashed has provided us with a mechanical opportunity which we have been too lazy, too selfish, and too stupid to exploit for common ends. Today we are hovering between two worlds, one dead, the other—it would seem—powerless to be born. Our elder statesmen know too little, and our younger men have not the opportunity to put their ideas into practice. We have reversed the old French proverb. Today it is *"Si vieillesse savait, si jeunesse pouvait"*—"If only the old people had the understanding and the young people had the chance." The old people do *not* understand: the young people have *not* got the chance.

It is not sufficiently realized in Great Britain that Hitlerism has succeeded because it pretends to be a revolutionary movement. It is not in fact a revolutionary movement; it is a counter-revolutionary movement. Yet democracy—which is a young thing in terms of history—having inflamed the whole world 160 years ago in the form of a heresy, has not as yet developed the vitality to survive as a doctrine. Hitler has imposed Hitlerism in in the form of a new hesesy. It is for us to reaffirm democracy in the form of a rejuvenated faith.

There are many things which Hitler or Mussolini say about democracy which are perfectly true. It is true that democracy arose as a revolt against strong centralized government and has therefore tended to weaken governmental powers. It is true that democracy has developed an exaggerated sense of individual self-indulgence, as of personal property. It is true that democracy has subordinated the constructive plan to a desire to please. It is true that democracy has not given to the sovereign people a sufficient sense of sovereign responsibility. It is true that democracy has proved incapable of coping with its own material, and even spiritual, success. Having achieved the political triumphs at which it originally aimed, democracy has failed completely to carry through those social and economic victories which it ought to have attempted. Democracy, in a phrase, has run to fat. No wonder that the lean, lithe bodies of the Hitler *Jugend* regard it with arrogant contempt.

Yet democracy, if rightly conceived, should not be a middle-aged or middle-class acceptance of the comfortable. It should realize that in contrast to tyranny it is a young and limitless experiment. Autocracy, being essentially material, must always be confined by physical limitations, the physical capacity of a small group to impose its will upon larger groups. Democracy, in that it relies upon intelligence and cooperation, has no limit to the possibilities of its expansion. Autocracy relies upon the body; democracy upon the mind.

We must remember none the less that government, and above all world government, must be based upon authority. The best international charters, such as the Covenant of the League of Nations, even as the best types of social order, such as the Denmark or the Sweden of 1938, cannot be imposed or maintained without authority, or in other words without power. In condemning compulsion as a means of national and international government we must not forget that consent has got to be organized and disciplined, and that even righteousness may have to be protected by force. It is not sufficient to devise a democratic world order which will command the sympathy and the assent of the majority of mankind. We must convince the world of four things: first, that our New Order is not merely a device for maintaining the old order more or less unimpaired; second, that our New Order is in fact new, progressive, and creative; third, that it will possess the physical force to protect those who adhere to it from the aggression of those who may aim at its destruction; and, fourth, that under our New Order the peoples of the world shall obtain the very advantages which Herr Hitler offers them, and will at the same time retain their liberties, their national identity, and their hope of free development.

BRITAIN MUST PLEDGE—

How, therefore, are we to create the new democratic world which, while preserving all that was really useful and beautiful in the old, shall convince millions of people that its essential purpose is to create a sane and workable future? How are we to create this New Order without trampling, as the totalitarian states have trampled, upon the rights of man and the rights of nation How are we to devise a system which combines authori with liberty and power with consent? That is the pro lem which we, with our tried political genius, are pri ileged, and indeed destined, to solve.

Our first task, to my mind, is to carry conviction bo at home and abroad. By that I do not mean only that should convince people of our good intentions, since t majority of people, although they deride our hypocri would admit that on the whole we are a benignant ra We must convince the masses in our own country t we are determined, at any cost to the present social str ture, to carry through a campaign against poverty, and give to each individual in this island a secure prosp of food, health, habitation, maintenance, and oppor nity. We must convince people abroad that we are p pared to give them a free share in the resources of empire. I do not believe that we shall carry this con tion by making speeches; I believe that a definite p should be formulated and published within the next f months. Only when the peoples of the world are c vinced that we are willing and able to make drastic c cessions to the common good will they accord to promises and pronouncements that credit which they bound to accord to the unwelcome, but effective, acti of Herr Hitler.

Our second task is to secure that our plan offers to peoples of the world all the material advantages of Hitlerian system plus the spiritual advantages of lib and self-respect. We are in the position to do this. can offer immediate supplies of foodstuffs to any cou which is able to liberate itself from the Nazi yoke. can offer entry into an economic system far wider infinitely more elastic than any of the rigid syst which Herr Hitler can propound. We can offer the new World Government which shall be based, not u the subjugation of all smaller countries to German d torship, but upon the cooperation of all free peo We can offer them a federation which shall be st enough to withstand any possible attack, which sha united enough to eliminate the competition of economic nationalisms, but which will enable each m ber of the federation to retain its own identity and h and to develop its own autonomy.

Upon these lines I am convinced we could offer t world a democratic as opposed to a tyrannical orga tion of the existing nation-states. Every truly demo country will be welcomed into this loose federatio economic and physical power will be so overwhel that few countries will be able to remain outside. by so doing, this little island, with the help and a of the United States of America, will for a second in history have saved Europe and therefore the w world from the loss of those great human values v it has taken man three thousand years to evolve.

Music and Monopoly

BY MINNA LEDERMAN

BY THE time peace is declared between the radio industry and the American Society of Composers, Authors, and Publishers (ASCAP) we shall all have had a liberal education in the confusing issues of their dispute. As everyone now knows, unless a settlement is reached by the first of January, Kate Smith will no longer broadcast "God Bless America," and "request" programs, even the Hit Parade, will be in jeopardy. Recently, however, the newspapers have emphasized certain larger social implications of the feud. How these may bear on the final outcome is not yet clear, for the dispute is still contractual and may at any moment be coldly resolved in terms of dollars and cents.

ASCAP exercises control over the performing rights of nearly all America's best-known songs and musical works in smaller forms of the last twenty-five years, and of about a hundred thousand popular arrangements of pieces in the public domain. It is affiliated with nineteen foreign societies, whose output in the same field it also protects. This vast fund of copyright material it makes available by "blanket license" to various commercial users—theaters, restaurants, hotels, dance halls, wire services, radio stations. For that license, radio paid last year $4,300,000—about two-thirds of the society's total income. Now ASCAP has submitted a new contract so framed that in 1941 radio would pay a sum variously estimated at from $7,500,000 to $9,000,000. What is more, the networks, never taxed before, would be charged about 7½ per cent of their undistributed revenue. Fees from individual stations, however, would be progressively lowered, so that the lightest burden would fall on the smallest unit.

This strategy of division has so far failed. The outraged chains have rallied not only their own affiliates but most of the independents—in all about 457 stations representing 92 per cent of the industry's total time-sales—and through the National Association of Broadcasters have announced that they will not negotiate on the basis of ASCAP's long-established blanket license. Instead they demand a "per-use" contract. To implement their resistance they have pooled a million and a half dollars to set up an extraordinary new instrument—Broadcast Music, Inc. (BMI), which already functions as a "music publishing house, a coordinator of non-ASCAP music, and a performing-rights licensing society."

The struggle, at an impasse for some months, became a cat-and-dog fight between big and little business early in December, when BMI staged a raid on some of ASCAP's own publishing members. After one spectacular defection ASCAP closed ranks in what during recent years has proved its most vulnerable section. (At least half its largest publishers are today owned and controlled by motion-picture companies.) Now it has moved to the next stage of battle. For although the broadcasters might well be content to let ASCAP slip quietly off the air, and then sit back to wait for the verdict of their advertisers, ASCAP, cut off from radio, has turned to the press, where it is now vigorously stating its case and indirectly making a plea for arbitration.

This appeal to the public has raised the question of how ASCAP and the radio industry discharge their social function. Broadcasting, which is the fastest growing source of advertising revenue in America, unlike any other communications business may not operate without specific consideration of "the public interest, convenience, and necessity." Government licenses are issued temporarily and can be withdrawn if these provisions are not fulfilled—a threat which has determined many features of broadcasting, for instance, the custom of presenting "both sides of the case" and the "educational" character of many sustaining programs.

ASCAP's relation to the public is far less clearly defined and has not been legally established. It can best be understood perhaps by a comparison with the status of similar foreign societies. In Europe the principle of copyright ownership and the practice of group collection of music royalties had been established long before 1914, when ASCAP was born. Many of these associations are now officially recognized as national protectors of music rights and, though not subsidized, are to some degree aided in their business routine by the cooperation of government agencies. ASCAP faces a different tradition, for America has proved stubbornly reluctant to observe the provisions of its own law on musical copyright. In every field of entertainment, from the night clubs to radio, ASCAP has met organized commercial opposition, and has had to carry its case forward through a succession of major lawsuits. For its fighting record, shrewd handling of public relations, and successful dealings with commercial users of music, it enjoys great prestige in the musical world.

But it is still today involved in litigation over the right to collect fees. Several states have recently passed laws specifically designed to restrict its activity. Also pending is an important civil suit brought in 1934 by the Department of Justice, which alleges that the society operates as a monopoly in restraint of trade. Many points raised in that suit are now being aired by the radio opposition, which has added several of its own making. Like ASCAP the European societies issue some form of blanket license, and wherever possible this is paid for by a percentage fee levied on gross receipts. American radio interests claim that ASCAP taxes receipts from all programs, including those not using music; ASCAP says it is music that takes radio round the clock.

The great difficulty of winning ASCAP membership is another issue. To be eligible a candidate must have published five works. The requirement, according to the broadcasters, benefits a favored few and "stifles" young American talent. Restrictions exist in all other associations, the general intent being to separate the professional composer from the single-"hit" writer, but ASCAP appears to have set up very stiff conditions.

The bitter attacks made on the system of fee distribution are based chiefly on the fact that the number of current performances does not determine the rating of composers and authors—although it appears to do so in the publishing group. Instead, ASCAP stresses "seniority and service to the society, prestige, reputation, nature and number of works," and other intangibles. The Europeans, too, employ compensating devices but chiefly to overcome the inequities to which a strict performance accounting subjects serious composers. ASCAP's method is generally held to be arbitrary in the extreme.

Another charge is that the society is completely controlled in all vital matters by a self-perpetuating board of directors. This criticism is fully supported by a reading of its Articles of Association, which contain none of the usual provisions to safeguard democratic procedure.

Perhaps the gravest criticism leveled against ASCAP, one that has recently been discussed in the press with much heat and resulting confusion, is that it fails to represent adequately the musical forces of the country. In pre-Hitler Austria, for instance, the most highly developed musical civilization in the world, every established composer, author, and publisher belonged to the AKM (Gesellschaft der Autoren, Komponisten, und Musikverleger), a society generally held to be a model in the performing-rights field. In 1937 AKM, functioning in a population of only 8,000,000, had a membership of about 1,000. ASCAP today numbers 1,084 composers and authors and 137 publishers.

In twenty-five years ASCAP has consistently refrained from moving in any important way into the field of serious music. Alone among such societies it does not collect royalties in the concert halls, where orchestras, chamber-music groups, and recitalists appear, and it does not collect anywhere for music in the grand-rights category—the large orchestral, choral, and chamber-music works. It has admitted about fifty well-known "standard" composers to membership. In a recent statement several of them have declared that the society makes them generous payments, but it is doubtful whether ASCAP collects on performances of their major works.

If ASCAP is now under fire, its chief opponents, the radio chains, are also having some unpleasant moments. Early in December the Federal Communications Commission called the network representatives to a public hearing in Washington to testify on "arbitrary and inequitable practices" charged against them by a special subcommittee. The committee had reported that "from a social viewpoint the profits derived from network operation have not been sufficiently utilized for the betterment and expansion of the industry." Further, it was charged, the two concert bureaus owned by the two leading chains, "which place about 800 of the best-known artists in the broadcasting field under exclusive contract," tend to "limit the effort of much of the great talent in the country to network programs and arbitrarily restrict the programs of independent competing stations as well as the communities in which they are located."

Now in their drive against ASCAP, the chains appear to be leading the industry directly into the field of music production. Broadcast Music, Inc., has possibilities, and any arbitration of ASCAP's immediate dispute with radio will scarcely dispose of this threat. Set up with the avowed purpose of establishing a "competitive market for music," BMI has adopted, in the interest of efficiency, the very method of blanket licensing which the broadcasters will no longer accept from ASCAP. For months it has employed a large staff of musicians to make workable non-ASCAP arrangements of established favorites in the public domain—"The Old Oaken Bucket," "The Blue Danube," the Stephen Foster songs. It has also published about two hundred new pieces written by non-ASCAP composers and authors, contracting to pay them one cent per performance per station—obviously a "per-use" substitute for ASCAP's classification system. It promises eventually to act as a collecting agency for the performing rights on this newly arranged and newly written music, but now, to popularize its product, it disposes of those rights gratis to any entertainment agency that will use them. Altogether it claims to have available about 250,000 copyright works with which to fill the gap if and when ASCAP goes completely off the air.

Whether this large and hastily improvised collection of new and old songs can meet an extended test is of course not clear from the partial trial it has already been given. Spokesmen for the industry are confident. "It is likely," according to Neville Miller, N. A. B.'s president, "that no one will notice the difference in character and quality of programs on and after January 1, 1941." This may be true—"The music the people like is the music people hear"—but it is not very reassuring. The speed-up, the plugging, the automatic production of songs now turned out almost daily to satisfy the appetite of the radio and the juke box certainly make one hit sound much like another. But if radio, the great "popularizer," has so leveled the public taste that Berlin, Gershwin, Herbert, Kern, Porter, Rodgers—the established idols of American light music, men of international reputation in their field—can be taken off the air without creating a ripple, then it is open to question how well radio has served the public as a communications medium.

If, on the other hand, ASCAP would function as the guardian of musical culture it now claims to be, a little house-cleaning seems in order. Limitation of the power of the publishers, who once before, and again in this crisis, nearly betrayed it, and who are generally credited with promoting the unrestricted plugging evil, appears to be indicated as a simple measure for ultimate survival. And if ASCAP assumes to speak as a representative of the country's composers, it may well open its doors to a more inclusive membership. Then in any argument with the expanding music business—now so securely in the grip of the electric-patent industry—it could more readily count on public support.

Within the Gates

SINCE its inception five or six months ago this column has been the target of a steady barrage of "crank" letters from the more articulate members of the American *fascismo.* That was to be expected, and usually these missives are filed and forgotten. However, a discussion of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation, or Tashnags, which appeared in the November 2 issue of Within the Gates, brought forth a dozen or more apparently sincere and reasoned protests from Armenian-Americans. Most of the criticism hinged upon this column's assertions that "the policies of the Tashnags have paralleled those of the Nazis," that "they modified the belligerency of their published statements concerning the U. S. S. R. after the German-Russian pact," that "they are as obsessed with the idea of race as the Nazis," that they "frequently enliven politics with violence and terror," and that they have recently substituted Anglophobia for pro-Nazism.

The statement that "the policies of the Tashnags have paralleled those of the Nazis" was based largely upon three premises: the official publications of the Tashnags have time and again spoken favorably of the merits of National Socialism; they have developed a racial myth which includes anti-Semitism; and their anti-Communist convictions have plunged them into the excesses of red-baiting. These three devices form the keystone of most pro-Nazi propaganda.

The first premise is clearly sustained in the following translated extract from an article appearing in the *Hairenik Daily* of September 17, 1936.

> And then came Adolf Hitler after herculean struggles. He spoke to the racial heart strings of the Germans, opened the fountain of his national genius. . . . Now there is a Germany, strong, united, aggressive, proud, and self-reliant. She has torn and given to the winds the principal restrictions of the Versailles treaty and is now a national power, equal to, if not higher than, the great at the green tables of Europe and the world.

The same article gives currency to the discredited yarn that National Socialism is the great bulwark against communism. It quotes a speaker at a Nürnberg congress as follows:

> Berlin is the only barricade against the cholera known as Bolshevism. Germany is not only a nation-state but a European state with the calling of defending the ancient heritage of human culture against the diseases spreading from the Soviet countries.

Tashnag leaders may well have had what they considered to be a good reason for casting their lot with the Third Reich—the conviction that a victorious Germany would set up an independent Armenia under their rule. A letter from a German citizen to a member of the editorial staff of the *Hairenik Weekly,* published on May 3, 1935, sums up this hope.

> You ask me the Reich's attitude toward your nation [wrote the Nazi spokesman]. We Germans stand for the principles of self-determination not only for our German countrymen living under foreign oppression but also for any other nation suffering in the same way. . . . National Socialism is the mainstay of the national idea and the determined opponent of thraldom. According to the National Socialist program we Germans cannot but recognize your claims as thoroughly legitimate.

As to the Tashnags' anti-Semitism, the *Hairenik Daily* in the summer of 1937 ran a series of articles which not only approved and explained National Socialism but defended the anti-Semitic practices of the Nazi regime. The writer's prologue was as old as the history of anti-Semitism. "Here I publicly announce," he wrote, "that I have no enmity against the Jews. On the contrary, numerous famous Jews are my friends." Then followed the type of anti-Semitic discourse which later was popularized at the Shrine of the Little Flower in Royal Oak. The writer employed the familiar device of making synonymous the terms Jew and Communist. "As the British use battleships to occupy countries and to protect their fatherland, in this same way the Jew uses internationalism and communism as a weapon."

There is no need to elaborate on the red-baiting tactics of the Tashnags. Because Russia forcibly imposed a Communist regime upon a part of what once was Armenia, their antipathy toward it is easily understood. As to whether the Tashnags "modified the belligerency of their published statements concerning the U. S. S. R. after the German-Russian pact," it is difficult for one depending upon translations to measure degrees of difference. However, students of the language have reported that the attacks on the U. S. S. R. in the Armenian-language press have become less vigorous.

There is little doubt that the Tashnags "are as obsessed with the idea of race as the Nazis"—and in very much the same manner. On April 10, 1936, the *Hairenik Weekly* quoted O. Zarmooni, president of the youth group in Rousjuk, Bulgaria, as saying: "Our race is force; it is treasure. Today Germany and Italy are strong because as nations they live and breathe in terms of race." On January 1, 1935, it carried this thought to Armenian-American youth:

> I know my race. I believe in my race. I worship my race. I know that my race is great; that my race has given more

> to humanity than it has received from it. I am a believer in race and, behold, I worship another deity, the blood of my race, in whose unspotted purity lies the sound future of my people.

That the Tashnags "frequently enliven their politics with violence and terror" is a generally known fact, and one that is usually admitted by Armenians. The police records in numerous European cities tell grim tales similar to that of the assassination of Archbishop Leon Tourian, which was reported in a previous issue of *The Nation.*

This column was in error in asserting that the Tashnags have substituted Anglophobia for pro-Nazism during the past year or so. Careful reexamination of their publications reveals that until quite recently the organization consistently maintained a stand hostile to Britain and France, not for ideological reasons, but because Armenian nationalists felt they had been completely overlooked by the victors of the first World War. For some reason—probably the same motive of self-interest which led them earlier to apologize for the Nazis—the Tashnags recently have modified their attitude toward England and France. But the fact remains that for a period of at least six years they served, perhaps unwittingly, as supporters of National Socialism.

The protest of the Hairenik Association is printed below:

The Case for the A.R.F.

Dear Sirs: The Armenian Revolutionary Federation was founded fifty years ago for the express purpose of freeing the Armenians from Turkish and Czarist tyranny. The federation has always fought for the ideals of democracy. The independent republic of 1918-20 which it created and governed for over two years was a thoroughly democratic state. Our whole literature is dedicated to the promotion of freedom and democracy.

It is true that force has been used in the history of the organization, but that force has been used only against the tyrants of Armenia. We have had a branch in the United States for forty-five years and a press for forty-two years, both with an unblemished record of American loyalty.

We have always been, and still are, opposed to all forms of dictatorship, be it Nazism, fascism, or communism. Our young people, the Tzeghagrons, do not ape the Nazis. They are a very active body, busy with their sports, dances, and educational programs. Acquainting them with their parental background has nothing to do with the impertinence of racial superiority.

The *Hairenik Weekly* is not trying to conceal the name "Armenian Revolutionary Federation," as was maintained in the November 2 column of Within the Gates. It uses "Armenian Federation" or A. R. F. for the sake of brevity.

It is true that the September 17, 1936, issue of the *Hairenik Daily* published an article expressing approval of Hitler's achievements, but it should be obvious to all that it merely represented the personal opinion of an individual and not the policy of the paper. The author endeavored to appraise the situation in the light of the facts, as did many others whose loyalty to democracy is unquestionable.

There may have been other articles or even editorials in 1937 in sympathy with Germany's effort to revise the Versailles treaty, but these pertained to general principles of national justice and the righting of obvious wrongs which even the British, the French, and the Americans admitted; their publication could not possibly mean approval of Germany's subsequent conduct.

The charge of Anglophobia is utterly unjust. We were with the Allies during the last war, and we made more than our share of sacrifice for their victory. It is true that after the Lausanne treaty we criticized the Allies for their betrayal of Armenia, but that has nothing to do with Anglophobia.

Your quotation from *Hairenik* to the effect that Nazism was the antidote to communism is a view which was expressed by many Americans and Europeans until the events of the last two years; just as *The Nation* itself used to consider communism the antidote to Nazism and fascism.[*] That is no reason why we should accuse *The Nation* of being Communist.

An Armenian youth writing in *Hairenik* quoted a German student as saying that Germany believed Armenians should have justice. How does that prove that we are identified with the Nazis? The charge of anti-Semitism is likewise unjust. We are on the most friendly terms with the Jews. Having shared much the same fate, we have always had a great sympathy for them. We cherish a profound gratitude to Franz Werfel, a Jew, who rendered the Armenians a great service by vindicating their cause through his book, "The Forty Days of Musa Dagh." It is not true that we ran an anti-Jewish series in our paper. The article to which you refer was written by a person who on the way to California met a Jew and then related his experience. It expressed the personal opinion of the writer. We could, on the other hand, show you hundreds of published articles proving our sincere sympathy for the Jewish people.

Zarmooni, the youth from Rousjuk, is not even a member of our organization. He wrote for the *Hairenik Weekly* merely as a reporter. Likewise, the author of the quotation from the January 1, 1935, issue wrote as an individual. Incidentally, he is no longer a member of the federation.

Our organization cannot be responsible for acts of violence by individuals. There is no party which can boast that none of its members ever committed an act of violence. Violence has been committed by individual members of all organizations, but the organization is not blamed for it.

Our policies are expressed solely through our editorials, and in calling an organization to account it is these which should be cited. Research will show that there has not been one pro-Nazi or pro-Fascist editorial in our papers, while there have been hundreds which were or might be interpreted as being pro-British.

It is not fair, in order to build up a case, deliberately to select passages from a paper to the exclusion of many more others to the contrary. Had you not limited the space, we could cite quotations mountain-high from *Hairenik* proving indisputably that we are anti-Nazi, anti-Fascist, truly democratic, and even very much pro-British. Why did your informer choose to select three isolated items from our forty-two years of journalism? REUBEN DARBINIAN,

Editor-in-Chief of the Hairenik Publications

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[*] **Mr. Darbinian would be hard put to it to find an editorial expression of this thesis in our pages, since it was never our position.—EDITORS THE NATION.**

In the Wind

A CONSTITUENT wrote to Senator Rush Holt asking for a copy of a radio speech Holt had just made. He received the speech but noted that his name was misspelled on the envelope. Shortly afterward the same person received an appeal for a subscription from Scribner's *Commentator*—now the house organ of the Lindbergh party line. His name was misspelled exactly as it had been on the Holt cover.

THE ALIEN REGISTRATION director in Michigan recently got an inquiry from a woman asking whether she had to register. She hoped she wouldn't have to, she said, because she was an Englishwoman and was simply here on "a visit." "I came here," she added, "in 1884."

HENRY FORD'S fear of the growing boycott of his cars is taking tangible form. A special advertising firm has been hired in Detroit to "resell Henry Ford" to the city where he became famous—and where union members are refusing to buy his cars.

COMMUNIST YOUTH leaders are organizing a drive to combat a conference planned by the International Student Service, which is pro-New Deal and led by Joseph Lash. A recent issue of a Young Communist League paper was devoted almost exclusively to an attack on Lash, and there has been a "spontaneous" rush of delegates who want credentials to the conference.

THE WILLIAM ALLEN WHITE committee isn't politically monolithic; a lot of its members are pretty conservative. So a private letter has just been circulated admonishing the committee to recognize the legitimacy of labor demands in defense industries. It was written by Alfred Baker Lewis.

GEORGE SELDES'S new bulletin, *In Fact*, which has been steadily tub-thumping against "warmongers" and boosting isolationism, now carries a little italic note saying that it takes no stand on foreign policy. . . . Clyde Beals is out as editor of the *Guild Reporter*.

SOCIAL JUSTICE is steadily becoming more polite about the C. I. O.—ever since John L. Lewis backed Willkie and openly opposed the Administration. At the same time it retains its original character in respect to the Jews.

REPORTS PERSIST in newspaper circles that Dorothy Thompson will leave the *Herald Tribune* when her contract expires soon . . . and that Paul Revere II (Walter Winchell) may start writing regularly for *PM*.

EDSEL FORD played neatly into the hands of union propagandists recently. At a big social affair where everybody had to wear costumes he appeared dressed as a bull-thrower—and posed for camera men.

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind—either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. A prize of $5 will be awarded each month for the best item.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

DEMOCRACY:
PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE
by Arnold Petersen

¶ The author, a lifelong student of government, politics and economics, has briefly sketched the successive forms of democracy, beginning with the early primitive democracies as exemplified in the systems of the American Indian and the early Greeks, tracing it through the period of Athenian democracy to the establishment of the American democracy of 150 years ago. The present form and practices of what now passes for political democracy are contrasted with the earlier forms, and the probable future of democracy—indicated as Industrial Democracy—is briefly outlined.

¶ A stimulating work on a much misunderstood and maligned subject. It attempts to show that democracy, far from being dead or dying, is really about to become fully realized. It shows what democracy meant to the slave-owning class of ancient Athens; what it meant to the "founding fathers" of our American Revolution; what it means to the capitalist, or labor-exploiting class of today; and what it will mean to the emancipated producers of the future Industrial Union Republic.

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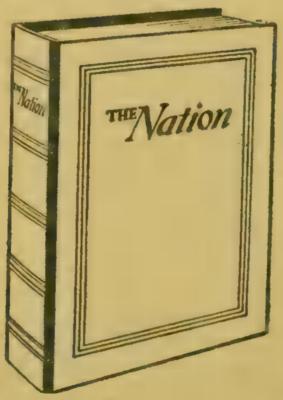

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THE NATION
55 Fifth Avenue New York City

A Native at Large

BY JONATHAN DANIELS

DOWN Route 61, which runs through the Middle South by Memphis into Mississippi, the sheriff of Shelby County, Tennessee, came with carpenters and painters from Memphis and put up a big sign: "Down the Road in Mississippi Are Gambling Dens and Dives."

Mississippi, which was then engaged in doing its Christmas shopping in Memphis, understood. "Crump," it said.

The old boss of Memphis, having driven the girls and the gambling dens from his city of power, chafed at the Mississippi state line, behind which both the girls and the gamblers waited for those people of Memphis who did not greatly mind riding a few miles to sin. Crump's sheriff said that if the sheriff of De Soto County, Mississippi, across the line did not do his job he would come over from Tennessee and do it for him.

The case was plain to some men in Mississippi. The case also seemed to some of them almost a comic country burlesque of dictatorial power on the great stage of the world. Old Crump is power. No great damage would be done to definitions if he were called dictator. Here, following the pattern of totalitarianism, he threatened behind high moral words to move in aggression against the democracy of Mississippi.

From a distance the whole business might be taken for one of those comic melodramas in which the South seems often so badly proficient if here arrayed were only the dictatorial old political boss and a lot of running-away but hanging-around dive proprietors, their crap shooters, and their girls. Unfortunately, however, this was the collision of America's most successful local dictator and the democracy of the state in which democracy has made its greatest failure in providing satisfactory and decent living for the majority of its inhabitants.

Maybe such a meeting of uninspiring subdivisions of the American democracy is unimportant. To much of America it seems a long way off. Crump is the unexcelled master of mobilized and docile middle-class Southerners. His power does not depend upon underworld ward heelers. Rotarians do his bidding. The best people vote as he says—or else. He gives them in government practically everything they desire except political freedom. They do not seem to miss that. Across that state line beyond the righteously warning sign there is no such power. But in the democracy of Mississippi hardly any Negroes are permitted to vote. Many white men are disfranchised by poll-tax laws. White men and black men get schools and other government services which drag bottom in America. The labor movement has practically been driven out of the state. In the great cotton-growing delta the poorest men in America live on the richest land.

Mr. Crump is no figure of evil. The people of Mississippi are not especially marked with stupidity in the mass or cruelty among the masters. Both Crump's dictatorship and the sloppier aspects of Mississippi's democracy grow out of the same debasement of agriculture, the same unequal gambling on cotton, the same crowded poverty of the Middle South. And both are aspects of the democracy of the country as a whole. Crump and the dives and dens hiding from his power beyond the Mississippi line grew out of the same economic inequality.

Around Memphis neither the dictatorship nor the democracy makes half as much difference to the little girl driven into the joints or the Negro wandering penniless on Beal Street as the possibility of decency in the United States. They are simple creatures. They do not know very much about democracy. They are not really frightened about dictatorship. The words and the phrases, the systems and the ideologies, are unimportant to them.

Like many of the rest of us, however, Crump and Mississippi together are talking loudly now about good and evil. Crump's men have been charging Mississippi officers with crookedness. Mississippi editors have been quoting the Bible at Crump about the sinless throwing the first stone. Some men in Mississippi have talked like fifth columnists for Crump, taking his side and wishing he would come over and clean up. Others have proposed a boycott of Memphis. Soon probably the anger will diminish. Memphis could not live without Mississippi, and most Mississippians would rather give up hope of going to heaven than going to Memphis. But the sound and the fury may be not only amusing but significant. The incident has suggested the mere noisiness of a lot of talk, far beyond Memphis, about democracy and sovereignty, aggression and power.

Down by the signboard on that Mississippi-Tennessee line the contending sheriffs used big words, too. Only the Southern dialect differentiated them from some of the speeches of the statesmen. But a stranger could feel that it was just talk there. The poor would remain. In the bigger world bigger men sometimes seem even more lost in their words.

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

But We Who Waited

BY DAVID CORNEL DEJONG

Out of the cock's comb of eastern light
they came, beasts bearing them. Their
shadows reached forward, extending paws
of faith touching our knees, and we
opened our lips and cried to them.

Into the western bowl of the wheeling sun
they were poured; the tails of their horses
fanned, their shadows lapped backward upon
us with lavender pride, spreading
wistfulness over our yearning eyes.

When they passed we had turned like leaves
toward their light. They are gone. Behind
us night is blossoming black; ahead everything
is tapering out, leaving our speech adrift upon
the waning eddies of their pride.

Anatomy of Freedom

FREEDOM: ITS MEANING. Edited by Ruth Nanda Anshen. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $4.

LORD ACTON'S lifelong struggle with two hundred definitions of freedom in the hope that he might distil from them the true one did not succeed. The public is as much bewildered about the nature of "true" freedom as was the great historian before he began his labors. Definitions continue to be struck off, often on the spur of the moment with a special case in view, and generally in ignorance of the difficulties upon which previous attempts were wrecked. Hence a seven-hundred-page symposium entitled "Freedom: Its Meaning" has a *prima facie* justification. The planner and editor of it, Mrs. Ruth Nanda Anshen, has moveover justified her double title by organizing the contents of the book and balancing the points of view. We are offered not simply another series of *obiter dicta* by famous men, but five groups of essays discussing freedom: in history, in the mind, in culture, in the body politic, and (for the metaphysical) in itself. The writers, two score in number, include Croce, Whitehead, R. B. Perry, Dewey, Shotwell, Boas, Beard, McIver, Bertrand Russell, Salvemini, Stefansson, and many others whose names will automatically occur as indispensable to the genuineness of the representation.

Some of the chapters, it is true, have appeared elsewhere, in recent or remote volumes by their distinguished authors. But the new matter by such men as Croce, Tillich, Birkhoff, Demos, and others is worth the closest attention of freemen. The brilliant Epilogue by Herbert Schneider gives, in addition, such an exact and yet critical account of the views expounded by his colleagues that a reviewer must despair of reproducing fairly the effect of the book. All that can be done is to indicate some salient points.

Croce's great essay on the roots of liberty—a part of his forthcoming treatise on history?—sets the tone of the best discussions that follow, by insisting on the importance of philosophy to freedom and on the incompatibility of general materialism and a narrow naturalism with it. One need not accept Croce's absolute historicism in order to agree with his critique, but it is comforting to find Birkhoff and Demos of Harvard, with Whitehead, of course, and three or four others, criticizing the same false conception of science as the major cultural interference with freedom. The notion that some abstract means of analysis, such as the economic or the physiological interpretation of action, can yield the "secret" of social life seems definitely in decline.

Throughout the book the emphasis is on liberties rather than on a single and definable freedom; which follows quite naturally from the distrust of analytic tricks. Few are doctrinaire individualists; the tendency is toward pluralism, with the values of individualism transplanted from the absolute soil of determinism to the fertile ground of intelligent social action. This may explain why Rousseau gets so many undeserved kicks in passing. It will not do to hint that his detractors have not read him, but it is clear that in reading him they have not understood the very modern "fictional" character of his method. He would find much of what is said in this volume a legitimate extension of his thought, and the alleged oppositions rest merely on a literal and often partial interpretation of his words: the first rule of Rousseau scholarship should be, "Never quote the first sentence of the 'Social Contract' without the second."

On a related point the contributors do not agree so well. For most of them equality is one aspect of liberty, but too much ink goes to waste over the question whether equality is a moral and political principle or a fact of nature. To raise the question argues an imperfect idea of what a fact is. Obviously equality is a way of looking at certain facts, and not itself a fact. So is inequality; which makes neither of them more or less true than the other, except when a given purpose is defined. To apply each principle with propriety, not to prove one or the other absolute, is the task of the legislator or moralist.

By contrast with the philosophers and historians (including the sociologists) the theologians (excluding Professor Tillich) and the scientists come off rather badly in their efforts to fit freedom inside their absolutes. Gilson and Maritain try nobly to defend the position that without a regulated and unchanging scheme of thought, freedom is delusive and chaotic. To support this idea they are forced to invoke "things" as giving rise to truth: the mind copies what is; and thus they find themselves very close to J. B. S. Haldane, who, forsaking the wisdom of his ancestors, adheres to a simple-minded mechanical materialism which he knows is Marxist and fondly thinks is scientific. The valuable lesson we can draw from this conflict of opinions is that unless an absolute is wholly transcendental—like Croce's or like any neo-Kantian's—it cannot accommodate a very full set of freedoms. Practical absolutes, whether scientific or spiritual, must dictate. Contrariwise, a practical pluralism can permit any number of non-militant absolutes, and thus satisfy the still widespread desire for certainty.

In adding one carping word at the end, I am not straying from the subject of this conclusion: the editor spells autarky with a final *-archy*. This makes the word mean self-rule, which is a virtue. Spelled as it should be, with a k, it means to suffice unto oneself, which, whether taken morally or physically as a denial of human interdependence, is precisely the kind of absolute that must always threaten the scant liberties vouchsafed to erring man.

JACQUES BARZUN

The Birth of Yugoslavia

FIFTY YEARS OF WAR AND DIPLOMACY IN THE BALKANS. By Count Carlo Sforza. Columbia University Press. $2.75.

AFTER the national integration of the European states in the nineteenth century two powder magazines were left in the southeast. One of them was blown up by the Treaty of Berlin (1878), the other, forty years later, by the Treaty of Versailles and the other pacts that wound up the first World War. Of all those attempts to reconcile conflicting interests and chauvinistic hatreds the most successful was the Treaty of Rapallo (1920), which adjusted the Italo-Yugoslav differences and which not even the Fascists ventured to overthrow. In preparing and concluding this treaty Count Carlo Sforza, Minister of Foreign Affairs in the Giolitti Cabinet, was instrumental.

According to Solon, a legislator needs superhuman power to apply fairly the law he himself has made. Still harder appears the task of writing the unbiased history of an era in the politics of which the author played an active part. Count Sforza has not only surmounted this difficulty but has erected an admirable monument to the memory of Nicholas Pashich, whose life story is interwoven with the birth throes of the Yugoslav state.

Even more interesting than his vivid historical picture of post-war Yugoslavia is the author's explanation of the events that preceded the war, which "was in reality a new War of the Austrian Succession." Political dreamers like Mazzini, Lamartine, or Kossuth realized that a Balkan federation in concord with Italy could have upheld the Continental balance. Unfortunately, the practitioners of *Realpolitik*, the Prussian Junkers, the Austrian and Hungarian aristocrats, put their faith in the Kaiser's marginal note to Tschirsky's report: "Those fellows [the Slavs] can still be cured by blood and iron."

Reading this thrilling curtain-raiser to the tragedy of human civilization we may ask what is the use of crying over spilt milk. However, the same sinister forces are still at work, only on a larger scale. Contemporary megalomaniacs misname "living space" what Austrian and German imperialists captioned legitimate aspirations of the monarchy. Past errors are very instructive, for nations and statesmen are likely to commit them over again.

Count Sforza's lively style, animated by Latin esprit, makes his book delightful reading even for those who know as little of "those faraway countries" as the late Neville Chamberlain did. In another book which appeared some weeks ago, "The Living Thoughts of Machiavelli," for which Count Sforza wrote the introductory essay, the gallant anti-Fascist fighter had the courage to vindicate the greatness of the misrepresented Florentine clerk. In the present one he criticizes the duplicity of pre-Fascist Italian nationalists and renders sincere homage to Italy's rival in *mare nostro*.

And is Count Sforza not right in saying that in view of what happened in France "Western Europeans have no reason for looking down at the Balkans, their wars, their hatreds"? This may be an unsavory truth, but the rarity of those who utter unpopular truths makes them all the more valuable.

RUSTEM VAMBERY

Russian Story-Teller

THE TURBULENT GIANT (MICOULA). By George Grebenstchikoff. Southbury, Connecticut: Alatas Publishing Company. $3.

DO YOU recall your first delight in the volumes of the great Russian story-tellers? Doubtless it flowed from these writers' sovereign gifts for the unsentimental portrayal, in dramatic narratives of intense realism and somber coloring, of the soft, unworldly inwardness of their folk, and for vesting their deep feeling in stark, simple forms. That pleasure is latent in a recently translated little prose epic by a living representative of the Russian royal story-telling line.

Its author is George Grebenstchikoff—born in Siberia, in a village of the Altai, in 1883. His father was a miner. One of his paternal great-grandfathers was a Kalmuk converted to Christianity; his mother was the daughter of a Siberian Cossack. The youth began getting his living as a clerk in an office of the Ministry of Forests and attended law school at Tomsk: it is precisely with the mining and mountain district of the Russian Canada and its fierce semi-Asiatic population that his fictions from the first have dealt. This regionalism of Grebenstchikoff's, of course, is in the Russian tradition. Sections of the empire provided many of the expressions of the best of his predecessors with their symbols: the Ukraine, those of Gogol; the countryside of Russia Major, those of Turgenev; Petrograd and its white nights, the terrific visions of Dostoevski.

In 1921 Grebenstchikoff and his wife made their way to Constantinople. Here the author worked as a longshoreman and contrived in spare time to write a story which the *Living Age* reprinted. From Turkey the pair went to Africa, thence to France, where "The Churaevs," one of Grebenstchikoff's fine novels, was published in Russian and translated into French and other tongues. Invited in 1924 by the Master Institute of Arts in New York, Grebenstchikoff, who had lectured in Germany and France, came to America and addressed some five hundred audiences. The couple next year decided to settle in the United States and started Churaevka Village, the Russian artists' colony at Southbury, Connecticut.

Today their settlement sports a printing-press and publishing house.

The clumsy and soft, dreadful and self-sacrificing peasant-soul temporarily obscured by the revolution is exhibited in "The Turbulent Giant"—the part realistic, part symbolic narrative which brings Grebenstchikoff for the first time before the English-reading public—in the form of a legend of a contemporary peasant leader and as in a monstrance. What disconcerts at first is the extreme violence of the action in the book and of many of its effects. This violence is the obverse of the artistic force extraordinarily Grebenstchikoff's, the source of his work's magnificence—the force we call Dionysian, whose manifestation is the faculty of transport, overflow, ecstasy, just as the manifestation of the Apollonian, the complementary force, is the faculty of pellucid and continuous picture-making. The coherent picture-making faculty is infinitely less developed in Grebenstchikoff than it was in that master dramatist among the novelists, Gorki. But with his lyricism, rhythmic pulse, overflowing, passionately participating feeling which make us associate him with the characteristic Russian composers, he carries us out as it were midmost the movement and turbulence of existence and imparts a bodily sensation of it well-nigh unique in the literature of the period. PAUL ROSENFELD

The Genius of William Morris

A VICTORIAN REBEL: THE LIFE OF WILLIAM MORRIS. By Lloyd Wendell Eshelman. Charles Scribner's Sons. $3.50.

BOTH the age in which William Morris lived and the pattern of his hopes for social progress seem more remote from the era we are living in than many historical epochs far more distant in point of time. Communism of the Stalin vintage has replaced the essentially libertarian Marxism of the nineteenth century, while National Socialist mysticism, emotion, and violence and Nordic racial myths are, in some sense, the perverted offspring of the hatred felt by men like Morris and Ruskin for the "trader" values of capitalist civilization, of Ruskin's glorification of the "Gothic spirit" and of Morris's enthusiasm for "the social and religious ethic of the North" and nostalgia for the medieval world, in which, according to his view, men had labored with joy, and art had been the expression of the life of a society more healthy than our own.

In a letter quoted in this book Morris wrote prophetically in 1874: "Neither do I grudge the triumph that the modern mind finds in having made the world quieter and less violent; but I think this blindness to beauty will draw down a kind of revenge one day: who knows? So perhaps the gods are preparing troubles and terrors for this world again, that it may once again become beautiful . . . for I do not believe they will have it dull and ugly forever." This theme occurs again and again in his writings, as, for instance, when, years later, he expressed his opposition to the "economical semi-fatalism" of those Socialists who imagined that socialism would come as the sequel to the formation of giant monopolies. "I cannot help thinking," he wrote, that the historical outcome "*may be* the recurrence of break-ups and re-formations of this kind of monopoly, under the influence of competition for privilege, or war for the division of plunder, till the flood comes and destroys us all."

Morris hoped that "the mercenary ideals of competitive commerce" would be replaced—if necessary through a social revolution—by ideals giving men joy in their work, delight in beauty, and a feeling of human brotherhood. But the *Götterdämmerung* he foresaw is instead threatening the world with a revival of superstition and irrationality and the glorification, not of beauty, but of violence. We have arrived not at international cooperation and the feeling of social responsibility, but at an ever more blatant nationalism and a solidarity only between people of the same race or class.

The interest of this book lies more in the quotations from Morris's own writings than in the author's exposition or interpretation of his theories on society and art. Nowhere does the author attempt to bring Morris's views into relation with the world of today. The quotations from the poems, letters, and essays of Morris are well chosen, but the author gives the impression at times of being himself unaware of their significance in the light of recent history. For instance, in his account of the differences between Morris and the S. D. F., Mr. Eshelman's quotations show Morris's realization that the seizure of power by a minority would lead to worse evils than those Socialists seek to destroy. But the author never relates the Morris-Hyndman controversy to the lessons of the Bolshevik Revolution.

Morris and his small group were eclipsed by the Fabians on the one hand and by the Marxists, or pseudo-Marxists, on the other hand, there being basically far less difference between the Fabians and the Communists than between them and Morris. But Morris's view of social development and his perception of the danger to liberty inherent in the "extension of rights to the centralized bureaucratic state" have stood the test of historical experience better than the Fabian and Marxist theses.

In his review of Bellamy's "Looking Backward" Morris strenuously opposed fixation of the mind upon "the mere machinery of life." Bellamy, he said, would be perfectly satisfied with modern civilization "if only the injustice, misery, and waste could be got rid of." Morris himself always insisted that only a new kind of civilization in which art and labor became "the very act of living" could give man joy in life and end the feeling of frustration he experiences in our mechanistic civilization. The real ideal, he wrote, should point to "the reduction of pain in labor to a minimum." The siren appeal for a life free from toil, change, and fear seemed to him in his later years, as to the Orpheus of his early poems, nothing but a "vision of hopeless monotony." Such a view, according to the Marxist, is an aristocratic one, but Hitler's success in arousing the enthusiasm of German youth proves that even a Satanic myth has more dynamic force than the vision of an "ultra-modern mechanistic paradise" with which the Communists failed to arouse the workers of the world to revolutionary action.

Now that the Marxist sun is setting we may learn to appreciate better the genius of William Morris, and one hopes that Mr. Eshelman's book will be read by large numbers of progressives who have neglected him as a "Utopian Socialist" or romantic poet and artist. FREDA UTLEY

IN BRIEF

FAMILIES. By Karl Schriftgiesser. Howell, Soskin and Company. $3.

The stories of certain representative American families written in an elegant and readable journalese. Mr. Schriftgiesser does not attempt any new exposés, nor does he marshal his facts in support of any thesis. He does maintain, however, a healthy liberal skepticism. The book achieves considerable success within its limited scope. The author's catholicity of sympathy may be gauged from the fact that such diverse clans as the intellectual Jameses and the feudal lords of Delaware are both given adequate treatment.

STILL. SMALL VOICE. By August Derleth. D. Appleton-Century Company. $3.

Zona Gale was a well-bred lady with considerable talent as a story-teller and great integrity as a person. She was dignified and American. Mr. Derleth treats her with the proper respect and manages at the same time to be informative.

THE ANATOMY OF BRITISH SEA POWER. By Arthur J. Marder. Alfred A. Knopf. $5.

With the most thorough help from British sources, both academic and official, Mr. Marder, of Harvard's Bureau of International Research, has written the first comprehensive study of British naval policy during the formative period, 1880-1905. Although the author keeps to his subject with scholarly forbearance, the reader does not have to be an enthusiast for naval tactics to discover here a wealth of dramatic overtones.

MUSIC

THOUGH I missed the Chicago Symphony's two concerts in New York I feel that *Nation* readers should have the benefit of the penetrating comment of a Chicago correspondent on some of the new works composed for the orchestra's fiftieth anniversary, including Roy Harris's inevitable contribution to the current heart-searching occasioned by the troubled state of the world and nation—his "American Creed." Milhaud's symphony "was pretty good on the whole, the slow movement being very beautiful and touching. Last week John Alden Carpenter, a local worthy, offered a very tinny sackful of old kitchen utensils—'peaceful music' as he admitted and quite up the Republican alley. Then last night Harris's opus was performed. I composed myself to patience and justice, thinking: 'Now it makes no difference what you've felt toward his previous stuff or what Haggin thinks. Everything's got to have its chance, and this may be very beautiful and profound.' My composure lasted for ten minutes, when I began to feel as if someone were hacking at my flesh with an ice-pick, and by the time the ranting, hoarse, hacking, coughing eloquence had spent itself my skin had been ripped off alive and hung up to dry on a rusty spike. But you'll see what noble purposes lay behind it all, and how much it all ties up with MacLeish's current blather."

I cannot speak of Stock's work at those two concerts, but I know some of his work on phonograph records; and though it has given me respect for his purely technical competence it has left me with a much lower opinion of him as a musician than Virgil Thomson's. The recent recorded performance of Schubert's C major Symphony, the older ones of Mozart's G minor and Tschaikovsky's Fifth are at best mediocre, and at worst include a great deal of tasteless effect-mongering.

When the Benny Goodman-Budapest Quartet set of Mozart's Clarinet Quintet appeared in June, 1938, I said one would never suspect that the man who produced those lifeless sequences of undifferentiated sounds with the clarinet was the Goodman who played a popular tune with such saliency of phrasing; and I accounted for the difference by the fact that although Goodman had come to love Mozart's music, its language was not the one that he had grown up with and that he could himself speak, as a performer, with the naturalness, the richness and potency of inflection with which he spoke the language of popular music. Even by the time he played the work with the Budapest Quartet in Town Hall the following season his increased ease with the language of Mozart was apparent in the way the notes were now brought into relations with one another by differentiation in size and color. And today, when he is capable of the beautiful phrasing that he did in his recent performance of Mozart's Clarinet Concerto with the New York Philharmonic, he is reported as saying himself that in the recorded performance of the Quintet he was still just reading notes (which makes a number of people who [illegible] about the records look like what they are). But though Goodman has reached the point of being able to achieve such beautiful phrasing by the study he is reported to have put into the Concerto, he is still at the point where this phrasing, though beautiful, sounds studied; and he has yet to reach the point where it will be done with the relaxed ease, the freedom and spontaneity that are the necessary conditions for it to acquire the sharpened contours of style. When he has acquired style himself he may judge it differently in others: at the moment he doesn't like Kell, whose style is in fact over-sharply nuanced; but on the other hand he admires Bellison—which is to say that he has yet to hear that on the Columbia records of Mozart's Clarinet Quintet Bellison produces not finely modulated phrases but sequences of big, round, shrill pumpkins.

The neglect of some of the greatest pieces of music ever written should be sufficient reason for the National Orchestral Association to put on the Mozart concerto cycle it has been thinking about but cannot get up the courage to do; just as the constant performance of almost every note of Brahms should be sufficient reason for the Association not to devote its Saturday afternoon series to a Brahms cycle instead. For the rest, the Association, which has maintained a training orchestra for young instrumentalists, has now set out to give similar training in operatic performance to young singers. From the performance of "Pagliacci" that was put on at a recent Monday evening concert it was evident that the school is getting youngsters with fine voices and doing a good job of teaching them how to make themselves effective on the stage; but it was evident also, from the constriction and tremolos one heard, that time should be devoted to teaching some of these youngsters how to use their fine voices so that they won't lose them. They were in front of the gauze backdrop, and the orchestra and conductor were behind it; yet there was a precision in ensemble—the result of preparation and discipline—that one rarely hears in an opera house. Nor is there usually lavished on "Pagliacci" the fine musical taste that was evident in Leon Barzin's treatment of the score.

B. H. HAGGIN

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